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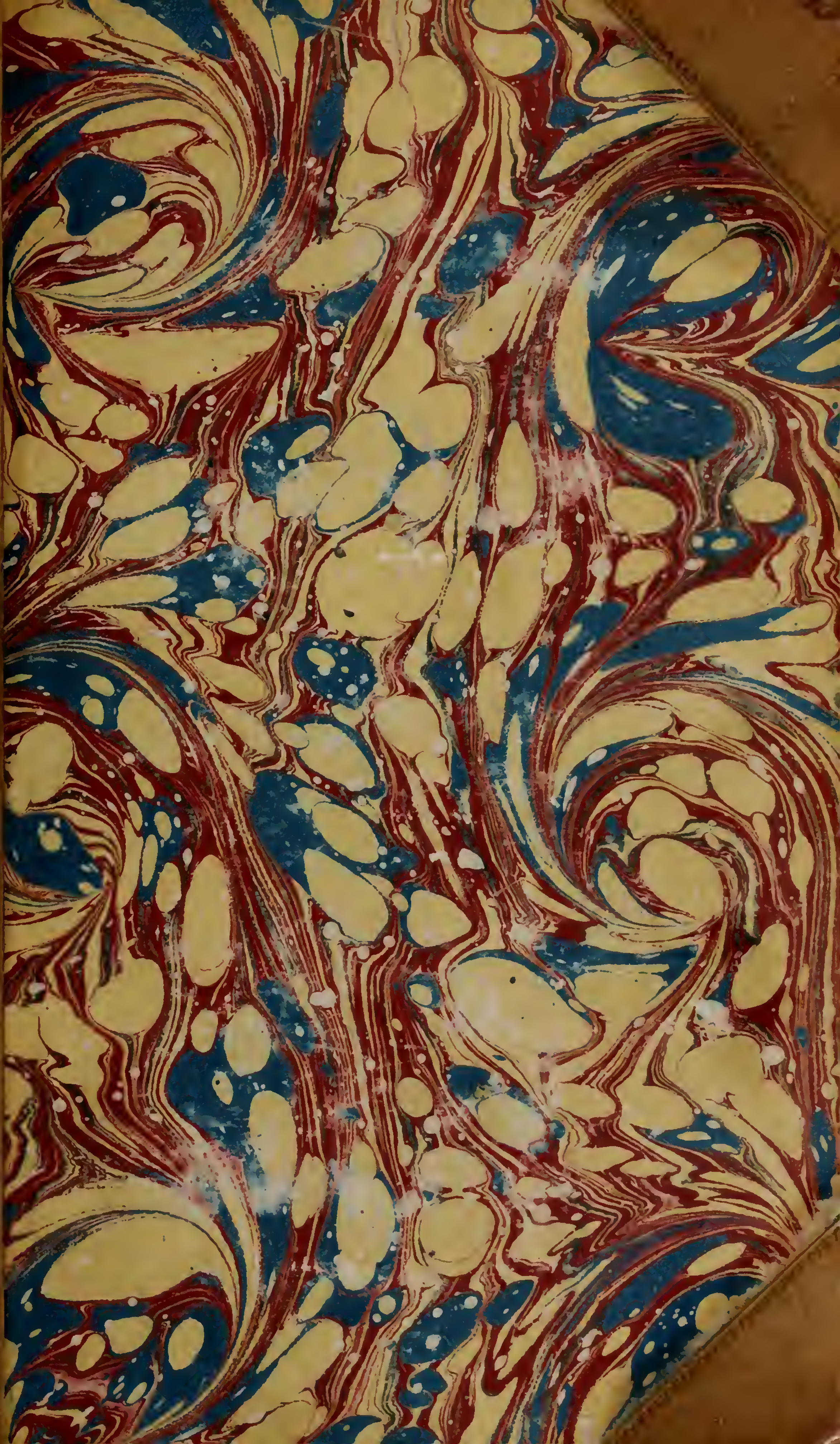

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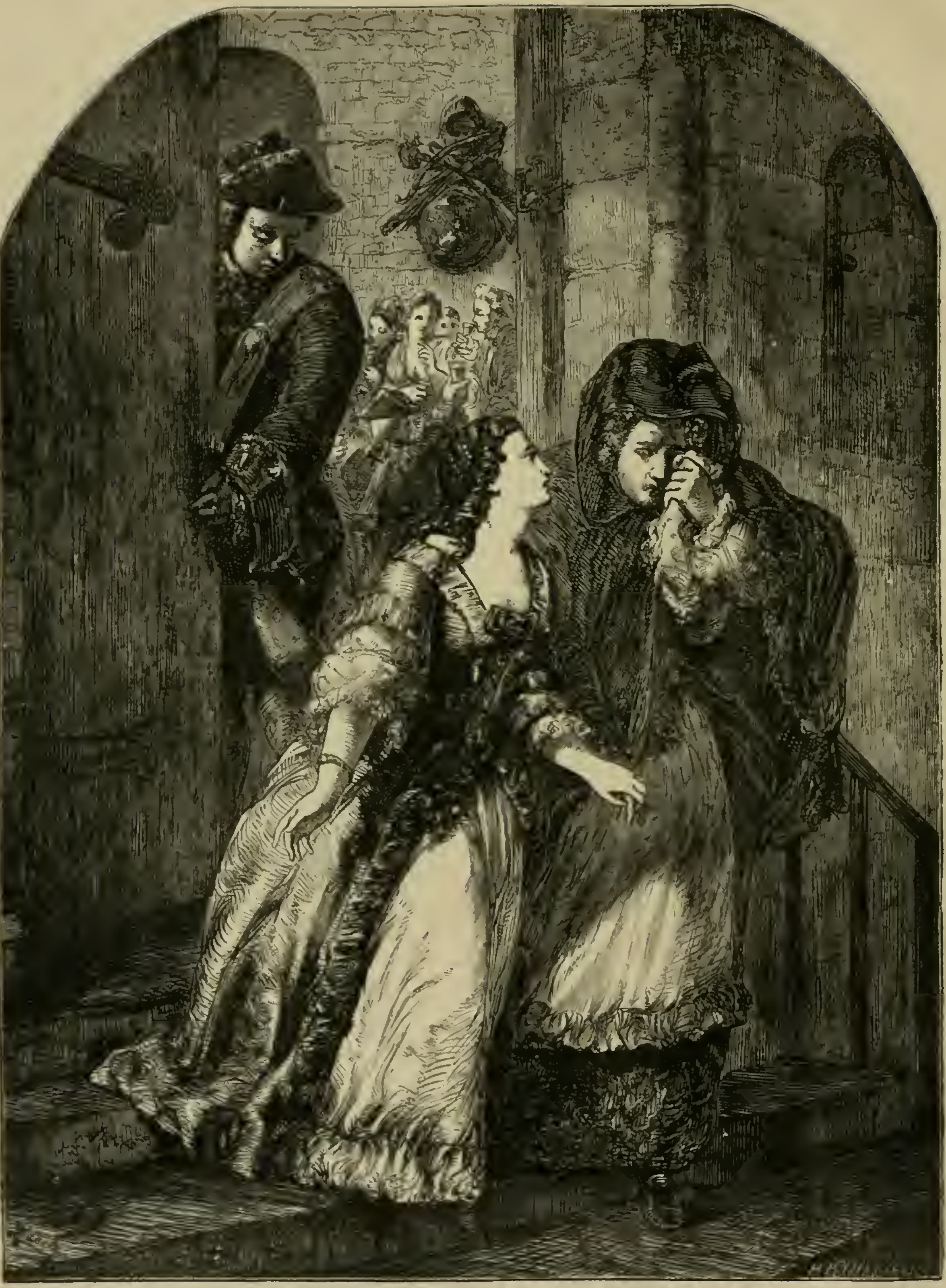


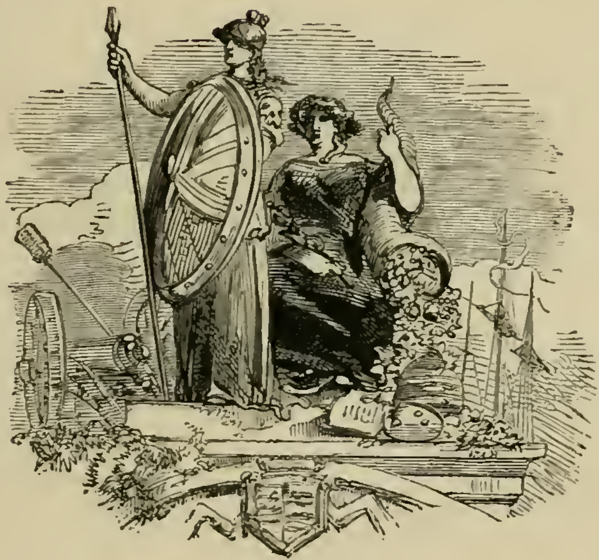
ESCAPE OF THE EARL OF NITHSDALE FROM THE TOWER.

CASSELL'S

ILLUSTRATED

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

New and Revised Edition.



VOLUME IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM III. TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE II.

LONDON:
CASSELL, PETTER, AND GALPIN,
LUDGATE HILL, E.C.;
AND 596, BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

CASSELL, PETTER, AND GALPIN,
BELLE SAUVAGE YARD, E.C.

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PREFACE.

OUR present Volume opens upon a new and brilliant phase of English History After a bloodless Revolution, a new dynasty, whose title to power is founded in the choice of the People, succeeds the arbitrary and senseless misgovernment of the House of Stuart. The vigorous attempts of the exiled Royal Family to regain their lost throne are, one after another, crushed out; and the Act of Settlement fixes the succession definitely in the House of Hanover. In the meantime England is rising to a foremost place among the nations of the earth. The successes of Marlborough throughout the wars in the Low Countries raise the military fame of the nation to a height never before attained; while in the arts of peace it is not less renowned. Newton astonishes the world by his exposition of the laws of Nature; Swift, Pope, Addison, Steele, and a host of others, inaugurate the Augustan age of our literature; and Walpole and Bolingbroke lay the foundations of modern statesmanship. As the history of the period advances, its interest becomes more and more intense. A few fortified outposts on the coast of India develop into a vast empire; and the spirit and bravery of a few commercial clerks establish our ascendancy in Asia. The times that follow these are the most momentous, the most gigantic in their developments, and thrilling in their interest, which the history of the whole world has to present. In the very beginning of our next volume opens up the great North American Revolution, by which this country lost a colony, and the world gained a great and independent nation;—a vast field of new existence, to which the oppressed and destitute of all lands could flee, and amalgamate and grow into a new and most interesting world.

Close on the skirts of the romantic and inspiriting transactions of the American War of Independence rises the sombre and sublime story of the French Revolution,—the most peculiar and awfully interesting of all human events. From the midst of this tragic convulsion rolls forth, like a torrent of burning lava from a blazing volcano, the great European War, convulsing all nations, overturning nearly all thrones, devastating almost the whole surface of Europe, and presenting to our astonished gaze the lurid career of the most surprising conqueror in the world's history. No romance can bear any comparison with the history of the rise, triumphs, and fall of Napoleon I. We can find no such wild extremes, no such moral for ambitious kings, as those expressed in Lord Byron's "Ode to Napoleon:"—

> "'Tis done—but yesterday a king!
>   And arm'd with kings to strive—
> And now thou art a nameless thing:
>   So abject—yet alive!
> Is this the man of thousand thrones,
> Who strew'd our earth with hostile bones,
>   And can he thus survive?
> Since he, miscall'd the Morning Star,
> Nor man nor fiend hath fallen so far.

* * * *

"Thanks for that lesson—it will teach
To after-warriors more
Than high Philosophy can preach,
And vainly preach'd before.
That spell upon the minds of men
Breaks, never to unite again,
That led them to adore
Those Pagod things of sabre sway,
With fronts of brass and feet of clay."

The conclusion of this marvellous drama of nations brings us into the very midst of our own times, and will close our next volume. It is obvious that as we come nearer to our own times, each successive year will require more ample space in our pages. Instead of the scanty records upon which we have hitherto had to rely, we are able to avail ourselves henceforth of the fullest and most authentic accounts of every occurrence we have to describe. Meantime, the area of our history is gradually widening. England, no longer isolated and self-contained, is playing a foremost part, and sustaining important interests in each quarter of the globe; by wars, by treaties, by commerce, mixing with and taking part in the transactions of every existing nation. Thus, in order to give a faithful idea of the history of this country, it will be necessary to give a sketch of nearly all contemporaneous events. The history of England is henceforth the history of the world.

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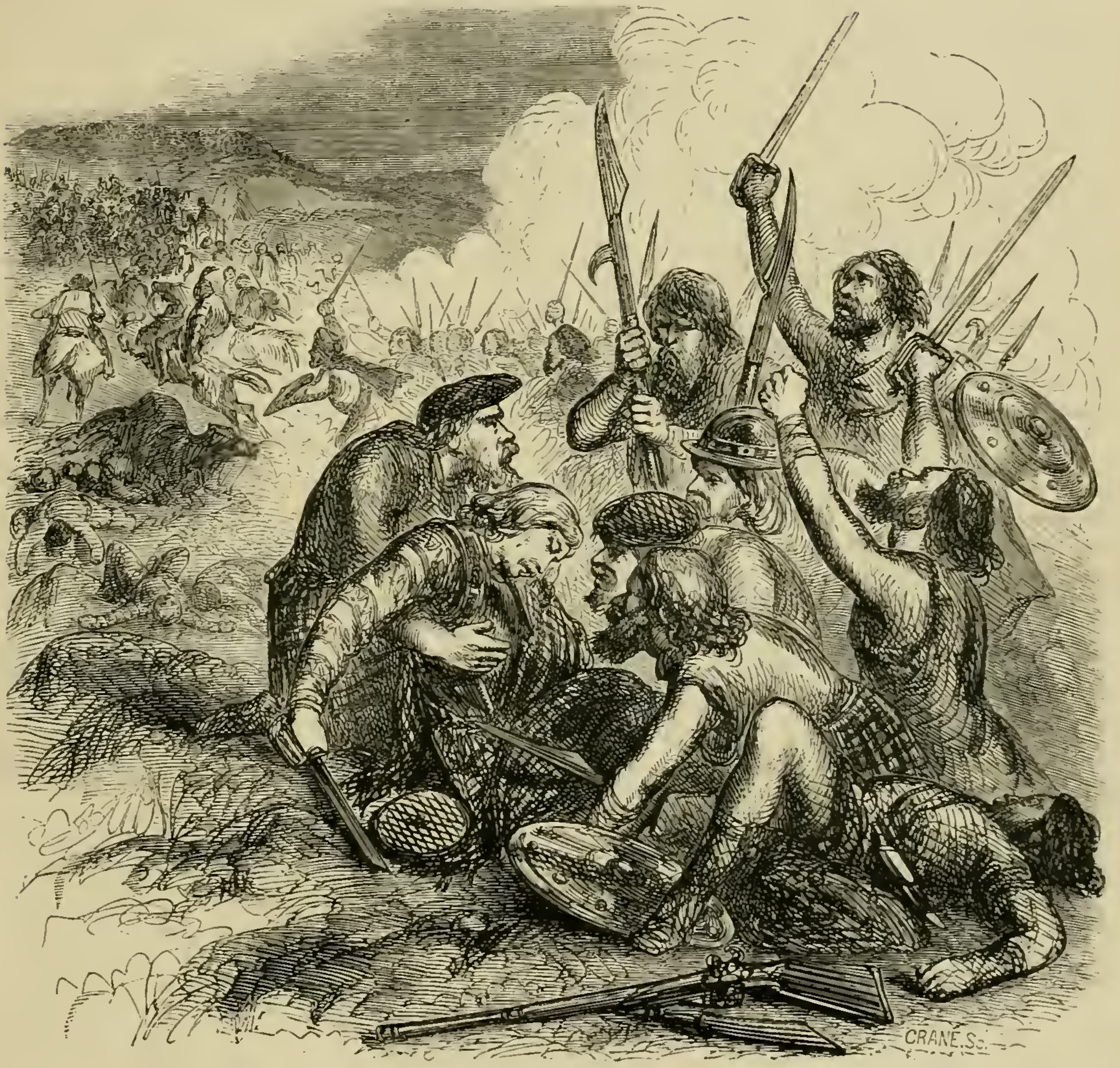
CASSELL'S
ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOLUME IV.



Death of Dundee.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

Accession of William and Mary conjointly to the Crown—Disaffection of the Tories—Appointment of Privy Council—Claims of the Dutch for the late Expedition—Repeal of the Hearth Tax—James II descends on Ireland—The Mutiny Bill—Relief of Dissenters—War declared against France—Rebellion in Scotland—Battle of Killiecrankie—Death of Dundee—Reception of James II in Dublin—Siege of Londonderry—Party Spirit of the Whigs and Tories—The Indemnity Bill—Revival of the Tory Interest—Bill brought in to declare William and Mary rightful and lawful Sovereigns of the Realm—William sets out for Ireland—Schomberg's Successes—The Irish Campaign—Battle of the Boyne—Rejoicing amongst the Protestants—Conclusion of the Irish Campaign—Resumé of Affairs in England—Return of William from Ireland—Marlborough and the War with France—Jacobite Plots.

William of Orange had now fully succeeded in his enterprise. By the resolution of the two houses of parliament on the 12th of February, 1689, he was admitted to hold the crown for his life in conjunction with his wife, who was not merely queen consort but queen regnant. They were declared to be elected to that office and dignity by the free choice of the nation. They could neither of them claim the crown by direct succession, for James was living, and protesting against the idea of his abdication. Mary could not claim by succession, even if James had abdicated; for, although there had been much endeavour to prove the infant son of James a supposititious child, it had not succeeded. There was no sufficient proof of the fact, but much evidence against it; and nobody now doubts that the infant who afterwards acquired the name of the pretender was the *real* son of James and the queen. Had the right of succession been admitted, neither William nor Mary could have succeeded; but this right was now, in fact, denied. The right for the subjects to elect their own monarchs was proclaimed by the bill of rights; and by that right and no other William and Mary sate on the English throne.

But splendid as was the position which William had achieved—that of the monarch of one of the very first kingdoms of the world, his throne was no bed of roses. The catholics and the tories still retained their old leaning towards James. True, many of the tories had been greatly embittered against James by his later measures, but now that he was deposed, and a monarch sate on the throne who had been notoriously brought in by the whigs, a strong reaction took place in them. They professed surprise at William assuming the sceptre; they pretended that they had expected from his declaration that he intended only to assist them in bringing James to reason, and in putting him under proper constitutional restraints. Numbers of them were already in full correspondence with the banished prince. The clergy were equally disaffected. They had resisted the attempts of James to bring in popery, but they had now got a presbyterian king, and were not very sanguine of his support of the hierarchy Moreover, they had been compelled to swallow their loud and long-continued vaunts of passive obedience, and now saw a monarch sitting on the throne who was placed there by the direct defeat of their grand principle, and who was therefore a standing monument of their humiliation.

The same feeling prevailed in the army. It had been powerful in numbers, but had done nothing to withstand a foreign prince at the head of foreign troops marching through the country, and placing himself on the throne. They had not been exactly defeated, because they had not come to a regular engagement; but they saw a foreign prince, supported by his foreign troops, presiding in the country; and, though not beaten, they felt humbled, and were now as near to mutiny as they had been ready to revolt under James. As for the whig party, which had invited and supported William, they were only eager for office and emolument. It was not patriotism in the bulk of them which animated them, but the triumph of their party; and they thought that nothing could ever pay them for the favour they had conferred on William. The accounts of those writers who were present and cognisant of their proceedings, represent them as clamorous for place, honour, and emolument, no one thinking that William could do enough for them, and every one ready to upbraid him for giving to others those posts which they thought they themselves were more entitled to.

Thus, though there was a great deal of outward rejoicing—the people shouting, the lord mayor and corporation, the speakers and maces of the two houses of parliament joining in the procession of the proclamation, followed by a long train of coaches containing noblemen and gentlemen of distinction, and crowds of whigs thronging the court at Whitehall—beneath the surface all was hollow, much was volcanic and dangerous, and nothing but the shrewd and cautious intellect of William could have enabled him to maintain his illustrious but most uneasy position.

His first public measure was to announce that all protestant subjects who were in office on the 1st of December last should retain their posts till further notice. On the 17th of February he published the list of his privy council, which contained men of almost all parties—Danby, Halifax, and even old Sancroft, the archbishop of Canterbury—in order to show the church that its interests would be protected. This and all other endeavours, however, failed to win over the high church prelate. The whole list was as follows:—The prince of Denmark, the princess Anne's husband, who had been one of the first to abandon James, and had thereby acquired the nickname of *Est-il possible*; the archbishop of Canterbury; the duke of Norfolk; the marquises of Halifax and Winchester; the earls of Danby, Lindsay, Devonshire, Dorset and Middlesex, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, and Nottingham; the viscounts Falconberg, Mordaunt, Newport, and Lumley; the bishop of London; the lords Wharton, Montague, Delamere, and Churchill; Messrs. Bentinck, Sidney, Powle, Russell, Hampden, and Boscawen; Sir Robert Howard, and Sir Henry Capel.

If some of the members of the council gazed at each other in astonishment to find themselves included in one body, still more was that the case with the ministry. Danby, though a tory, was made president of the council; but whilst this offended others, who remembered that he had opposed the idea of the throne being vacant though he had resisted the appointment of a regency, he himself was wofully disappointed in not receiving the white staff. But William neither now nor till the end of his reign entrusted the office of lord high treasurer to a single person, but put it in commission. On the other hand Halifax, who had not joined William's party till the last moment, received again the privy seal, and was continued speaker of the house of lords, to the great disgust of the whigs, who remembered how long he had deserted them, and how successfully he had opposed them on the question of the exclusion bill. To add to their chagrin, the earl of Nottingham was made secretary of state. Nottingham had been foremost amongst those who had maintained the doctrine of passive obedience; who had denied that the throne could for an instant become vacant; had declined to give up James or to call in William, but had also led that party in submitting to the decision of the convention in favour of William and Mary, on the ground that we are enjoined by the New Testament to be subject to the powers that be. The other secretary, the earl of Shrewsbury, was indeed a whig, and in the highest favour with that party. He had been foremost in calling in William; but then he was a mere youth, only eight-and-twenty years of age. Admiral Herbert expected to be appointed lord high admiral, and to have the entire control of the admiralty; but he had the mortification to see a number of others placed at the board of admiralty to share his authority, though he bore nominally the name of first lord of it. Churchill expected to be made master of the ordnance for his treason to James; but William had too certain evidence that he was at this very moment a traitor to himself; was in correspondence with the court of St. Germain's, and believed that he would be one of the first to run if any future success warranted a hope of James's restoration. He was therefore appointed only to a post in the household, along with Devonshire, Mordaunt, Oxford, Dorset, Lovelace, and others; whilst the gallant foreigner Schomberg was made master of the ordnance.

The admiralty, the treasury, and the great seal were all put into commission; which, though this enabled the king to distribute his favours to a greater number of his adherents, yet it disquieted internally the chief leaders, who hoped for the influence and emolument of those offices individually in their own hands. At the head of the commissioners of the great seal was placed the sound old lawyer Sir John Maynard.

Whilst the leaders, therefore, were deeply disappointed, all aspirants to favour were extremely jealous of the three staunch Dutch adherents of William, Bentinck, Auverquerque, and Zuleystein, whom William kept about him with a very natural feeling, for they had been faithful to him through all his arduous struggles in his own country, and were now, indeed, almost the only men in whom he could put implicit confidence. The main thing in which Danby, Halifax, Nottingham, and Shrewsbury agreed was in complaining that William did not make them his confidants, but preferred the secret advice of Bentinck, whom he soon made earl of Portland, and the counsel of Sidney, whom he created lord Sidney. William had but too much cause for keeping the knowledge of his thoughts and intentions from those around him, for many amongst his privy councillors and chief ministers would have betrayed them at once to the exiled monarch. Danby had been heard to say, even after James had quitted England, that if he would only abandon his priests, he might come back again; and others besides Churchill were in regular traitorous correspondence with James's court. With all William's caution, not a thing was discussed in his council but was immediately transmitted to St. Germain's.

To his trusty countrymen already mentioned William gave profitable offices near his person. His great friend Bentinck was made groom of the stole, with five thousand pounds a year; Auverquerque, master of the horse; and Zuleystein had charge of the robes. The earl of Devonshire, perhaps the most disinterested man in the whole party, was made lord steward; Dorset, lord chamberlain; Mordaunt was placed at the head of the treasury; Delamere was chancellor of the exchequer, and also sat at the treasury board with Godolphin, Sir Henry Capel, and Richard Hampden. The new judges were Pollexfen, chief justice of the common pleas; Sir John Holt, chief justice of the King's Bench; Sir Robert Atkins, chief baron, Powell, who had been dismissed for his upright conduct in the trial of the bishops, was restored to the bench; Treby was attorney-general, and Somers solicitor-general.

These arrangements being made, on the 18th of February William, for the first time, addressed the two houses of parliament. It is remarkable that the very first subject which he introduced to them was a demand for liberal supplies to carry on the war on the continent—a topic which never ceased to be heard in our parliaments from the moment that a foreign king became seated on the throne till the conclusion of the great war of the French revolution. One of the most serious inconveniences of the rule of a continental dynasty in the country has since then till our own time been the mingling up of ourselves with the questions of continental politics, and the accumulation of the enormous debt with which this country is now burthened. The national debt of England at the moment of William's ascent of the English throne was merely nominal, consisting chiefly of the sum unpaid by Charles I. to the London merchants, when he so fraudulently closed the exchequer in 1672; but, by our present entanglement with the affairs of Holland, and afterwards with Hanover, after the accession of the house of Hanover, it continued to grow till our habit of meddling on the continent beame confirmed, and reached its climax in the contest with Buonaparte, with a burden of eight hundred millions of our money.

This amongst all the alleged mischiefs of William's accession was the real and cardinal mischief. It is true that the ambition of Louis XIV. demanded a check, and the nation was in a temper to afford the means for it; but had not William of Orange been also king of England, we should have contented ourselves with assailing France from our proper element, the ocean, and should have escaped the costly habit of becoming a party to every continental quarrel. William's great argument was the protestant interest both here and abroad—a very paramount interest, which could now be very conveniently prosecuted with English money and English arms. This was one of the chief adjuncts of William's ambition to reach the throne of England. His whole life had been spent in the unequal contest with Louis of France, and he now trusted to cope effectually with him through English money and English valour. His heart lay in this object far more than in the glory of ruling the English people—amongst whom he was always a stranger, from whom he was constantly receiving troubles and annoyances, which nothing would have taught him to endure but his darling scheme of repressing and punishing the unprincipled aggressions of the Grande Monarque.

William reminded them, too, that their domestic affairs would demand serious attention, and especially the condition of Ireland, where a strong feeling was known to exist for the fallen dynasty, through the interests of the catholic religion. He exhorted them moreover to take immediate measures for securing the despatch of business. This alluded to the settlement of the great question, whether the convention could continue to sit legally after the deposition of the monarch who had called it. The question had been debated in the council, and now, on the king's retiring, the lords immediately laid on the table of the house a bill declaring the convention a valid parliament. It was speedily carried and sent down to the commons; but there it excited a warm debate. The whigs were vociferous for it; the tories, who believed that the calling of a new parliament would be in their favour, were as vehemently against it. The depositions of Edward II. and Richard II. were referred to and strongly argued upon: but the case in point was the convention which recalled Charles II., and continued to sit and act long after. Sir John Maynard moreover contended that, as they were like men who found themselves in a trackless desert, it was not for them to stand crying, Where is the king's highway? but to take the track that would lead them out of it. That track was the precedent of

Charles II.'s reign. The house passed the bill without a division, and it received the royal assent on the tenth day after the accession.

A clause in this bill provided that, after the 1st of March, no person could sit or vote in either house until he had taken the new oath of allegiance to their majesties. Great excitement was occasioned by this oath. It was hoped by the tories and high church there would be found a sufficient number of persons of influence who would refuse the oath, so as to render the seat of the new monarchs unstable, and open the way to the return of James. Care was taken to consult the prejudices of the adherents to the old notions of right divine as much as possible, and the words "rightful and lawful sovereigns," after much deliberation, were omitted; but this did not prevent many refusing it. As the day approached for taking the oath, the capital was full of rumours. It was said that the duke of Grafton had escaped to France in order to reconcile himself to his uncle; and numerous other persons were supposed to have followed his example. When the day arrived, however, Grafton was one of the first to present himself; and the number of the lords who declined it, amongst them the earls of Clarendon, Lichfield, and Exeter, with the archbishop of Canterbury, and some of the bishops, was small. Of the bishops, five were of those who refused to obey the commands of James to publish his indulgence, and had been sent to the Tower. Rochester, the brother of Clarendon, was expected to refuse the oath, as he had adhered to James after Clarendon had abandoned him; but Clarendon's income was secure from his estate. Rochester had a pension of four thousand pounds a year, which he would lose if he refused the oath—a strong argument, which seems to have proved convincing, for he took the oath. Four hundred of the lower house had taken the oath on the 2nd of March, and amongst them Seymour, who had led the tory opposition; but when the oath was extended to the clergy and other individuals in office, above four hundred of the clergy, including some of the most distinguished dignitaries, refused it; and thus began the great schism of the non-jurors, who long continued to figure as the unswerving advocates of the right divine.

The next great question was that of the revenue. The parliaments of Charles and James had been exceedingly munificent in their grants of income. In the heat of their loyalty on the restoration, the commons forgot all the salutary fears of their predecessors, and gave up every point for which they had contended with Charles I. Tonnage and poundage were granted for life, and afterwards confirmed to James. They settled on these monarchs half of the excise in perpetuity, and half for life. The fixed revenue of Charles and James had been one million two hundred thousand pounds, but the actual revenue had been a great deal more. It was now found by examination of the accounts that James had been in the annual receipt of no less than two millions, of which ninety thousand pounds had been expended in secret service money. William had, since arriving at Whitehall, been in the habit of collecting and applying this magnificent revenue as chief of the state; and seemed to expect that it would be now settled on him. The first question discussed was, whether an income granted to a monarch for life could be received legally by his successor in case of his abdication so long as he lived. Many of the chief lawyers contended that he could; that the revenue was granted to the monarch in his political capacity, and not to the man, and that, therefore, the prince who came to discharge his official duties so long as he lived was rightfully in receipt of it. But the more common-sense opinion prevailed, that the prince who superseded another by the call of the nation must receive all his rights as well as his call from the nation. The house therefore passed to the question of the amount of the revenue, and they did not appear very much disposed to use the same lavish folly towards William as they had done towards the late monarchs. Instead of granting him a life revenue, they granted him one million two hundred thousand pounds, the sum allowed to Charles II., but only for three years, one half of which was to be appropriated to the civil list, the other half to the public defences. William was sensibly chagrined by this caution, and complained much of want of confidence in him, and of unusual parsimony. He presented a claim of seven hundred thousand pounds from the Dutch, the cost of the expedition which had placed him on the throne. If the commons had wholly refused this "little account" from the Dutch, it could not have been much wondered at; for when men attempt a great and profitable enterprise, it is only reasonable that they should pay for it. Had it failed the Dutch could have made no claim on England; and, because it had succeeded, could that be truly said to have established a right to repayment? The act was voluntary, and the result was likely to be especially beneficial in the increased trade with England, and the defences of their swamps by Englishmen and English money. Just as well might England have presented a bill for the far greater sums sent afterwards to Holland in defence of Holland. The commons, however, consented to pay six hundred thousand pounds, and William received the sum for his careful countrymen with a very ill grace. The commons did not the less displease him by reducing his demand for the navy from one million one hundred thousand pounds to seven hundred thousand pounds, and by granting the supply for the army for only six months; Sir Edward Seymour all the time warning them that it was the foolish liberality of Charles II.'s parliament which enabled him to enslave the nation as he had done.

One thing which did William great credit, however, was the recommendation to the commons to abolish the abominable hearth-tax. As he had advanced from Torbay to London, the people had importuned him on all sides to set aside this detestable tax, which had been farmed out to rapacious collectors, who treated the people with every species of insult, cruelty, and violence in enforcing payment of it. It was a most unequal tax, which fell with disproportionate weight on the very poor; for as it was levied, not by the value of the property, but by the number of chimneys, the peasant in many cases paid nearly as much as a man of really great substance; and where the money was not ready when called for, the tax-gatherers forced open even bedrooms, and sold the very bed from beneath the sick, and the table at which the family sat. William was much impressed by its injustice, and, at his special desire, the act was repealed.

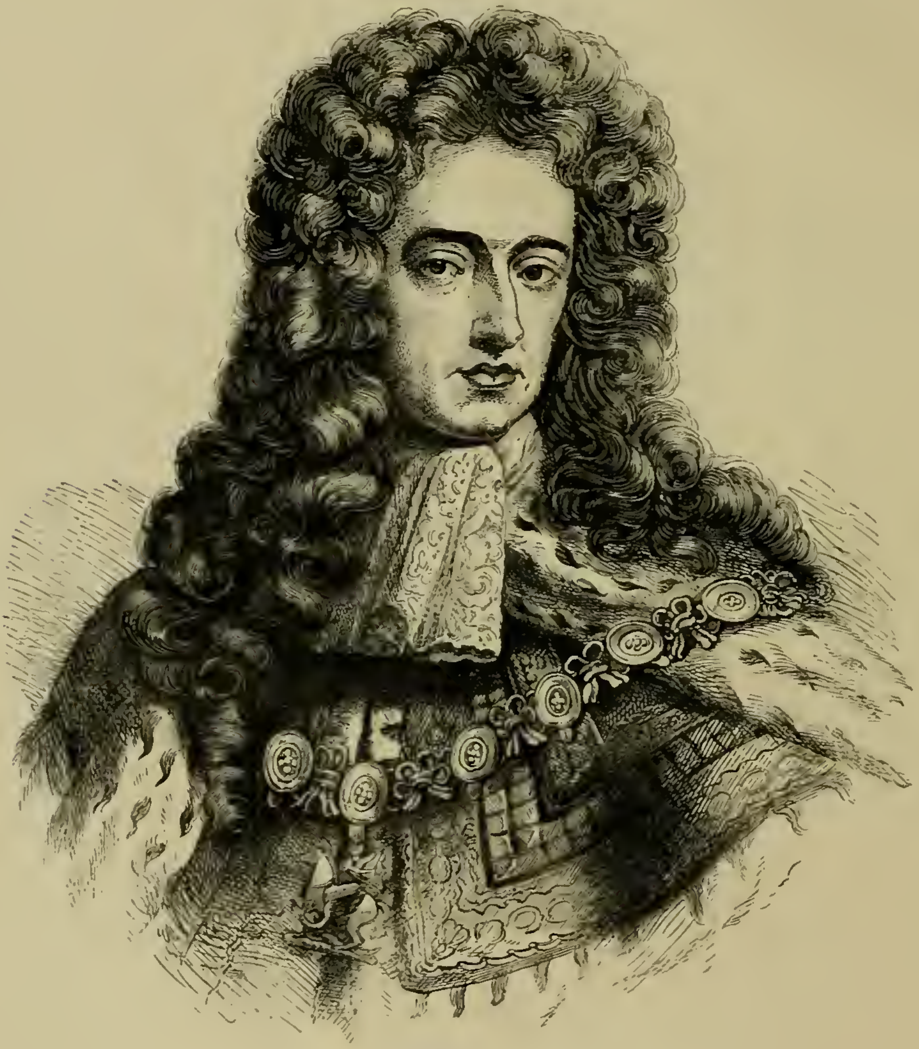
Whilst in the midst of the money debates, a circumstance occurred which materially hastened the decision, and no doubt increased the liberality of the commons. William announced to them that James had sailed from Brest, with an armament, for Ireland. At the same time a regiment of Scotch soldiers, whom William had ordered to be embarked at Harwich for the Netherlands, refused to go. They declared that William was king of England, but not yet of Scotland; that they had taken an oath to James as their own monarch, James VII. of Scotland, and were not to be ordered out by a foreign king to fight his wars abroad. Officers and men broke into open mutiny at Ipswich, and resolved to march off into their own country. At this alarming news several regiments of horse and foot were dispatched, under the command of Ginckell, to intercept and, if necessary, to attack and destroy the mutineers. Before he could come up with them they had reached the fens of Lincolnshire near Sleaford, and had drawn up in a posture of defence; but the sight of the overwhelming force brought them to an unconditional surrender, and they were shipped off to the continent without further hesitation.

But the alarm of James's descent on Ireland, and the disaffection in the army, roused the commons from their tone of caution. They passed resolutions of patriotic devotion to the crown, and in an address assured William that their lives and fortunes were at his service in its defence. They went further, and rushed into an extreme which brought additional unpopularity on William's government, and furnished a facile handle to subsequent ones to infringe the liberties of the subject. As there were great numbers of political persons in custody—persons openly disaffected to the present dynasty having been prudently secured during the progress of the revolution—now that the revolution was completed, and authorised judges were once more on the bench, it was feared that these prisoners would demand their *habeas corpus*, and come forth at the very moment when all the adherents of James were on the alert to watch the effect of his reception in Ireland. The commons, therefore, passed an act to suspend the *habeas corpus* act for the present. This was the first time that such a suspension had taken place, and it called forth the more violent remark. Was this the act, it was asked, of a government which pretended to have freed us from tyrants who disregarded the safeguards of personal liberty? What had James done worse? He had not suspended this palladium of freedom for a single day; his brother Charles had passed the act itself.

But simultaneously the commons were passing another act of scarcely less significance. Hitherto there had been no military power of controlling and punishing soldiers or officers who offended against discipline or their oath. They were subject only to the civil tribunals, and must be brought there, and tried and punished as any other subjects. James had obtained from his servile judges a decision that he might punish any deserter from his standard summarily; but this was not law, and the commons, now alarmed at the affair of Ipswich, passed an act called the Mutiny Bill, by which any military offenders might be arrested by military authority, and tried and condemned by court-martial in perfect independence of the civil authority. This bill, which passed without a single dissentient vote, was in itself perhaps the greatest stretch of parliamentary authority which had ever been made, except in the very contest with Charles I. It at once converted the soldiers into a separate class, and in effect founded what all parties disclaimed and affected to dread—a standing army. Like the act for the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, it was only for a limited period; but the unsettled state of the kingdom at the moment of its expiration caused it to be renewed, and it became a permanent institution, though to this day we annually go through the ceremony of formally renewing the mutiny bill.

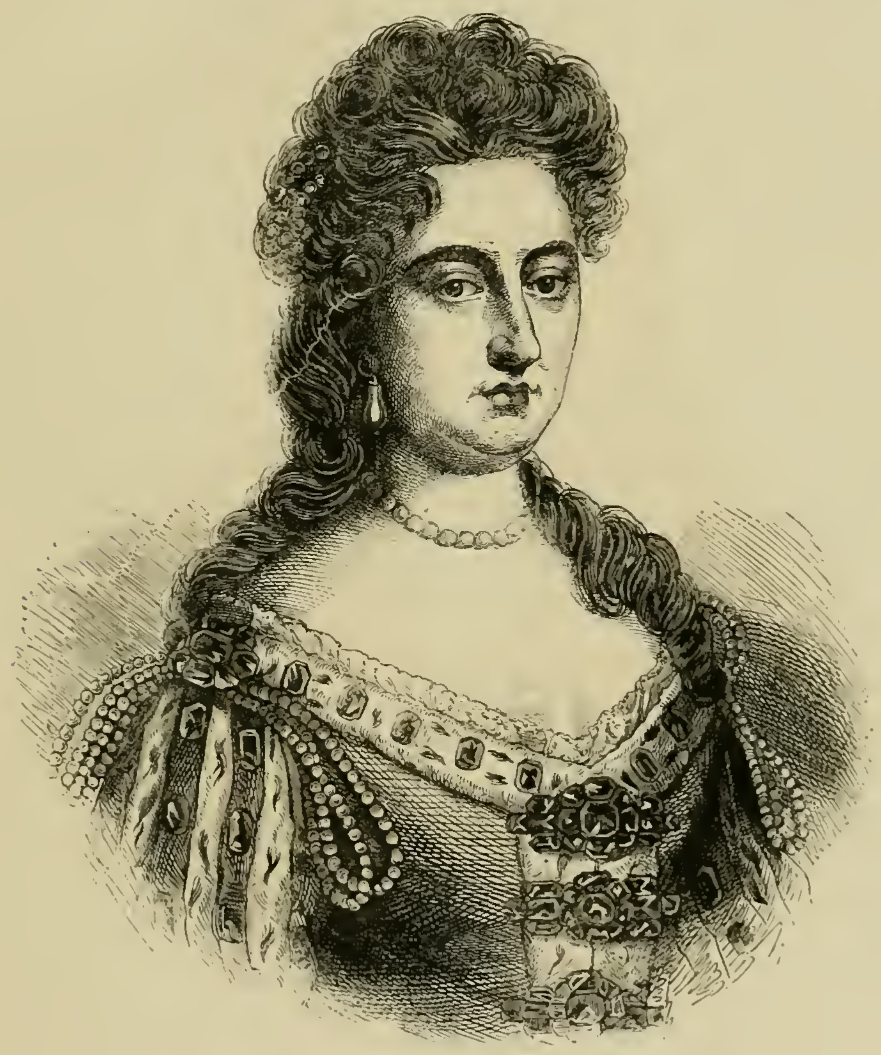
The passing these extraordinary measures excited the alarm of many even well disposed to the revolution; but to the adherents of the Stuart dynasty they afforded the opportunity for the most vehement declamations against the new monarch. "What!" they said, "have we denounced king James as a tyrant only to bring in a man under the guise of a deliverer, who, within ten weeks of his accession, has destroyed bulwarks of personal freedom which the discarded family, in their most arbitrary moments, never once dared to touch?" The person, the manners, the spirit and intentions of William were severely criticised. He was undeniably of a still, close, and gloomy temperament, and found it impossible to assume that gaiety and affability of demeanour which to Charles II. were natural. He had the manners and the accent of a foreigner, and chilled all those who approached him at court by his cold and laconic manners. In fact, he knew that he was surrounded by traitors, and could unbend only in the company of his Dutch favourites. He became extremely unpopular, and not all the endeavours and the agreeable and cordial manners of the queen could prevent the serious effect of his own reserved temper. At the same time more was truly to be attributed to the force of circumstances than to any bias of William towards tyranny. In one direction William was anxious to extend the liberties of the nation. He was for establishing the utmost freedom of religious opinion. He would have abolished the test act, and granted free enjoyment of all Christian creeds, and of office to members of all denominations; but though there was no fear of a leaning to popery in him, he found himself stoutly opposed in these intentions by his subjects. The church was split into high church and low church, jurors and non-jurors; but every party in the church, and almost every body of dissenters, were averse to conceding any liberty of creed or capability of office to the catholics. Again, the church was bent against admission of any one to office who refused to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles, and to take the oaths, not only of allegiance but of supremacy. Under these circumstances William found it impossible to set aside the test act or the corporation act; but he brought in and passed the celebrated toleration act. Yet even this act, from which we still date our enjoyment of religious liberty, was far more circumscribed than what it is now, owing to successive improvements. It did not repeal the obnoxious act of uniformity, the five-mile act, the conventicle act, and those other statutes which so harassed and oppressed the dissenters; but it exempted them from their operation on certain conditions. They must subscribe thirty-four out of the thirty-nine articles, which most of them could do; the baptists were excused from professing belief in the efficacy of infant baptism; and the quakers from taking an oath if they professed a general belief in Christianity, promised fidelity to the government, and made a declaration against transubstantiation. This act, therefore, cautious and meagre as it appeared, gave a freedom to the dissenting world which it had hitherto been destitute of.

William made a resolute effort also to heal the great schism of the church, and admit, by a comprehensive bill, the main body of nonconformists. By this bill as first passed. it was proposed to excuse all ministers of the established church from the necessity of subscribing the thirty-nine articles; they were only to make this declaration:—"I do approve of the doctrine, and worship, and government of the church of England by law established, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and I promise in the exercise of my ministry to preach and practise according thereunto." The same looseness of declaration was extended to the two universities. Presbyterian ministers could be admitted to the pulpits and livings of the church by accepting from a bishop a simple command to preach, administer the sacraments, and perform all the ministerial offices of the church. Except in a few churches, the clergyman might wear the surplice or not, as he pleased; might omit the sign of the cross in baptism; might christen children with or without godfathers and godmothers; might administer the sacrament to persons sitting or kneeling, as they pleased. Besides this it proposed a commission to revise the liturgy, the canons, and the constitution of the ecclesiastical courts. But it was soon found that no such sweeping changes could be effected. There was no determined opposition to the revision of the liturgy, but the danger to the rites and ceremonies on which the high church laid so much stress soon called forth a powerful resistance. It was represented that all manner of anomalous and contradictory practices would soon rend to pieces the harmony and decorum of the church. The presbyterian and the puritan would set at defiance the most honoured practices of the establishment. The dissenting body were as much



William III.

alarmed as the high church. This wide door of admission to the church, it was feared, would draw away a whole host of their ministers and members; and, as the test act was by no means to be removed, they would thus become additionally unable to contend for its future abolition. The bill, after much discussion and many modifications, fell to the ground.


Mary II.

The next attempt was to modify the oaths of allegiance and supremacy so as to accommodate the consciences of the non-jurors; but it was finally agreed that all persons holding ecclesiastical or academical preferment who did not take the oaths before the 1st of August should be suspended, a pecuniary allowance to the deprived in some cases to be at the option of the king, but not to exceed one-third of the income forfeited. This was followed by the passing a new coronation oath, by which their majesties bound themselves to maintain the protestant religion as established by law, and the coronation took place on the 11th of April. The ceremony went off well. Mary, being a queen regnant, was inaugurated with precisely the same ceremonies as the king; she was lifted into the throne, girt with the sword, and presented with the Bible, the orb, and the spear. Burnet, who had exerted himself most laudably, as bishop of Salisbury, to introduce the proposed relief to the nonconformists, preached the coronation sermon with much eloquence and manly dignity. London was all alive with rockets, bonfires, firing of guns, and general rejoicing; but much offence was given by Dutch guards having been selected to do duty on the occasion. Old Sancroft, the primate, did not condescend to crown the new monarchs; but Compton, bishop of London, officiated in his absence, assisted by the bishops of St. Asaph and Rochester. Honours and promotions were liberally dispensed by the sovereigns after the ceremony. Three vacant garters were conferred on Ormond, Devonshire, and Schomberg; the prince of Denmark was made duke of Cumberland; Danby, marquis of Caermarthen; Churchill, earl of Marlborough; Bentinck, earl of Portland; and Mordaunt, earl of Monmouth—the latter not without much dissatisfaction on the part of the admirers of the late duke of that title, who hoped that the title would be extended to his son, the earl of Dalkeith.

These domestic matters being thus settled, war was declared against France on the 13th of May. The inhuman desolation of the palatinate in the preceding winter, where Louis's general, Duras, had laid waste the whole country, burned down the towns, leaving the whole of that fertile and populous district one black and terrible desert, had roused all the powers of Europe against him. The wretched population had been compelled to flee from their homes in frost and snow—thousands of them to perish by the hands of the brutal soldiery, thousands to die of cold and hunger. Heidelberg had been once more destroyed, its beautiful castle blown up partly with gunpowder, and partly left a naked ruin; Manheim and Speir equally ravaged; the noble cathedral of the latter place ransacked, the tombs of the emperors destroyed, and their skulls used as bowls by the soldiery in mockery of play. Germany, Spain, Holland, and England all prepared for vengeance, and the people and parliament of England were equally loud in denunciation of the worthless desolator.

Whilst these affairs had been progressing in England, Scotland had been equally active. The Scotch had even more profound cause of hatred to James, and more hope of effectual relief from William than the English. In England the church had managed to maintain its ascendancy, and the fierceness of persecution had been somewhat restrained. There the iron boot and thumbscrews, and the fury of tory troopers, had not perpetrated the horrors that they had done north of the Tweed. The Scotch had had the hateful yoke of episcopacy forced on them, their church completely put down, and their liberties in a variety of ways crushed by the authorised licence of James's delegated ministers.

No sooner, therefore, had James fled than the suppressed feeling of the people burst forth. At Edinburgh crowds assembled, took down the heads of the slaughtered whigs from the gates, and committed them in solemn ceremony to the earth. The episcopal clergy were set upon in many parts of Scotland, especially in the west, where the covenanters prevailed, and where they had suffered so much from the emissaries of the church. The covenanters now chased them away from their manses, ransacked them, turned their wives and children out, broke all the furniture, or set fire to it. They tore the gown from the back of the clergyman if they could catch him, destroyed all the prayer-books they could find, locked up the church, and warned ministers not to be found there again Two hundred clergymen were thus forcibly ejected. Christmas day was selected for the commencement of this summary process, to mark their abhorrence of such superstitious festivals. As amid this violence many began to plunder, the presbyterian ministers and elders assembled, and resolved that in future every incumbent of a parish should have due notice served on him to quit his parsonage peaceably, to avoid the necessity of being driven out by force.

The bishops and dignitaries made an instant appeal to William for protection, and a proclamation was issued—for William had no military force in Scotland—ordering the people to desist from further violence towards the clergy till the parliament should determine the form of the establishment. But so little regard was paid to it, that on the same day that it was published at Glasgow, the mob rushed to the cathedral, and drove out the congregation with sticks and stones.

On the 14th of March the Scottish convention of estates met. By the able management of Sir James Dalrymple of Stair—afterwards lord Stair—and his son, Sir John Dalrymple, who was an able debater, it was so managed that chiefly whigs were returned. Sir James was a man of great legal learning and consummate talent, though of doubtful character, who had been deprived of his position as a privy councillor and chief lord of the court of session, and had gone over to Holland, and was William's main adviser as to Scottish affairs. His son, Sir John, longer continued to side with the Stuarts, and was made lord advocate, but at the revolution he appeared in the other party, and was supposed to have been for some time in effect pledged to William's cause in secret through his father. He had at once declared for William on his landing, and exerted himself zealously for his interests in Scotland.

With the Dalrymples was associated George lord Melville, who had also been for some time with William in Holland. On the other hand the celebrated Graham of Claverhouse, viscount Dundee, and Colin Lindsay, earl of Balcarras, were the chief agents of James in Scotland. These two chiefs had pretended to go over to William, or at least to acquiesce in the change of dynasty; had waited on him on his arrival at Whitehall, and were well received by him. William was strongly urged to arrest these noblemen, as too deeply implicated in the tyrannies of James and the murder of the covenanters ever to be allowed to mingle with the new order of things; but William would not listen to it, determining to give every one a fair trial of at least living peaceably. So far did they promise this, that William granted them an escort of cavalry on their return to Scotland, without which they would not have been allowed by the covenanters to reach Edinburgh alive. The name of Claverhouse was especially a horror in every Scottish home in the lowlands, where it was abhorred for his terrible cruelties towards the presbyterian population.

No sooner did they reach Edinburgh than they set to work with all possible activity to assist the interests of James in the convention and the country. The duke of Gordon, who still held the castle for James, was on the point of surrendering it when they arrived; but they exhorted him to hold out, and called upon all the royalists who were elected at the convention to take their places and defend the absent king's interests. When the estates met, the earl of Argyll, who had been proscribed by James, took his seat amid the murmurs of the Jacobites, who declared that as a person under legal attainder, he was incapable of performing any office in the state. This was, however, overruled by the majority. Melville, who had been living abroad too, and had reappeared with William, presented himself, but without any opposition. The duke of Hamilton was put in nomination by the whigs for the presidency of the convention, and the duke of Athol by the Jacobites. Neither of them were men whose conduct in the late reign was entitled to respect. Hamilton had adhered to James to the last, and had acquiesced in many invasions of the laws and liberties of Scotland; Athol had not only been a violent partisan of James, but had fawned on William immediately on his arrival, and, being coldly received, had wheeled round again. Hamilton was chosen president; and the moment that was discovered twenty of the Jacobites instantly went over to the stronger side. It was a striking fact that in Scotland, whilst the great body of the people had stood to the death for their principles, the nobility had become so corrupt through compliance with the corrupt court, and in eagerness for office, that public principle was at the lowest ebb amongst them.

The convention having thus organised itself, sent a deputation to the duke of Gordon, demanding the surrender of the castle, as its cannon might at any moment knock in the roof of the parliament house, and drive thence the convention. Gordon requested twenty-four hours to consider the proposition; but Dundee and Balcarras again succeeded in inducing him to hold out. The convention determined to try the force of arms. They summoned the castle to surrender in due form, and pronounced the penalties of high treason on all who dared to occupy it in defiance of the estates. They called out a guard to stop all communication with the castle, and made preparations for a regular siege of the fortress. The next day a messenger arrived from king James with a letter, which, on being read, was found to be a furious denunciation of the convention, and of every one who had shown a willingness to receive William. At the same time it offered pardon to all traitors who should return to their duty in a fortnight, with the alternative, if they refused, of the utmost vengeance of the crown. There was no regret for any past acts which might have tended to alienate his subjects, no promises of future redress. The very friends of the king, whom nothing could alter or improve, were astonished and dispirited, and they stole away out of the convention, pursued through the streets by the groans and curses of the crowd. At the same time a letter was read from William, modest and liberal, trusting to the result of the free deliberations of the estates. James, as was always the case with him, had done incalculable service to the cause of his rival His most bigoted adherents could not avoid seeing that, were he restored to the throne, he would only continue to pursue the blind and foolish course which had already driven him from it. What added to the disgust of all parties was, that the letter was countersigned by Melfort, James's secretary of state—a furious papist and apostate from protestantism, and nearly equally abhorred by both protestants and catholics.

The royalists, thus hopeless of effecting anything in the convention, and yet unwilling to yield up the cause, adopted the advice of Dundee and Balcarras, who had the authority of James to open a rival convention at Stirling. Athol consented to go with them; but on Monday, the 18th, he showed a fear of so far committing himself, and requested the party to wait for him another day. But the case of Dundee did not admit even a day's delay. The covenanters of the west, whom Hamilton and the Dalrymples had summoned to Edinburgh, and who for some time had come dropping in in small parties, till all the cellars and wynds of the city were thronged with them, vowed to kill the hated persecutor; and he made haste to flee, accompanied by his dare-devil followers, all as well-known to and as detested by the covenanters as himself for their atrocities in the west. Whilst the convention was in deliberation, sentinels from the castle hurried in to say that Claverhouse had galloped up to the foot of the fortress on the road to Stirling, accompanied by a detachment of his horsemen, and that he had climbed up the precipice high enough to hold a conversation with Gordon.

At this news the convention was thrown into a tumult of indignation. Hamilton ordered the doors to be locked, and the keys laid on the table, so that no one should go out but such persons as should be sent by the assembly to call the citizens to arms. By this means all such royalists as were in became prisoners till such time as the citizens were in arms. Lord Leven, the second son of lord Melville, who inherited the title of old general Leslie in right of his mother, was sent to call the covenanters to arms; and presently the streets were thronged with the men of the west in rude military array, sufficient to insure the safety of the estates. As the drums beat to arms, Dundee descended from the rock, mounted, and, waving his cap, with the cry that he went to where the spirit of Montrose called him, galloped away towards Stirling

The convention now proceeded with their business. They sent a letter of thanks to William, which the bishops to a man refused to sign; the bishop of Edinburgh having, as chaplain, before prayed for the return of James. William has been said to have privately wished that episcopacy might be established in Scotland; but such specimens of the prelatic spirit there must, if so, have gone far to extinguish that desire. Other symptoms of opposition were not wanting, even yet The duke of Queensberry arrived from London, and revived the spirits of the Jacobites. Again they urged the duke of Gordon to fire on the city, but he refused; and the chance of resistance was now taken away by the timely arrival of general Mackay with the three regiments of Scotch who had served under William in Holland. The convention immediately appointed Mackay general of their forces; and, thus placed at their ease, they proceeded to settle the government. They appointed a committee, after the manner of the lords of the articles, to draw up the plan which should be adopted. As a last means of postponing this business, a proposal was made by the Jacobites to join with the whigs to concert a scheme of union of the kingdom with England. This was a scheme which was now growingly popular. During the commonwealth the trade of England had been opened to Scotland. All custom-houses, and levying of duties on goods imported or exported between the countries, had been removed. The Scotch had been admitted to perfect freedom of foreign trade with England, and the benefit had become too apparent to be lightly relinquished. But, on the restoration, all this had been altered. The old and invidious restrictions had been renewed, and the great loss of wealth thus induced had wonderfully modified the spirit of national pride which opposed the abandonment of the ancient independence of the nation. The Dalrymples and lord Tarbet were favourable to this proposition, but the convention at large was too wise to endanger the defeat of the acknowledgment of the new sovereign by an indefinitely-prolonged debate on so vital a question. They proceeded to declare that James, by his misconduct, had "forfaulted" his right to the crown; that is, that he had forfeited it—a much more manly and correct plea than that James had "abdicated," which he continued to protest that he never had done, and as he was at this moment in arms in Ireland asserting his unrelinquished claim to it. As the term "forfaulted," according to Scottish law, would have excluded all his posterity, an exception was made in favour of Mary and Anne, and their issue. This resolution was warmly defended by Sir John Dalrymple, and as warmly by Sir James Montgomery, the member for Ayrshire, who had been a determined champion of the covenanters; and was resisted by the bishops, especially by the archbishop of Glasgow. It was carried with only five dissentient voices, and was then read at the Market Cross, in the High Street, by Hamilton, attended by the lord provost and the heralds, and the earl of Argyll, the son of James's decapitated victim. Sir John Dalrymple and Sir James Montgomery were deputed to carry it, with the second resolution that the crown should be offered to William and Mary, to London. To define on what principles this offered transfer of the crown was made, a "claim of right," in imitation of the English bill of rights, was drawn up and accompanied it. In this claim episcopacy was declared to be abolished, and that torture should be no longer exercised, *except* where there was evidence, or in ordinary cases! This was, in fact, admitting the legality of torture still—a most remarkable proof of the hardness of Scotch legislation, even at this period; for torture had never been admitted to be legal in England, but only to have been used in defiance and overbearance of the law by arbitrary power. That there might be no mistake on this head, the convention ordered a man who, in revenge of a decree made against him, had murdered the lord president Lockhart, to be tortured by the boot, under the eyes of a committee of the estates appointed for the purpose.

The Scottish commissioners were, of course, most graciously received at Whitehall, and all the Scotchmen of note in London were invited to witness the inauguration of the new king and queen. Argyll read the words of the Scotch coronation oath, which the royal pair repeated after him, holding up their hands towards heaven. At the last clause William stopped. It was one which required him "to root out all heretics and enemies of the true worship of God." As William knew very well that "the true worship of God" there meant presbyterianism, and nothing else, and that it would bind him to extirpate every variety of dissenter, and the episcopalians into the bargain, he declared that he would never undertake to become a persecutor. The commissioners replied that they were authorised by the convention to say that neither the words of the oath nor the laws of Scotland required any such thing from him. "In that sense, then," said William, "I swear; and I desire you all, my lords and gentlemen, to witness that I do so."

In the whole of William's proceedings on accepting the crowns of the two kingdoms, he stands forward a noble object of uprightness and enlightened mind He was firm in his determination to give to religious faith all the freedom that he could. He had been vehemently importuned by the episcopalians both in England and Scotland to continue the establishment of the episcopal church in Scotland; but, though he had no objection to it himself, he declared that nothing should induce him to coerce or oppose the desire of the majority on the subject; and, on these honourable terms—extremely honourable to William and Mary as the *first monarchs* who had thus liberally advocated the liberty of faith from the throne—were they become the acknowledged sovereigns of both England and Scotland. In Scotland, however, as well as Ireland, there was yet much to do before their power was altogether established.

But with the acknowledgment of William as king of Scotland he was far from having acquired a state of comfort. In both his governments his ministers and pretended friends were his continual tormentors. In England his council and his chief ministers were at daggers-drawn—every one dissatisfied with the post he occupied, jealous of the promotion of his rivals, and numbers of them in close correspondence with the court of James. In Scotland it was precisely the same; it was impossible to satisfy the ambition and the cupidity of his principal adherents. The covenanters were exasperated because the episcopalians were merely dismissed from the establishment, and were not handed over to retaliation of all the injuries they had received from them. Sir James Montgomery, who expected a much higher post, was offered that of chief justice clerk, and refused it with disdain. He immediately concerted plans of opposition, and made his attack amidst a whole host of similarly disappointed aspirants. Amongst these were two who had been in the insurrections of Monmouth and Argyll—Sir Patrick Hume and Fletcher of Saltoun, men of great ability, but of reckless and insubordinate character. A club was formed, in which these men, with Montgomery, the lords Annandale and Ross, and a whole tribe of minor malcontents, did all in their power to thwart and embarrass the government of William. The chief promotion had been conferred on the duke of Hamilton, who was made lord high commissioner; the earl of Crawford, a very indigent, but very bitter presbyterian, who before this appointment did not know where to get a dinner, was made president of parliament; Sir James Dalrymple was appointed the principal lord of session, and his son, Sir John, was restored to his office of lord advocate. Lord Melville became secretary of state, and Sir William Lockhart solicitor-general. But whilst some of these thought they ought to have had something higher or more lucrative, there were scores for whom the limited administration of Scotland afforded no situation in accordance with their own notions of their merits, and these hastened to join the opposition club.

Meantime Dundee was exerting himself in the highlands to rouse the clans in favour of king James. But this he found an arduous matter. The highlanders, at a distance from the scenes and the interests which divided both England and the lowlands of Scotland, occupied with their hunting and their own internal feuds, cared little for either king James or king William. If either, they would probably have given the preference to William, for James had more than once sent his troops after them to chastise them for their inroads into the demesnes of their Saxon fellow-subjects. Dundee himself had retired to his own estate, and offered to remain at peace if he received from William's ministers a pledge that he should not be molested. But, unfortunately for him, an emissary from James in Ireland, bearing letters to Dundee and Balcarras, was intercepted, and immediately Balcarras was arrested, and Dundee made his escape into the highlands. There, though he could not move any of the clans by any motives of loyalty to declare for James, he contrived to effect this object through their own internal enmities. Most of them had an old and violent feud with the clan Campbell. The Argyll family had, through a long succession of years, extended its territories and its influence over the western highlands at the expense of the other clans, some of which it had nearly extirpated; and now the head of the family came back from exile in the favour of the new monarch, and all these clans, the Stuarts, the Macnaghtens, the Camerons, the Macdonalds, the Macleans, were all in alarm and expectation of a severe visitation for past offences, and for unpaid feudal dues. They were, therefore, moved from this cause to unite against William, because it was to unite against MacCallum More, the chieftain of Argyll. If William was put down Argyll was put down. Whilst Dundee was busy mustering these clans, and endeavouring to reconcile all their petty jealousies and bring them to act together, he sent earnestly to James in Ireland to dispatch to him a tolerable body of regular troops, for without them he despaired of keeping long together his half savage and unmanageable highlanders. Till then he avoided a conflict with the troops sent by the convention under Mackay against him. It was in vain that Mackay marched from one wild district to another; the enemy still eluded him amongst the intricate fastnesses and forests of the highlands, till his troops were wearied out with climbing crags, and threading rugged defiles and morasses; and he returned to quarters in Stirling, Aberdeen, and other towns at the foot of the mountain district.

It was the opinion of lord Tarbet, who understood the statistics of the highlands well, that if William would send about five thousand pounds to enable the clans to discharge their debts to the earl of Argyll, and obtain from that chieftain an assurance that he would abstain from hostilities against them, that they would all submit at once, and leave Dundee to find support where he could. But his advice was attempted to be carried out in so absurd a manner, by choosing an agent from the clan Campbell as the mediator on the occasion, that the clans refused to treat with him, and became all the more devoted to the interests of James.

Things were in this position when in June a civil contention broke out in Athol. The marquis, unwilling to declare for either side, had retired to England, and his eldest son, lord Murray, who had married a daughter of the duke of Hamilton, and declared for king William, was opposed by the marquis's steward, who declared for king James. The steward held Blair castle, and lord Murray besieged him in it. This called out Dundee to repel Murray and support the steward, the adherent of James; and Mackay, hoping now to meet with him, put his forces in march for the place of strife. The two armies, in fact, at length came into contact in the stern pass of Killiecrankie, near Dunkeld. This was then one of the wildest and most terrible defiles in the highlands; the mountain torrent of the Garry roaring through its deep and rocky strait.

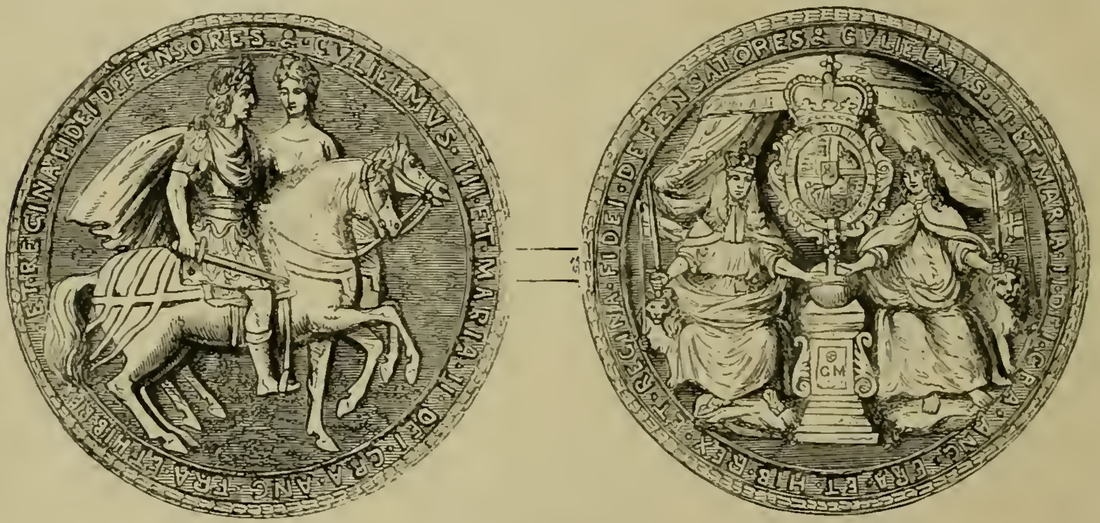
The forces of Dundee consisted of about three thousand highlanders, and a body of Irish, under an officer of the name of Cannon, amounting to about three hundred, an ill-armed and ragged rabble whom James had sent over instead of the efficient regiments for which Dundee had so earnestly prayed. On the other hand, Mackay commanded about the same number of regular troops; these were the three Scotch regiments which he had brought from Holland, a regiment of English infantry—now the thirteenth of the line—and two regiments of lowland Scots, newly raised, commanded by the lords Kenmore and Leven. He had, besides, two troops of horse, one of which was commanded by lord Belhaven.

On the morning of Saturday, the 27th of July, Mackay had just struggled through the pass of Killiecrankie, his twelve hundred baggage-horses—for no wheel-carriages could approach such a place—scarcely through, when the enemy was upon them. The men had thrown themselves down to recover from their fatigue, on an open space on the banks of the Garry, when they were called to resume their arms by the appearance of Dundee leading on his troops of wild highlanders. Cameron of Lochiel, a man of distinguished bravery and ability, was second in command, and urged Dundee to come to an engagement without the least delay. The two armies drew up, that of Mackay with the Garry on its left, that of Dundee with the stream on its right. Lord Murray and the few forces with him united with the forces of Mackay.

It was early in the afternoon when the hostile parties began to fire on each other, and the regular troops of Mackay did considerable execution on the highlanders; yet it was seven o'clock in the evening before Dundee gave the order to charge. Then the highlanders raised a wild shout, which was returned by the enemy with a cry so much less lively and determined, that Lochiel exclaimed, "We shall do it now; that is not the cry of men who are going to win." The highlanders dropped their plaids and rushed forward. They were received by a steady fire of the lowlanders; but, as these prepared to charge with the bayonet, they were so much delayed by the nature of the operation—having, according to the practice of the time, to stick the bayonets into the muzzles of their guns, instead of, as now, having them already screwed on to them—that the highlanders were down upon them before they were prepared, and cut through and through their lines. Having discharged their firearms, the Celts threw them away, and assailed the lowland troops with dirk and claymore. The whole of the Scotch regiments broke, and were scattered like leaves before a whirlwind. Balfour was killed at the head of his regiment; Mackay's brother fell whilst gallantly endeavouring to keep together his men; and Mackay himself was compelled to give way. The English horse were yet on the ground, and Mackay spurred towards them, and called on them to charge and break the onslaught of the furious highlanders on the foot; but he called in vain; spite of the brave example of Belhaven, the horse fled as fast as their steeds could carry them. There was nothing for it but for Mackay to endeavour to save himself; and, followed by only one servant, he managed to cut his way through the enemy and reach a neighbouring height.

There the scene that presented itself was astounding. His whole army had vanished except the English regiment, which kept together in perfect order, and a few of the troops of lord Leven. These had poured a murderous fire into the ranks of the highlanders, and still shot numbers of them down as in fiery rage they pursued the flying lowlanders down the ravine, where the confused mass of enemies were plunged in chaotic strife—one violent, horrid effort to escape or to kill. In this strange *melee* were involved the twelve hundred pack-horses, which alone effected a diversion for the fugitives, the highlanders stopping to make themselves masters of so rich a booty.

Mackay lost no time in getting the English regiment, with lord Leven and his remnant of men, and such few others as he could collect, across the Garry. That being effected he halted, and again looked back, expecting that he should be hotly pursued, but no such thing; the highlanders were, in fact, too agreeably detained by the plunder. But that supposition did not account to him for the easy manner in which such a general as Dundee allowed of his retreat, and he declared to his guards that he was sure Dundee must have fallen.

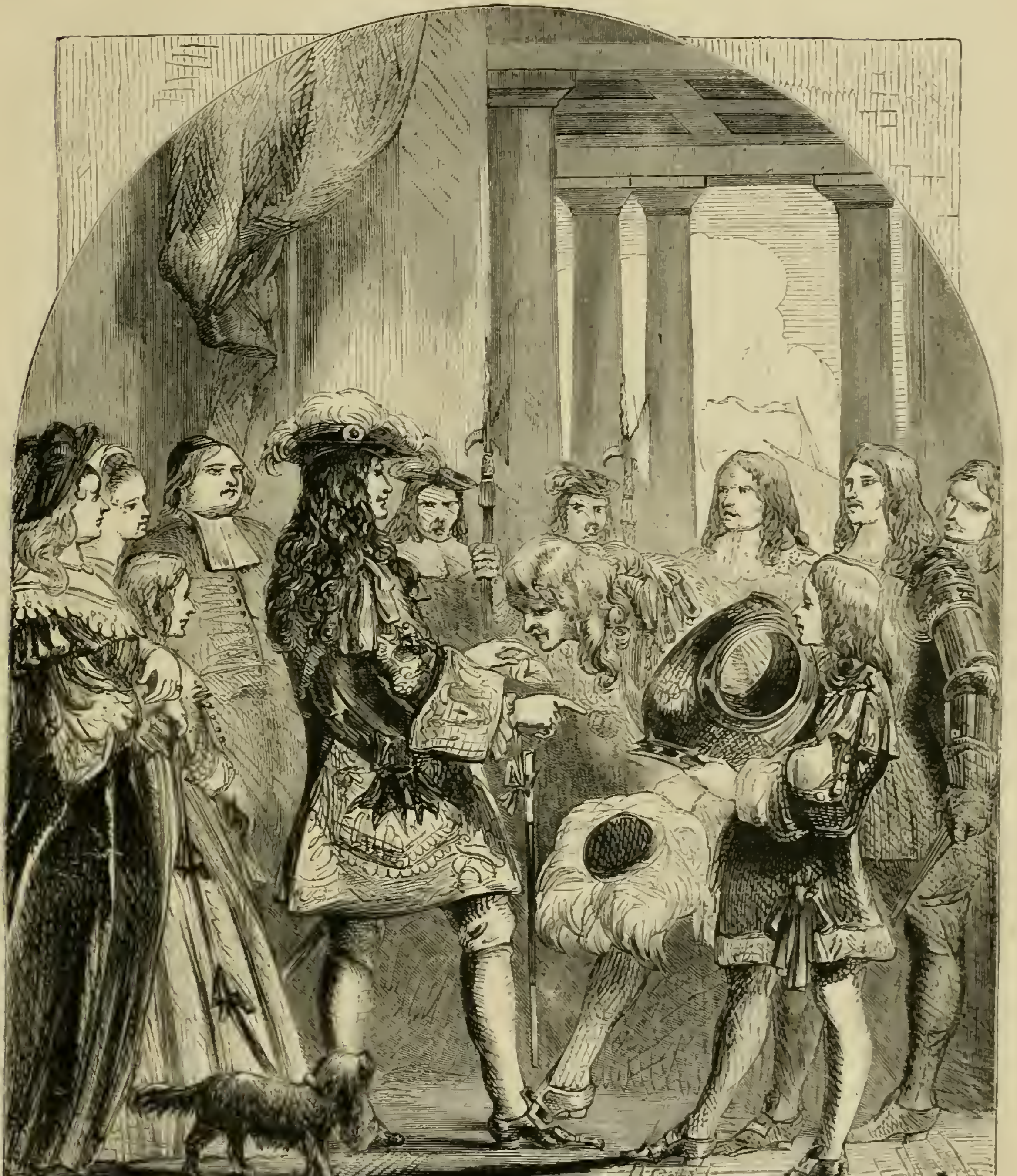


Great Seal of William and Mary.

And in this opinion he was quite right. Dundee had fallen in the very commencement of the general charge. He had led it on, contrary to the advice of Lochiel, who had urged on him the necessity of not exposing himself too much. Waving his hat, and calling his soldiers to follow him, he dashed forward, when a bullet struck him below the cuirass, which was raised by his action of rising in his stirrups and waving his arm, and he fell to the ground. The tradition of the highlands is, that Dundee was believed to have made a compact with the devil, and bore a charmed life, which no ball of lead or iron could touch; that a soldier of Mackay's army, seeing him galloping unharmed amid showers of flying balls, plucked a silver button from his own coat, and fired at him with instant effect The fall of the general was only observed by a few of his own soldiers who were near him, and one of them caught him in his arms, when he asked, "How goes the day?" "Well for king James," said the man, "but I am sorry for your lordship." "If it be well for the king," replied Dundee, "it matters the less for me," and expired. Spite of the ferocious cruelty of this awful persecutor of the covenanters, whose name will remain an execration to the end of time, he had of late shown so much ability in mustering and keeping together his army of most unmanageable materials, and on all occasions displayed such reckless courage, that a certain romance has always hung about his name, and for a time his crimes and diabolical cruelties were almost forgotten in admiration of his gallantry and the brilliant termination of his career.

Mackay made his way over the mountains by Weem castle and castle Drummond to Stirling. On the way he overtook the fugitives from Ramsay's regiment, who had fled at the first onset They were completely cowed and demoralised; and it was only by threatening to shoot any man that left the track that he could prevent them dispersing amongst the hills and rocks. Many of them, after all, managed to elude his vigilance, and were killed by the highlanders for their clothes. It was reported that Mackay lost two thousand men in the battle, and that five hundred were made prisoners; but, on the other hand, a great number of the highlanders fell on the field. The rest, before retreating with the booty, piled a great heap of stones on the spot where Claverhouse fell. That is still shown, and is the only monument of John Graham, viscount Dundee, for the church of Blair Athol in which he was buried has long since disappeared, and his tomb with it.

The news of the defeat of Mackay caused consternation through the lowlands, and even to London, whither it was carried by couriers charged with earnest appeals to the king to hasten forces on to Scotland, to protect the people from the torrents of victorious barbarians from the mountains, who were with terror expected to devastate the whole country. The Scottish convention urged Hamilton to dismiss them, that they might provide for their safety; but



JAMES II. TAKING LEAVE OF LOUIS XIV.

fast on the heels of the first news came that of the certain death of Dundee, which at once reassured the country; for, without him, the highlanders were regarded as comparatively innocuous, as a body without a head. And this was very near the truth; for the command had now fallen on the Irish officer Cannon, who, with his ragamuffin brigade, was not likely to remain long very formidable. In fact, he very soon managed to disgust the proud highland chieftains. Lochiel returned home, and many of the Celts, satisfied with their plunder, followed his example. Others, however, stimulated by the hope of similar good fortune, came rushing from their hills, adding, by their conflicting prejudices and wild insubordination, only to the weakness of the force. Cannon dispatched a party of the Robertsons into the lowlands to collect cattle and provisions for his army; but Mackay came upon them at St. Johnstones, and killed one hundred and twenty of them, and took thirty prisoners. This revived the spirit of his troops, and infused new confidence through the country. In fact, Mackay was an excellent general, and was unremitting in his exertions to renew the courage and discipline of his troops. He had seen the fatal effect of the clumsy use of the bayonets at Killiecrankie, and he lost no time in having them made to screw upon the muskets, so that these could be fired with them ready fixed.

And very soon he had need of all his generalship. The ministers at Edinburgh had ordered him to garrison Dunkeld with the Cameronian regiment newly raised. The town was unfortified; and in vain Mackay protested against exposing them thus to the attack of the whole body of the highlanders encamped at Blair castle. The highland army, led on by Cannon, came down, but were received with a spirit worthy of the old race of covenanters—were repulsed, and driven back with great slaughter. The young commander, lieutenant-colonel Cleland, and after him captain Monro, fell at the head of the besieged; but the victory was decisive. The highlanders dispersed with their booty to their homes; Cannon, with his disorderly Irish, escaped to the isle of Mull; the fame of Mackay and his troops was higher than ever, and the war in Scotland was at an end.

Before the battle of Killiecrankie the duke of Gordon had surrendered the castle of Edinburgh, and James had no longer a spot in Scotland which owned his sway or displayed his banner, except the Bass Rock, where a garrison of his managed to maintain themselves against all attempts, and with many adventures, till the beginning of 1694.

All this year, however, a political war had been waged by the discontented clubbists against the government of William in Scotland. They opposed and defeated every measure which the ministers proposed; they refused all supplies till their claims were complied with; they claimed for parliament a veto on the nomination of the judges, and thus put a stop to the business of the court of session; they tried all their force to ruin the Dalrymples, on the plea that they had been in the interest of James; they had both, they said, "served the bloody and idolatrous house." They succeeded in carrying an act to incapacitate all who had been once in that service, and, as they termed it, "had oppressed the people of God." The government of Scotland was at a dead lock; the legal as well as legislative business was at an end. The leaders of this opposition, Montgomery, the lords Annandale and Ross, the factious Sir Patrick Hume—who had ruined the expedition of Argyll, and now sought to ruin the government altogether—vowed that they would compel the king to do them right. But William could afford to wait, and towards the end of the year signs of the declining influence of the clubbists began to show themselves. The ministers opened the court of session, Sir James Dalrymple took his seat as head of the lords of session; and all the clamour of the club could not prevent the common sense of the public supporting the cause of law.

We have continued to this point the affairs of Scotland, that we might not interrupt the still more important transactions which at the same time took place in Ireland. On the 12th of March, two days before the opening of the Scottish convention, James had landed in Ireland. That island was peculiarly open to the influence of James, for the bulk of the population were catholics, and they were thrown into a state of great excitement by the hope of being able to drive the protestants from their estates by his appearance there with a French army, of wreaking vengeance on them for all their past oppressions, and regaining their ancient patrimony.

From the moment almost that James had mounted the throne of England, he began his preparations for putting down protestantism in Ireland, and raising a military power there which should enable him to put it down also in England. The protestant judges had been removed one after another from the bench, so that little justice could be obtained in Irish tribunals by protestant suitors. The protestants were diligently weeded out of the army, and lying Dick Talbot, the earl of Tyrconnel, James's most obsequious tool, was his lord-lieutenant, and bent on carrying out his plans to the fullest extent. There arose a terrible panic amongst the protestants that a general massacre was contemplated, and the Englishry began to collect whatever of value they could carry with them, and escape across the channel into England or Wales. Tyrconnel sent for the leading protestants to Dublin, and protested with many oaths that the whole rumour was a malicious and groundless lie. Nobody, however, put any faith in his assurances, and the exodus rapidly increased, whilst such protestants as possessed any means of defence in towns, armed themselves, threw up fortifications, and determined to sell their lives dear. Such was the case at Kenmare, in Kerry; at Bandon, Mallow, Sligo, Charleville, Enniskillen, and Londonderry.

Such was the state of Ireland at the time of the landing of William at Torbay. Tyrconnel dispatched a body of popish infantry in December, 1688, to take possession of Enniskillen. The inhabitants summoned the protestants of the surrounding country to their aid, rushed out on the soldiers as they approached the gates of the town, and defeated them. They then appointed Gustavus Hamilton, a captain in the army, their governor, and determined to hold their own against the lieutenant-governor. Londonderry likewise shut its gates in the face of the earl of Antrim, who armed a popish regiment to garrison their town. This exploit was the work of thirteen apprentices, whose bold and decisive deed was quickly imitated by the rest of the inhabitants. The town was put into a posture of thorough defence, the country round was alarmed, the protestant gentry flocked in with armed followers, horse and foot, and Antrim thought it prudent to retire to Coleraine.

At another time Tyrconnel would have taken a bloody vengeance on the courageous protestants of Ulster, but matters in England appeared too critical to permit him such indulgence. He had recourse, therefore, to artifice. He dispatched lord Mountjoy, the master of the ordnance, with his regiment, which included many protestants, to Londonderry. Mountjoy was a protestant himself, though an adherent of king James; had much property in Ulster, and was highly respected there. The citizens of Londonderry willingly admitted him within their walls, and suffered him to leave a garrison there, consisting solely of protestant soldiers, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Lundy as governor. To the people of Enniskillen Mountjoy was less courteous; he somewhat curtly treated a deputation thence, and advised them to submit unconditionally to James. Tyrconnel even affected to enter into negotiation with William, and general Richard Hamilton was not very wisely dispatched by William to Ireland to treat with him. Hamilton had been in command under Tyrconnel till a very recent period, and had been sent by him with reinforcements to James in England. There, finding James had fled, he very coolly went over to William, and, strangely enough, was deemed sufficiently trustworthy to be returned to his old master as negotiator. He no sooner arrived than he once more declared for king James. Tyrconnel, however, did not himself so soon throw off the mask of duplicity. He protested to the prince of Orange that he was quite disposed to treat for the surrender of Ireland, and to the alarmed catholics of Ireland—who got some wind of his proceedings—that he had not the most distant idea of submitting. On the other hand, he prevailed on lord Mountjoy, who had so well served him at Londonderry, to go on a mission to James at St. Germains, professedly to procure a concession from James that his Irish subjects should submit to William for the present, and not rush into a contest to which they were unequal, but wait for better times. The real truth was, that James had already dispatched Captain Rush from St. Germains to Tyrconnel to assure him that he was coming himself with all haste with a powerful fleet and army. Tyrconnel was, therefore, desirous to get Mountjoy secured, as he was capable of uniting the protestants and heading them against the bloody butchery that James and Tyrconnel destined for them. Mountjoy somewhat reluctantly fell into the snare. He proceeded to France, accompanied by chief baron Rice, a fanatical papist, who had boasted that he would drive a coach and six through the act of settlement. Rice had secret instructions to denounce Mountjoy as a traitor, and to recommend James to make him fast. No sooner, therefore, did he present himself at St. Germains than he was clapped into the Bastille.

This act of diabolical treachery being completed, Tyrconnel now abandoned further disguise, and prepared to hand over the whole protestant population of Ireland to the exterminating fury of the catholic natives. "Now or never; now and for ever!" was the watchword of blood and death to all the Englishry. It was embroidered on the viceregal banner, and floated over the castle of Dublin. The catholics were called on to arm and secure Ireland for the Irish. The call was obeyed with the avidity of savages. Those who had not arms manufactured them out of scythes, forks, and other rural implements. Every smithy was aglow, every hammer resounding in preparation of pike and skean, the Irish long knife. By February, 1689, the army of Ireland was swelled with regulars and irregulars to a hundred thousand men. There was one universal shout of bacchanalian acclaim, and rush to secure the plunder of the protestants. The houses of the wealthy were ransacked, the cattle driven off, the buildings and even the heaths set fire to. The wild marauders roasted the slaughtered cattle and sheep at huge fires often made of timbers of the buildings, emptied the cellars, and sung infinite songs of triumph over the heretic Englishry, and of Ireland restored to its legitimate owners What an Ireland it was likely to become under them was soon evident. They were not content to kill enough to satisfy their hunger; these demoniac children of oppression and ignorance, like wolves, destroyed for the mere pleasure of destroying; and D'Avaux, the French ambassador, who accompanied James over the country from Kinsale to Dublin, describes it as one black, wasted desert, for scores of miles without a single inhabitant, and calculates that in six weeks these infuriate savages had slaughtered fifty thousand cattle and three or four hundred thousand sheep.

Before such an inundation of fury and murder, the few protestant inhabitants were swept away like chaff before the wind. All the fortified towns and houses in the south were forced by the ruthless mob and soldiery, or were abandoned, and the people fled for their lives to seek an asylum in Ulster. Those of Kenmare managed to get across in a small vessel to Bristol.

In all this fearful scene of devastation Hamilton, who had come over as the emissary of William, was one of the most active and unpitying agents. Enniskillen and Londonderry were the only protestant places which now held out, and Hamilton commenced his march northward to reduce them. This march was only another avatar of desolation, like that which had swept the south and left the country a howling wilderness. Besides his regular troops, hosts of the self-armed and merciless Irish collected on his track, and burnt, plundered, and murdered without mercy. The people fled before the devilish rout, themselves burning their own dwellings, and laying waste with fire the whole district, so that it should afford no shelter or sustenance to the enemy The whole of the protestant population retreated northwards, leaving even Lisburn and Antrim deserted. Thirty thousand fugitives soon found themselves cooped up within the walls of Londonderry, and many thousands in Enniskillen.

At this crisis James landed at Kinsale, and marched t Cork. He had brought no army, but a number of officers to command the Irish troops. His general-in-chief was count Rosen, a man of much military experience. Next to him was lieutenant-general Maumont, brigadier-general Pusignan, and four hundred other officers of different ranks. He was accompanied by count D'Avaux, who had been ambassador in England, a man clever, shrewd, keenly observant, and with as little mercy or principle as a devil. His object was to secure Ireland rather for Louis than for

James, and he served his master with cunning and zeal. James brought with him arms for ten thousand men, and abundance of ammunition, and a military chest of about a hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. Before quitting St. Germains Louis XIV. himself had paid James a parting visit, displayed towards him the most marked friendship, embraced him at parting, and told him the greatest good that he could desire for him was that they might never meet again. He also presented him with his own cuirass, which had not many dents in it from his own wars—Louis allowing Luxembourg and Turenne to do the fighting, himself only being occasionally in the camp to receive the honours; nor was it likely to receive many more bruises on the back of James.

Along with him came a troop of exiles, English and Irish swelling his train with the French on his landing to a body of about two thousand five hundred men. Amongst the leading exiles were his own son, the duke of Berwick, Cartwright, bishop of Chester, and the popish lords Powis, Dover, and Melfort—the last of them a man almost equally detested by all parties, and by those of both religions, for he was an apostate and a turncoat, and encouraged James in the most base and impolitic designs and sentiments. He was, in fact, a man after James's own heart, for he could love nothing that was honourable and upright.

James landed on the 12th of March, and two days after was in Cork. The Irish received him with enthusiastic acclamations as a saviour; but the effects of his anticipated arrival, and the measures concerted by himself and carried out by the brutal Tyrconnel, met him on the instant. He was anxious to push on to Dublin; but the whole country was a desert, and horses could not be procured in sufficient numbers to convey his baggage, nor food to sustain them on the way. During the detention consequent on this, Tyrconnel arrived to welcome his majesty to Ireland. Spite of the untoward aspect of things, of the stripped and desolated country, this hollow monster assured him that all was flourishing, that only Enniskillen and Londonderry afforded their last refuge to the protestants, and that Hamilton was on his way to exterminate them. It was a strange kind of prosperity, for when they at length could set out towards Dublin, the French beheld with astonishment the track they had to pass through. Instead of well-cultivated fields, thriving villages, and busy towns, the whole was stripped, vast districts without an inhabitant, and what was naturally fair and fertile, swarming only with ragged and wild-looking peasants, armed with rude pikes, stakes, and long skeans. It was a hideous spectacle, made the more hideous by the strange cries and caperings of the uncouth mob, which crowded the highway side to welcome the royal champion of their faith.

On the 24th of March he entered Dublin amid the hurrahs and the festive demonstrations of flowers, garlands of evergreens, of tapestry and carpets hung from the windows, of processions of young girls in white, and friars and priests with their crosses, and with the host itself. At sight of that, James alighted, and, falling on his knees in the mud, bared his head in humble devotion. A grand cavalcade of carriages, containing the judges, the lord mayor and aldermen, and many other officers and noblemen, conducted him to the castle, the way being lined on each hand by troops of soldiery. There was much playing of pipes and harps, and shouting amongst the people, and in the royal chapel *Te Deum* was performed in celebration of the arrival of the national deliverer.

The next morning James proceeded to form his privy council. This was composed of the duke of Berwick, his son; the duke of Powis; the earls of Abercorn, Melfort, Dover, Carlingford, and Clanricarde; the lords Thomas Howard, Kilmallack, Merrion, Kinmore; lord chief justice Herbert, the bishop of Chester, general Sarsfield, colonel Dorrington, and, strangely enough, D'Avaux, who should have retained the independent position of ambassador; the marquis D'Abbeville, and two other foreigners. The protestant bishop of Meath, at the head of his clergy, appeared before him, imploring his protection, and permission to lay before him the account of the injuries they and their flocks had received. James affected to declare that he was just as much as ever desirous to afford full liberty of conscience, and to protect all his subjects in their rights and opinions; but he said it was impossible to alter what had already taken place, and he gave an immediate proof of the impartiality which protestants were likely to receive at his hands by dismissing Keating, chief justice of the common pleas, the only protestant judge still remaining on the bench.

Then came the catholic bishops and priests to pay their homage, and they were received with all the warmth of royal sunshine. These were the men, together with the priests all over the island, who from their pulpits called in God's name on the infuriated populace to be up, and cut the throats and make spoil of the heretic Englishry. To make his intentions the clearer, he issued a proclamation, thanking the Irish for having so readily appeared in arms at the call of the lord-lieutenant; for having, in fact, committed all the atrocities and spoliations on his protestant subjects, whom he was hypocritically declaring he would defend and deal equal justice to. He ordered all the protestants who had fled out of the island, to save their lives and some remnant of their property, to return under the same assurances of protection, whilst Hamilton, with his full knowledge and approbation, was at the very moment engaged in endeavouring to extinguish the last sparks of Irish protestantism at Londonderry and Enniskillen. And, finally, he summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th of May.

These measures dispatched, it became the question whether, in the interval before the meeting of parliament, James should continue in Dublin, or should proceed to the army besieging Londonderry, and encourage it by his presence. This called forth the conflicting views and interests of his adherents, and his whole court became rent by struggling factions. The English exiles warmly urged the king to proceed to Ulster. They cared little for the fate of Ireland, their views and wishes were fixed on England. In the north, as soon as Londonderry was put down, it was easy for James to put across to Scotland, there to commence the campaign for the recovery of the English crown. But this was the very thing which his Irish partisans dreaded. They felt very certain that if James recovered the English throne, they should be left to contend with the colonists of

Ulster themselves; and the victorious ascendancy of that small but sturdy body of people was too vividly burnt into their minds by ages of their domination. They therefore counselled James to remain as a king at Dublin, and leave his generals to put down the opposition in the north, and in this they were zealously seconded by Avaux and the French. James on the throne of England would be a very different person to James on the throne of Ireland only. In the one case, if he succeeded, he might ere long become independent of Louis; if he failed, the English protestant king would soon subdue Ireland to his sway. But if James continued only monarch of Ireland, he must continue wholly dependent on Louis. He could only maintain himself there by his aid in men and money, and then Ireland would become gradually a French colony—a dependence most flattering to the pride and power of France—a perpetual thorn in the side of England.

The contention betwixt the two parties was fierce, and Tyrconnel joined with the French and Irish in advising James to remain at Dublin. On the other hand, Melfort and the English pointed out to him the immense advantage to his prospects to settle the last remains of disaffection in the north, and to appear again in arms in his chief kingdom, where they persuaded him that the highlanders and all the catholic and royalist English would now flock to his standard. William, they assured him, was to the highest degree unpopular; a powerful party in Scotland were opposed to him, and in the ascendant; and they prevailed. James, attended by Avaux and the French officers, set out for Ulster. The journey was again through a country blasted by the fires and horrors of war and robbery. There was no fodder for their horses, scarcely a roof to shelter the heads of the travellers; and, after a long and terrible journey, plunging and struggling through deep roads, and bogs where there was no road at all, famished and worn out by fatigue, they reached Charlemont on the 13th of April.

But the town was destitute of provisions. Except at the king's own table, the officers had to share the corn with their horses, and the country before them was, if possible, still more desolate. Such was the condition to which the policy of James had already sunk this unhappy country; such the blessings which he carried with him wherever he went. At Omagh, such was the frightful state of things, that James resolved to turn back. The weather was stormy and wet, the roads almost bottomless sloughs, the rivers overflowed, the wagons that contained their supplies could not come up, the town was totally in ruins; only three wretched cabins had met the eyes of the travellers over a track of forty miles; black stones, black moorlands, and flooded morasses were the only objects that varied the dismal landscape. To crown all, they heard that the insurgents were in arms awaiting them at Strabane. News, however, came that Hamilton had attacked and dispersed these forces, and that the king had only to advance and see Londonderry fall. This induced him to go on; but Avaux, who had had enough of it, made his way back to Dublin.

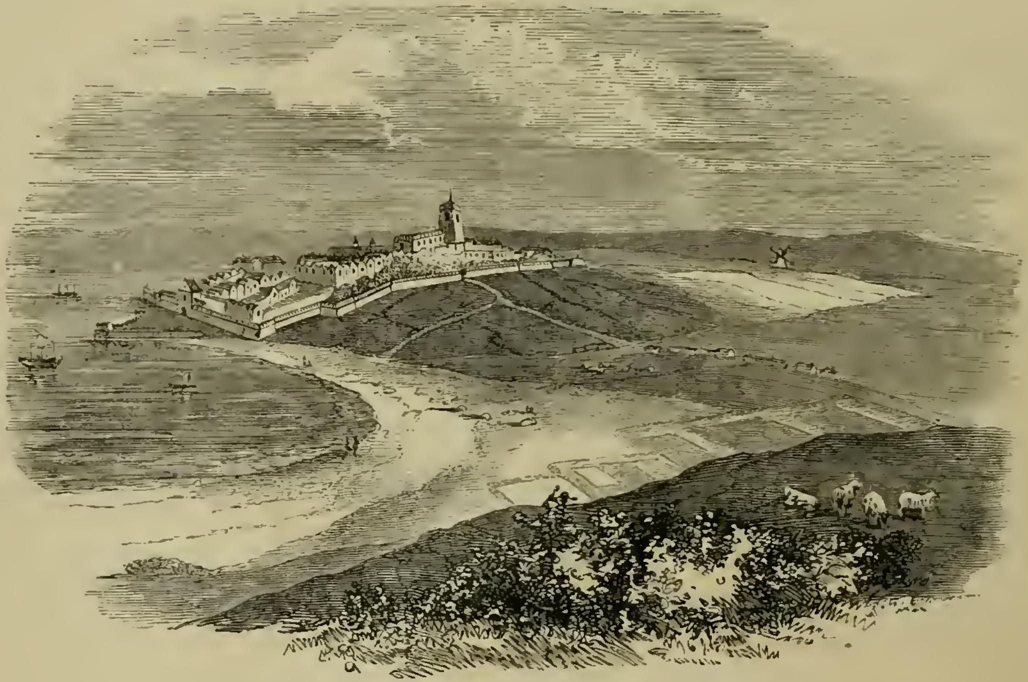
When James at length arrived before Londonderry, the fall of that place did not appear likely to be quite so early an event as he had been led to believe. Rosen, however, treated the resistance which the inhabitants could make lightly. The walls of the town were old, the ditches could scarcely be discerned, the gates and drawbridges were in disorder, and the town was commanded at various points by heights from which to play upon it with the artillery. What was still more favourable to James, it was well known that Lundy, the governor, was a traitor. Rosen was placed in the chief command, and Maumont next to him over the head of Hamilton. Lundy meantime depressed the spirits of the people within by telling them that it was useless to attempt to defend such a place, and kept up a secret correspondence with the enemy without, informing them of all that passed there, and of its weak points and condition. He did more—he contrived to send away succours which arrived from England. Colonel Cunningham appeared in the bay with a fleet having on board two regiments for the defence of the place. Cunningham and his chief officers went on shore and waited on the governor. Lundy called a council, taking care to exclude all but his own creatures; and these informed Cunningham that it was mere waste of men and money to land them; the town was perfectly indefensible; and that, in fact, he was going to surrender it. His supporters confirmed this view of the case, and Cunningham and his officers withdrew, and soon after made sail homeward, to the despair of the inhabitants; Lundy, as he saw them depart, sending word into the enemy's camp that he was ready to surrender.

But the spirit of the inhabitants was now roused. They openly declared Lundy a traitor, and, if they could have found him, would have killed him on the spot. He had, however, concealed himself, and at night was enabled, by connivance of his friends, to escape over the walls in disguise. As night approached, the people, to their astonishment, found the gates set open, and the keys were not to be found. People said they had seen the confederates of Lundy stealing out, and the alarm flew through the place. The townsmen came together, and called all to arms by beat of drum. A message was dispatched to Cunningham to bring in his forces; but he was already on the move, and declared that his orders permitted him only to follow the commands of the governor.

Thus deserted, the inhabitants courageously resolved to depend on their own energies. They placed major Baker and captain Murray at the head of the armed citizens, who amounted to seven thousand, many of them Ulster gentlemen of family, and endowed with all the dauntless spirit which had made them so long masters of the north of Ireland. At this moment, too, the Rev. George Walker, the rector of Donaghmore, who had been driven in thither along with the rest of the fugitives, displayed that spirit, eloquence, and ability which inspired the whole place with a wonderful enthusiasm, and which have made his name for ever famous amongst the protestant patriots of Ireland. Walker was appointed joint governor with major Baker, and they set themselves to work to organise their armed people into military bodies with their proper officers, to place cannon on all the most effective points, and post sentinels on the walls and at the gates. The forces of James were already drawn up before the place, expecting the promised surrender of Lundy. Presently a trumpeter appeared at the southern gate, and demanded the fulfilment of the governor's engagement. He was answered that the governor had no longer any command there. The next day, the 20th of April, James sent lord Strabane, a catholic peer of Ireland, offering a free pardon for all past offences on condition of an immediate surrender, and a bribe to captain Murray, who was sent to hold a parley with him, of a thousand pounds and a coloneley in the royal army. Murray repelled the offer with contempt, and advised Strabane, if he valued his safety, to make the best of his way out of gunshot

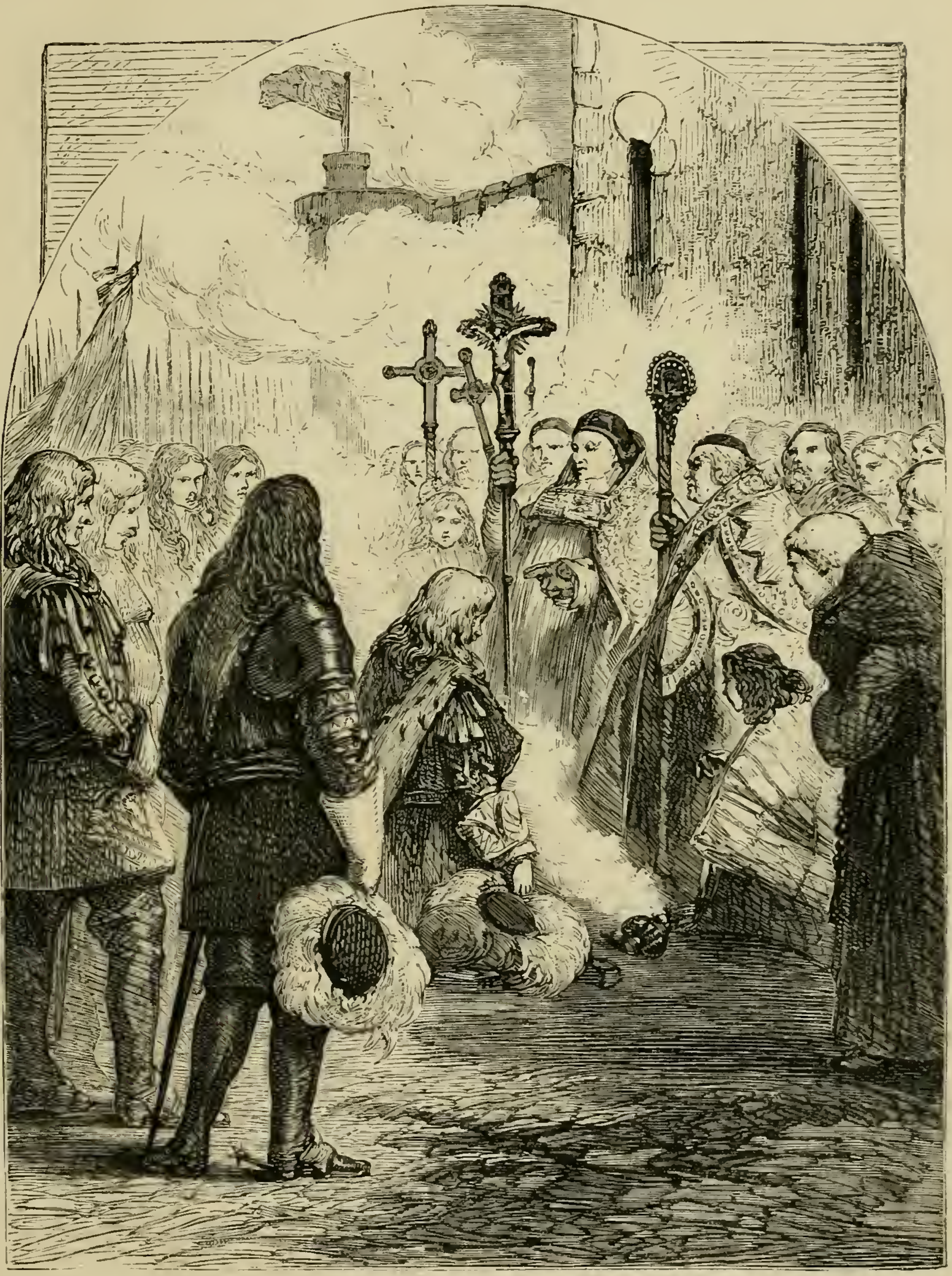
At this unexpected answer, James displayed the same pusillanimity which marked his conduct when he fled from England. Instead of ordering the place to be stormed, he lost heart, and, though he had been only eleven days before the place, set off back to Dublin, taking count Rosen with him, and leaving Maumont in command, with Hamilton and Pusignan under him. Then the siege was pushed on with spirit. The batteries were opened on the town, to which the townsmen replied vigorously; and, on the 21st of April, made a desperate sally under captain Murray, killed general Maumont and two hundred of the Irish, and, under cover of a strong fire kept up by a party headed by Walker, regained the town. The siege under Hamilton, who succeeded to the command, then languished. On the 4th of May the townspeople made another sally, and killed Pusignan. After this, sallies became frequent, the bold men of Londonderry carried off several officers prisoners into the town, and two flags of the French, which they suspended in the cathedral. It was at length resolved by the besiegers to carry the place by storm, but they were repelled with great loss, the very women joining in the *melée*, and carrying ammunition and refreshments to the defenders on the walls. As the storming of the place was found to be impracticable, Hamilton commenced a blockade. The troops were drawn round the town, and a strong boom thrown across the river, and the besiegers awaited the progress of famine.

All this time the people of Enniskillen had been making a noble diversion. They had marched out into the surrounding country, levied contributions of provisions from the native Irish, and given battle to and defeated several considerable bodies of troops sent against them. They took and sacked Belturbet, and carried off a great quantity of provisions; they made skirmishing parties, and scoured the country in the rear of the army besieging Londonderry, cutting off straggling foragers, and impeding supplies. The news of the continued siege of Londonderry, and the heroic conduct of the people of both these places, reached and raised a wonderful enthusiasm in England on their behalf. Lundy, who had reached London, and Cunningham, who had brought back his regiments, were both arrested, and Lundy thrown into the Tower and Cunningham into the Gatehouse. Kirke was also dispatched with a body of troops from Liverpool to relieve the besieged in Londonderry. On the 15th of June his squadron was discerned approaching, and wonderful was the exultation when it was ascertained that Kirke had arrived with troops, arms, ammunition, and supplies of food.



Londonderry. From a drawing in the King's Library, British Museum.

It was high time that relief should have come, for they were reduced to the most direful extremities, and were out of cannon-ball, and nearly out of powder. But they were doomed to a horrible disappointment. Kirke, who could be bold enough in perpetrating barbarities on defenceless people, was too faint-hearted to attempt forcing the boom in the river, and relieving the place. He drew off his fleet to the entrance of Lough Foyle, and lay there in tantalising



RECEPTION OF JAMES II. IN DUBLIN.

inactivity. His presence, instead of benefiting them, brought fresh horrors upon them; for no sooner did James in Dublin learn that there was a chance of Kirke's throwing in fresh forces and provisions, than he dispatched Rosen to resume the command, with orders to take the place at all costs.

This Rosen, who was a Russian, from Livonia, was a brutal savage, and vowed that he would take the place, or roast the inhabitants alive. He first began by endeavouring to undermine the walls; but his sappers were so briskly attacked by the besieged, that they soon killed a hundred of them, and compelled them to retire. Filled with fury, Rosen swore that he would raze the walls to the ground, and massacre every creature in the town, men, women, and children. He flung a shell into the place, to which was attached a threat that, if they did not at once surrender, he would collect from the whole country round all the people, their friends and relatives, the women, the children, the aged, drive them under the walls, and keep them there till they perished. He knew that the besieged could give them no support, for they were perishing fast themselves from famine, and its attendant fevers and diseases. The fighting men were so weak that they often fell down in endeavouring to strike a blow at the enemy. They were living on dogs, rats, any vile thing they could seize. They had eaten up all the horses to three, which were mere skin and bone. They had salted the hides and chewed them to keep down their ravening hunger. There were some amongst them who began to talk of eating the bodies of those who fell in the action. Numbers perished daily in their houses of exhaustion, and the stench of the unburied dead was terrible and pestilential. Many of their best men had died from fever, amongst them major Baker, their military governor, and colonel Mitchelbourne had been elected in his place. They were reduced to fire brickbats instead of cannon-balls; and their walls were so battered, that it was not they but their own spirit which kept out the enemy. Yet, amid these horrors, they treated the menace with silent contempt, and sent out an order that any one even uttering the word Surrender, should be instantly put to death.

The savage Rosen put his menace into force. He drove the wretched people from the country, at the point of the pike, under the walls. On the 2nd of July this melancholy crowd of many hundreds were seen by the besieged from the walls, hemmed in betwixt the town and the army—old men incapable of bearing arms, miserable women, and lamenting children, where, without food or shelter, they were cooped up betwixt their enemies and their friends, who could not help them. Many of these unhappy people had protections under James's own hand, but Rosen cared not for that. For two days and nights this woful throng of human beings was kept there, in spite of the strong remonstrances of Hamilton and other English officers, who were not accustomed to such devilish modes of war. The indignant men in Londonderry erected gallows on the walls, and sent Rosen word that, unless he let the perishing people go, they would hang up the principal of their prisoners. But it was not till many of the victims had died, and a storm of indignation at this unheard-of barbarity assailed him in his own camp, that Rosen opened his ranks and allowed the poor wretches to depart.

James, who was himself by no means of the melting mood, was shocked when he heard of this diabolical barbarity, and the comments upon it amongst those around him. He recalled Rosen and restored the command to Hamilton. Then the siege again went on with redoubled fury, and all the last expiring strength of the besieged was required to sustain it. Hamilton also terrified them by continual *ruses* and false rumours. He ordered his soldiers to raise a loud shout, and the besieged to be informed that Enniskillen had fallen, and that now there was no hope whatever for them. The besieged were so depressed by this news, for they had no means of testing it, that they offered to capitulate, but could obtain no terms that they could accept. And all this time the imbecile or base Kirke was lying within a few miles of them with abundance of provisions, and a force capable with ease of forcing its way to them. He had even the cruelty to send in a secret message to Walker that he was coming in full force, and then to lie still again for more than a fortnight. At length, however, he received a peremptory order from William to force the boom and relieve the town. No sooner did this order reach him than he showed with what ease he could have accomplished this at first, six weeks ago, and thus spared so much suffering and so many lives. The boom was burst asunder by two vessels dashing themselves against it, and the place was at once laid open to the conveyance of the troops and the provisions. Kirke was invited to take the command of the place, and the Irish camp, completely despairing of any success, drew off, and raised this most memorable siege, in which it is calculated that four out of the seven thousand defenders perished, besides a multitude of other inhabitants, amounting, according to some calculations, to eight or nine thousand souls. On the side of the Irish as many are said to have fallen; and of the thirty-six French gunners who directed the cannonade, all had been killed but five. Besides the miseries endured in the town, those of the poor people who survived being driven under the walls found, on their return to what had been their homes, that they were their homes no longer. Their villages, crops, ricks, buildings, all had been burnt down, and the whole country laid waste.

The Enniskilleners had meantime been actively engaged against other detachments of James's army, but had bravely beaten them off, and on the same day that Londonderry was relieved had won a signal victory over them at Newton-Butler, attacking five thousand Irish under general Macarthy, though they themselves numbered only about three hundred, and killing, it is said, two thousand, and driving five hundred more into Lough Erne, where they were drowned. This decisive defeat of the Irish hastened the retreat of the army retiring from Londonderry. They fled towards Dublin in haste and terror, leaving behind their baggage. Sarsfield abandoned Sligo, and James was on the very point of abandoning Dublin in the midst of the panic that seized it. At the same time came from Scotland the news of the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie; and on the 13th of August marshal Schomberg landed at Carrickfergus with an army of sixteen thousand, composed of English, Scotch, Dutch, Danes, and French Huguenots. Matters were fast assuming a serious aspect for James; his affairs, not only in the field, but his civil government falling every day into a more ominous condition.

One reason for James quitting the siege of Londonderry in person was that the time for the assembling of his Irish parliament drew near. No sooner did he reach Dublin than he was met by the news that the English fleet under admiral Herbert had been beaten by the French at Bantry Bay. Herbert had been ordered to intercept the French fleet betwixt Brest and Ireland; but he had missed it, and James had safely landed. Whilst he was still beating about, a second squadron, under Château Renaud, had also made its way over, and anchored with the first in Bantry Bay. On Herbert discovering them there, confident in their superior numbers, they came out, and there was a sharp fight. In the evening Herbert sheered off towards the Scilly Isles, and the French with great exultation, as in a victory, returned into the bay. James found the French at Dublin in high spirits at the unusual circumstance of beating English sailors; but his English adherents were by no means pleased with this triumphing over their countrymen, hostile ones as they were; and James, who had always prided himself on the English navy, is said, when Avaux boasted how the French had beaten the English, to have replied gloomily, "It is the first time." Even the English exiles in France are said to have shown a similar mortification, though the French victory, such as it was, was in their cause. Both sides, however, claimed this victory: in England parliament voted thanks to Herbert; in Dublin James ordered bonfires and a *Te Deum*.

On the 7th of May, the day after the *Te Deum*, James met his parliament. What sort of a parliament it was, and what it was likely to do in Ireland, may be surmised from the fact that there were only six protestants in the whole house of commons, consisting of two hundred and fifty members. Only fourteen lords appeared to his summons, and of these only four were protestants. By new creations, and by reversal of attainders against catholic peers, he managed to add seventeen more members to the upper house, all catholics, so that in the whole parliament there were only ten protestants! and four of these were the bishops of Meath, Ossory, Cork, and Limerick. The majority of these members were not only catholic, rabid with a desire of visiting upon the protestants all the miseries and spoliations which they had inflicted on them, but they were men totally unaccustomed to the business of legislation or government, from having been long excluded from all such functions, and condemned to pass their time on their estates in that half savage condition which qualified them rather for bandits than for considerate lawgivers and magistrates.

James's first act was that of complete toleration of liberty of conscience to all Christian denominations. This sounded well, and was in perfect keeping with his declarations and endeavours in England for which he had been driven out, and England had now an opportunity of observing with what justice; of judging whether it had wrongfully suspected his real object in it. He reverted in his speech from the throne with great pride to these endeavours, and to his determination still to be the liberator of conscience. "I have always," he said, "been for liberty of conscience, and *against invading any man's right* or liberty; having still in mind that saying of holy writ, 'Do as you would be done to, for this is the law and the prophets.' It was this liberty of conscience I gave, which my enemies, both at home and abroad, dreaded to have established by law in all my dominions, and made them set themselves up against it, though for different reasons, seeing that, if I had once settled it, my people, in the opinion of the one, would have been too happy, and, in the opinion of the other, too great."

This was fine language, worthy of the noblest lawgiver that ever existed; but, unfortunately, James's English subjects never could be persuaded of his sincerity, and that this happiness and greatness would arrive as the result of his indulgence. The very next act which he now passed decided that they had not mistrusted him without cause. Scarcely had he passed the act of toleration, when he followed it up by the repeal of the act of settlement, by which the protestants held all their estates, and all their rights and liberties in Ireland. This just and tolerant monarch thus, at one stroke, handed over the whole protestant body to the mercy of the Irish catholics, and to one universal doom of confiscation. The bill was received with a madness of exultation by this popish parliament which portended all the horrors which were to follow. It was nothing short of a proclamation of war to the knife to all protestants in Ireland, Scotch or English. "It was received," says a writer of the time, "with a huzza and a tumult which more resembled the behaviour of a crew of rapparees over a rich booty than of a senate assembled to rectify abuses, and restore the rights of their fellow-subjects."

This was a splendid illustration of what James's regard for every man's "right and liberty" meant. It was in vain that the handful of protestants in parliament lifted their voices against this letting loose the hell-hounds of revenge, murder, and desolation all over Ireland; in vain that the English royalists warned him, pointed out that he was committing not only a wholesale annihilation of protestant life and property in Ireland, but of his own interests in England. How was he ever to expect restoration there with this terrible confirmation of all the fears and declarations of his English subjects before them? James hesitated a moment; but he was assailed so furiously by the reproaches of his supporters, and especially by Avaux, who was as anxious for the extirpation of the protestants as if he had been an Irishman, the fatal act was passed, and troops of dragoons and other horse rode eagerly forth, followed from all sides by armed Irish, to turn out the protestants and seize on their estates.

But there were other parties whose estates were not derived from the act of settlement, but from purchase, and another act was passed to include them. It was a bill confiscating the property of all who had aided or abetted the prince of Orange in his attempt on the crown, or who were absent and did not return to their homes before the 5th of October. The number of persons included in this great act of attainder, as it was called, amounted to betwixt two and three thousand names, including men of all ranks, from the highest noble to the simplest freeholder. All the property of absentees above seventeen years of age was transferred to the king. The most unbounded lust of robbery and revenge was thus kindled in the public mind. Every one who wanted his neighbour's property, or had a grudge against him, hurried to give in his name to the clerk of the house of commons, and, without any or much inquiry, it was inserted in the bill.

To make the separation of England and Ireland complete, and to set up the most effectual barrier against his own authority, should he again regain the throne of England, James permitted his rabble of a parliament to pass an act declaring that the parliament of England had no power or authority over Ireland, and that contrary to the provisions of Poyning's act, which gave the initiative power to the English council, and made every Irish act invalid unless first submitted to the king and council of England.

Having transferred the property of the laity back to the Irish, another act made as sweeping a conveyance of that of the church from the protestant to the catholic clergy. Little regard had been had to catholic rights in piling property on the protestant hierarchy, and as little was shown in plucking it back again. The Anglican clergy were left in a condition of utter destitution; and, more than this, they were not safe if they appeared in public. They were hooted, pelted, and sometimes fired at. All colleges and schools from which the protestants had excluded the catholics were now seized and employed as popish seminaries or monasteries. The college of Dublin was turned into a barrack and a prison. No protestants were allowed to appear together in numbers more than three, on pain of death. That was James's notion of the liberty of conscience and a tender regard for "every man's rights and liberties." It was a fine lesson, too, for the clergy and gentry who had welcomed him to Ireland as the friends of passive obedience. They had now enough of that doctrine, and went over pretty rapidly to a different notion. The protestants everywhere were overrun by soldiers and rapparees. Their estates were seized, their houses plundered, their persons insulted and abused, and a more fearful state of things never existed in any country at any time. The officers of the army sold the protestants protections, which were no longer regarded, when fresh marauders wanted more money.

This model parliament voted twenty thousand pounds a year to Tyrconnel for bringing this state of things about, and twenty thousand pounds a month to the king. But the country was so completely desolated, and its trade so completely destroyed by this reign of terror and of licence, that James did not find the taxes come in very copiously; and he resorted to a means of making money plentiful worthy of himself. He collected all the old pots, pans, brass knockers, old cannon, and metal in almost any shape, and coined clumsy money out of them, on which he put about a hundred times their intrinsic value. The consequence was that shopkeepers refused to receive this base coin. All men to whom debts were due, or who had mortgages on other men's property, were opposed to having this discharged by a heap of metal which in a few weeks might be worth only a few pence a pound. Those who refused such payment were arrested, and menaced with being hung up at their own doors. Many were thrown into prison, and all trade and intercourse were plunged into a condition of the wildest anarchy. The whole of Ireland was one frightful scene of violence, robbery, confusion, and distress. Such was the liberty and right which James conferred upon it in a few h and which he had before designed to confer on England. It was as by a special providence that he was permitted thus to exhibit his talents for rendering a people free and happy after he had been expelled from England; for this specimen of his rule completely satisfied those who expelled him, that they had done right, and it completely silenced all the complaints of his partisans of the hardship and injustice with which he had been treated. His victims were continually escaping over into England with their stories of horrors, and his own courtiers were in a condition of mutual discord and hatred which made his court as complete a Pandemonium as the country was. Melfort and Avaux detested each other. Melfort and Tyrconnel were just as violent against each other. The French appeared to have no notion of anything but securing Ireland for their own king; they despised the Irish, and the Irish cursed them. James was compelled to dismiss Melfort, and send him on a mission to the pope, to take him out of the way of Tyrconnel. But this did not restore peace to his court, where every element of envy, hatred, rapacity, and incapacity were in full and direful activity. James saw the scene continually darkening, and was at a loss what course to pursue. At one time he thought of going over into Scotland and uniting with Dundee; the death of Dundee put an end to that scheme. At another he was urged by his evil counsellors to throw himself into England, where, they assured him, he had plenty of adherents, already tired of the Dutch king, who would fly to his standard, and quickly reinstate him. But Avaux, who not only wished to keep him in Ireland, but was also well assured that James was more unpopular in England than ever, exerted all his power to detain him where he was. James himself was restless and miserable; surrounded by perpetual quarrels, and with nothing but disaster to his arms, he grew petulant and morose. When the parliament thwarted him in some measure, he declared angrily that "all parliaments were alike;" and when his Irish friends compelled him to dismiss Melfort, he protested that, if he could have foreseen their unkindness to him, he would never have come amongst them. Such was the state of Ireland and of James's court when Schomberg landed with his army at Carrickfergus on the 23rd of August, and roused both James, his court, and the whole country to a sense of their danger, and of the necessity for one great and universal effort. The Irish felt that the time was come when they must rise as a man to repel the hated Saxons, or that a few months would see them again laid at their feet. All that they had just wrested from them would be resumed with a fierce and retributive arm, and their brief triumph would be succeeded by a deeper and more intolerable slavery. The priests from the pulpits over the whole island painted to them the horrors of their subjection if they failed to expel the foe; and the people flew to arms with a wonderful enthusiasm. They flocked to the standard of James by thousands. A spirit of new life seemed to animate them, and James, receiving fresh hope from the sight, marched from Dublin at the head of his troops to encounter Schomberg.

During the summer the court of William had not been an enviable place. In the spring the parliament had proceeded to reverse the judgments which had been passed in the last reign against lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, the earl of

Devonshire, Cornish, Alice Lisle, and Samuel Johnson. Some of the surviving whigs who had suffered obtained pecuniary compensation, but Johnson obtained none. He was deemed by the whigs to be too violent—in fact, he was a radical of that day. The scoundrel Titus Oates crawled again from his obscurity, and, by help of his old friends the whigs, managed to obtain a pension of three hundred pounds a year. This done, there was an attempt to convert the declaration of rights into a bill of rights—thus giving it all the authority of parliamentary law; and in this bill it was proposed, in case of William, Mary, and Anne all dying without issue, to settle the succession on the duchess Sophia of Brunswick Lunenburg, the daughter of the queen of Bohemia, and granddaughter of James I.; but it failed for the time. A bill of indemnity was also brought in as an act of oblivion of all past offences; but that too was rejected. The triumphant whigs, so far from being willing to forgive the tories who had supported James, and had been their successful opponents during the previous attempts through Titus Oates and company to exclude James from the succession, that they were now clamorous for their blood and ruin. William refused to comply with their truculent desires, and became, in consequence, the object of their undisguised hatred. They declared that he was a true scion of the Stuart house; that he had acted in Holland more like an absolute monarch than a republican stadtholder, and that now he meant to make himself as despotic as the prince whom he had deposed, though he was his own father-in-law; that this was what made him so tender of the tories who had abetted James in all his violations of the constitution. They endeavoured to annoy him to the utmost of their power. Ireland was in a critical state, James was still there; France was preparing to give him strenuous support; and they persuaded themselves that William's seat was uncertain, and that he must yield to their wishes. They particularly directed their combined efforts against Danby, now earl of Caermarthen, and Halifax. They demanded that Caermarthen should be dismissed from the office of president of the council, and Halifax from holding the privy seal, and being speaker of the house of lords. But William steadfastly resisted their demands, and declared that he had done enough for them and their friends, and would do no more, especially in the direction of vengeance against such as were disposed to live quietly and serve the state faithfully.

The clergy were as disaffected to William as his old friends the whigs. William was a presbyterian in principle, and they looked on his disregard of their rites and ceremonies as flat heresy. He at once put a stop to the singing of the service in his private chapel. He refused to touch for the scrofula, treating the practice as a gross superstition. This was a severe reproof to those high churchmen who applauded the profligate Charles for a parade of the practice—as if the miraculous powers of the church were likely to be permitted to pass through so unclean a vessel. Charles is said to have touched no less than a hundred thousand persons in his reign, and James quite as many in proportion to the length of his. On one single occasion he had touched no fewer than eight hundred persons in Chester cathedral. William had given mortal offence to a large section of the clergy by requiring them to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the jurors, or those who complied, were little less bitter than the non-jurors, for they had many of them sworn with very ill-will, and some with not very easy consciences. He had proposed a scheme of comprehension, which, if carried, would admit a numerous body of nonconformists to the livings of the church. They were mortified that he had allowed the Scotch to abolish episcopacy, and they saw with alarm the work of the commission which he had appointed to prepare a plan of alterations in the church service to be laid before the convocation, which was to meet simultaneously with the next session of parliament.

On the 19th of October the second session of William' first parliament met. The commons were liberal in voting supplies; they granted at once two million pounds, and declared that they would support the king to the utmost of their ability in reducing Ireland to his authority, and in prosecuting the war with France. Part of the required sum was to be levied partly by a poll-tax, partly by new duties on tea, coffee, and chocolate, partly by an assessment of one hundred thousand pounds on the Jews, but chiefly by a tax on real property. The Jews, however, protested that they would sooner quit the kingdom than submit to the imposition, and that source was abandoned. They next took up the bill of rights, and passed it, omitting the clause respecting the succession of the house of Brunswick, which measure was not brought forward again for eleven years. They however took care, at the suggestion of Burnet, to insert a clause that no person who should marry a papist should be capable of ascending the throne; and if any one on the throne so married, the subjects should be absolved from their allegiance. This clause, however, has become inoperative in our time, or George IV., who married a catholic, Mrs. Fitzherbert, would have been deposed.

After thus demonstrating their zeal for maintaining the throne in affluence and power, the commons next proceeded to display it in a careful scrutiny of the mode in which the last supplies had been spent. The conduct of both army and navy had not been such as to satisfy the public. The commons had, indeed, not only excused the defeat of Herbert at Bantry Bay, but even thanked him for it as though it had been a victory. But neither had Schomberg effected anything in Ireland; and he loudly complained that it was impossible to fight with an army that was neither supplied with necessary food, clothing, nor ammunition. This led to a searching scrutiny into the commissariat department, William himself being the foremost in the inquiry, and the most frightful peculation and abuses were brought to light. Though enormous sums had been voted, the army was found in as destitute a condition as that in the Crimea in our own day; the same villany in defrauding the unhappy soldiers of shoes, clothes, ammunition, and even tents. Whole cargoes of these had been paid for by government, but had never been delivered, and could nowhere be found. The muskets and other arms, like those in the Crimea, fell to pieces in the soldiers' hands; and, when fever and pestilence were decimating the camp, there was not a drug to be found, though one thousand seven hundred pounds had been charged government for medicines. What baggage and supplies there were could not be got to the army for want of horses to draw the wagons; and the very cavalry went afoot, because Shales, the commissary-general, had let out the horses destined for this service to the farmers of Cheshire to do their work. The meat for the men stank, the brandy was so foully adulterated that it produced sickness and severe pains. In the navy the case was the same; and Herbert, now lord Torrington, was severely blamed for not being personally at the fleet to see into the condition of his sailors, but was screened from deserved punishment by his connections. A more complete parallel betwixt the villanies of heads of departments, commissaries, and contractors of that time and of ours could not exist. The king was empowered by parliament at length to appoint a commission of inquiry to discover the whole extent of the evil, and to take remedies against its recurrence.

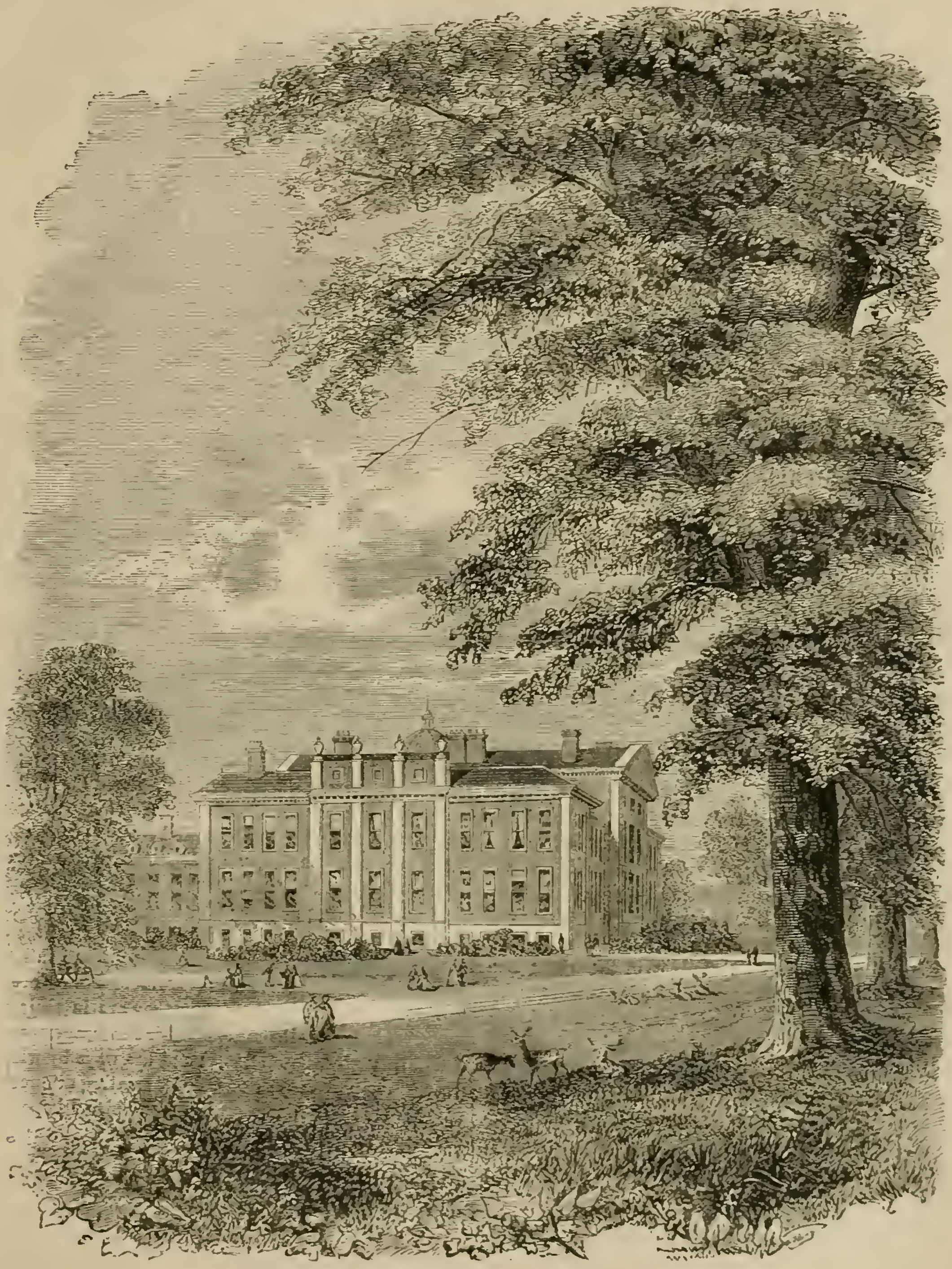
Then the commons reverted again to their fierce party warfare. Whigs and tories manifested an equal desire to crush their opponents if they had the power, and they kept William in a constant state of uneasiness by their mutual ferocity, and their alternate eagerness to force him into persecutions and blood. Edmund Ludlow, one of the regicides, who had managed to escape the murderous vengeance of Charles and James, but whose companion, John Lisle, had fallen by the hands of Charles's assassins at Lausanne, had been persuaded that he might now return to England unmolested. But he soon found that he was mistaken. The tories vehemently demanded his arrest of the king, and William was obliged to promise compliance; but he appeared in no haste in issuing the warrant; and probably a hint was given to Ludlow, for he escaped again to the continent, and there remained till his death.

On the other hand, the whigs were as unrelaxing in their desire of persecuting the tories. They refused to proceed with the indemnity bill, which William was anxious to get passed as a final preventive of their deadly intentions. They arrested and sent to the Tower the earls of Peterborough and Salisbury for going over from their party to that of James in the last reign, in order to impeach them of high treason. The same was done to Sir Edward Hales and Obadiah Walker. They appointed a committee to inquire into the concern of various individuals in the deaths of lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, and others of the whig party. The committee was termed "the committee of murder," and they called before them such of the judges, law officers of the crown, and others who had taken part in these prosecutions. Sir Dudley North and Halifax were called before them, and underwent a severe examination; but they did not succeed in establishing a charge sufficient to commit them upon. Halifax had already resigned the speakership of the house of lords, and they sought to bring William to deprive him of the privy seal. In these proceedings of the commons, John Hampden, the grandson of the great patriot, and John Howe, were the most violent. Hampden went the length of saying that William ought to dismiss every man who had gone over to him from the late king, and ought not to employ any one who entertained republican principles. This declaration, from a man who had himself been a full-length republican and the friend of Sidney, threw the house into a roar of laughter; but that did not abash Hampden. He drew up an address to the king, on the part of a committee of the commons, calling on him to cause the authors of the late malversations and the consequent failures of the army and navy, so violent that it was altogether dropped.

The whigs next brought in a bill to restore to the corporations their charters, which had been taken away by Charles II.; but, not content with the legitimate fact of the restoration of these ancient rights, they again seized on this as an opportunity for inflicting a blow on the tories. They introduced, at the instigation of William Sacheverell, a clause disqualifying for seven years every mayor, recorder, common councilman, or other officer who had been in any way a party to the surrender of those charters. They added a penalty of five hundred pounds and perpetual disqualification for every person who, in violation of this clause, should presume to hold office in any corporation. They declared that if the lords should hesitate to pass this bill, they would withhold the supplies till it was acquiesced in.

But William did not hesitate to express his displeasure with the bill, and with the indecent hurry with which it was pushed forward. A short delay was interposed, and meantime the news of the intended passing of the bill was carried into every quarter of the kingdom, and the tories, peers and commons, who had gone down to their estates for Christmas, hastened up to town to oppose it. The battle was furious. The whigs flattered themselves that, if they carried this bill, the returns to the next parliament would be such that they should be able to exclude their opponents from all power and place. After a fierce and prolonged debate, the bill was thrown out, and the tories, elated by their victory, again brought forward the indemnity bill; but this time they were defeated in turn, and the whigs immediately proceeded with their design of converting this bill into one of pains and penalties; and to show that they were in earnest, they summoned Sir Robert Sawyer before the house for his part in the prosecution of the whigs in the last reign. He had been attorney-general, and conducted some of the worst cases which were decided under Jeffreys and his unprincipled colleagues, with a spirit which had made him peculiarly odious. The case of Sir Thomas Armstrong was in particular brought forward—a very flagrant one. Sir Thomas had been charged with being engaged in the Rye House plot. He had escaped to the Netherlands, but the authorities having been bribed to give him up, he was brought back, and hanged, without a hearing, as an outlaw. It was a barbarous case, and deserved the severest condemnation; but it was pleaded, on the other hand, that Sawyer had rendered great services to the whig cause; that he had stoutly resisted the attempts of James to introduce popery and despotism; that he had resigned his office rather than advocate the dispensing power, and had undertaken the defence of the seven bishops. No matter; he was excepted from indemnity and expelled the house. A committee of the whole house proceeded to make out a complete list of all the offenders to be excluded from the benefit of the bill.

This brought William to a resolve which, if carried into effect, would have given a death-blow to the whig party, and have neutralised the glory of their accomplishment of the revolution. He sent for his chief ministers, and announced to them his determination to relinquish the fruitless task of endeavouring to govern a country thus torn



Kensington Palace, Favourite Residence of William III.

to pieces by faction; that he was weary of the whole concern, and would return to Holland, never more to meddle with English affairs, but abandon them to the queen; that for ten months he had been vainly endeavouring to make peace betwixt the rabid factions of whig and tory, and to prevent them rushing at each other's throats; that they clearly regarded nothing but their mutual animosities, for in their indulgence they utterly neglected the urgent affairs of the nation. Their enemy was in Ireland, yet it had no effect in bringing them to their senses. Still worse, every department of the government was overrun with corruption, peculation, and neglect. The public service was paralysed; the public peace was entirely destroyed; and that, as for himself, with far from robust health and with the duty of settling the government upon him, it was useless further to contend; he could contend no longer. A squadron was ready to bear him away, and he could only hope that they would show more regard to the wishes of the queen than they had to his.

Whether William was in earnest, or whether he only had recourse to a *ruse* to bring the combatants to their senses, the effect was the same. The ministers stood confounded. To drive the king from the country by their quarrels, and that at a time when the old and implacable enemy of protestantism and liberty was at their doors, would be a blow to freedom and to their own credit from which the most disastrous consequences must flow. They entreated him on their knees and with tears to forego this design, promising all that he could desire. William at length consented to make one more trial; but it was only on condition that the bill of indemnity should pass, and that he should himself proceed to Ireland, and endeavour, by his own personal and determined effort, to drive James thence.

Accordingly, on the 27th of January, he called together the two houses, and, announcing his intention to proceed to Ireland, declared the parliament dissolved, amid the utmost signs of consternation in the whigs, and shouts of exultation from the tories. This act of William's to defeat the malice of the whigs, and his continued firm resistance to their endeavours to fine and disqualify the tories, had a wonderful effect on that party. A numerous body of them deputed Sir John Lowther to carry their thanks to the king, and assure him that they would serve him with all their hearts and influence. Numbers of them who had hitherto stood aloof began to appear at court, and attended the *levée* to kiss the king's hand. William gave orders to liberate those whom the whigs had sent to prison on charges of treason.

On the 1st of February the hour arrived in which all ecclesiastics who had neglected to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy would be deposed. A considerable number of them came in in time; but Sancroft, the primate, and five of his bishops, stood out, and were deprived of their bishoprics, but were treated with particular lenity.

It was soon found that the conduct of the whigs had alienated a great mass of the people. Their endeavours, by Sacheverell's clause, to disqualify all who had consented to the surrender of the corporation charters, had made mortal enemies of those persons, many of whom were at the moment the leading members of the corporations, and therefore possessing the highest influence on the return of members to the new parliament. The same was the case in the country, amongst those who had been sheriffs or other officers at that period. The consequence was that the tories returned a decided majority to the new house, and amongst them came up Sir Robert Sawyer from Cambridge, whilst the violence of Hampden had excluded him.

The revival of the tory influence introduced great changes in the ministry. Halifax resigned the privy seal; Mordaunt—now earl of Monmouth—Delamere, Sidney Godolphin, and admiral Herbert—now earl of Torrington—were dismissed; Caermarthen was continued lord president of the council, and prime minister; Sir John Lowther was appointed first lord of the treasury, in place of Monmouth; Nottingham retained his post as secretary of state; and Thomas Herbert, earl of Pembroke, was placed at the head of the admiralty, Torrington having, to his great discontent, to yield that position, but retaining that of high admiral, and being satisfied by a splendid grant of ten thousand acres of crown land in the Peterborough fens. Delamere, too, was soothed on his dismissal by being created earl of Warrington. Richard Hampden became chancellor of the Exchequer.

Parliament met on the 20th of March, and the commons, under the new tory influence, elected Sir John Trevor speaker, who was besides made first commissioner of the great seal. In this man is said to have commenced that system of government corruption of parliament—the buying up, or buying off members, which grew to such a height, attained its climax under Sir Robert Walpole, and which has not yet ceased to operate. Trevor was an unscrupulous tory, and Burnet says he was "furnished with such sums of money as might purchase some votes." He undertook, accordingly, to manage the party in the house. The whigs were in the worst of humours, but they had now learnt that it was not wise to push matters with the crown too far, and as a body they watched their opportunity for recovering by degrees their ascendancy. Some of the more violent, however, as the earl of Shrewsbury and the notorious Ferguson, entered into immediate correspondence with James.

William, in his opening speech, dwelt chiefly on the necessity of settling the revenue, to enable him to proceed to Ireland, and on passing the bill of indemnity; and he was very plain in expressing his sense of the truculent spirit of party which, in endeavouring to wound another, wounded and embarrassed his government still more. He informed them that he had drawn up an act of grace, constituting the bill of indemnity, and should send it to them for their acceptance; for it is the practice for all such acts to proceed from the crown, and then to be voted by the peers, and finally by the commons; and he added—"A further reason which induceth me to send you this act at this time is because I am desirous to leave no colour of excuse to any of my subjects for the raising of disturbances in the government, and especially in the time of my absence. And I say this, both to inform you, and to let some ill-affected men see that I am not unacquainted how busy they are in their present endeavours to alter it. Among other encouragements which I find they give themselves, one of the ways by which they hope to compass their designs, is by creating differences and disagreements in your counsels, and which I hope you will be careful to prevent; for be assured that our greatest enemies can have no better instruments for their purposes than those who shall any way endeavour to disturb or delay your speedy and unanimous proceeding upon these necessary matters."

He then informed them that he left the administration during his absence in Ireland in the hands of the queen; and he desired that if any act was necessary for the confirmation of that authority, that they would pass it. The commons at once passed a vote of thanks, and engaged to support the government of their majesties by every means in their power. On the 27th of March they passed unanimously the four following resolutions—namely, that all the hereditary revenues of king James, except the hearth-tax, were vested now in their present majesties; that a bill should be brought in to declare and perpetuate this investment; that the moiety of the excise granted to Charles and James should be secured by bill to their present majesties for life; and finally, that the customs which had been granted to Charles and James for their lives should be granted for four years from the next Christmas.

William was much dissatisfied with the last proviso, and complained that the commons should show less confidence in him, who had restored their liberties, than in Charles and James, who destroyed them. Sir John Lowther pressed this point on the commons strongly, but in vain; and Burnet told king William that there was no disrespect meant towards him, but that the commons wished to establish this as a general principle, protective of future subjects from the evils which the ill-judged liberality of past parliaments had produced.

There was, moreover, a demand for the reform of the pension list, and the salaries of office; and Sir Charles Sedley, the poet, who had now zealously embraced the patriotic side, distinguished himself in the debate on this subject. He said—"Truly, Mr. Speaker, it is a sad reflection that some men should wallow in wealth and places, while others put away in taxes the fourth part of their revenue for the support of the same government. We are not upon equal terms for his majesty's service. The courtiers and great officers charge, as it were, in armour. They feel not the taxes by reason of their places; while the country gentlemen are shot through and through by them. The king is pleased to lay his wants before us, and, I am confident, expects our advice upon it; we ought, therefore, to tell him what pensions are too great, what places may be extinguished during the time of war and public calamity. His majesty sees nothing but coaches and six and great tables, and therefore cannot imagine the want and misery of the rest of his subjects. He is a brave and generous prince, but he is a young king, encompassed and hemmed in by a company of crafty old courtiers. To say no more, some have places of three thousand pounds, some of six thousand pounds, others of eight thousand pounds per annum; and I am told the commissioners of the treasury had one thousand six hundred pounds per annum apiece. Certainly, public pensions, whatever they have been formerly, are much too great for the present want and calamity that reigns everywhere else." He contended that they must, therefore, first save the king what they could, and then give him what they were able.

Finally, the amount of supply was fixed that, from that time to the next Michaelmas, it should be one million two hundred thousand pounds, of which one million should be raised on the credit of the bills for settling the revenue, and the remainder on another tax. In settling the royal revenue there was one circumstance which occasioned a strong debate, and which excited strong feelings of enmity betwixt the king and queen and the princess Anne. This was a demand made by the tories in parliament on the part of Anne for an augmentation of her annuity chargeable on the civil list. Anne was receiving thirty thousand pounds a year—in those times an enormous income for a princess of the royal family; but now a proposition for seventy thousand pounds a year was put forward. The house of commons was astonished; William and Mary were still more so. To them it was a matter of wonder how Anne could ever spend her thirty thousand pounds; but Anne, though not expensive herself in her habits, was in the hands of people who could absorb any amount of money; these were the Marlboroughs The countess of Marlborough—originally Sarah Jennings—a most ambitious and domineering woman, had managed to acquire a most absolute ascendancy over the not very bright Anne. Anne's husband, the prince of Denmark, a gourmand and a sot, was a still more passive tool than Anne. He had no influence over his wife, and she, perhaps, still less over him; but Sarah Churchill could sway Anne any way that she pleased. She ruled Anne absolutely, and she ruled her own husband, the earl of Marlborough, too. The great general was but the second person, his wife was the first; she ruled Anne as princess, and long afterwards as queen; and Marlborough, whose great passion was avarice, was all the more willing to give precedence to her, because she managed, through the princess, to open up the fountains of promotion and affluence.

At the suggestion of the Marlboroughs, therefore, the demand for seventy thousand pounds a year was preferred for Anne—or, as in their own familiar intercourse with her the Marlboroughs would have called her, Mrs. Morley. For a most romantic agreement had been come to amongst these most unromantic friends, Anne and the Marlboroughs, that they should abandon all the stiffness of court etiquette in their intercourse, and call each other by the most simple names. Anne was "Mrs. Morley," the prince of Denmark "Mr. Morley," and the Marlboroughs were "Mr. and Mrs. Freeman." The Marlboroughs, or Mr. and Mrs. Freeman, saw that the tory influence had now risen greatly, and through the tories they hoped to make this splendid conquest of an additional forty thousand pounds, which would have gone in Marlborough's all-capacious money-bag.

William and his wife, Anne's own sister, were deeply mortified that the request had not been made to them, but had come through a hostile influence in the commons. William sent the earl of Shrewsbury to Anne to represent the enormous pecuniary demands on the country, and to offer her fifty thousand pounds on condition that she should cease to press it through a parliament opposition—thus appearing to force it on reluctant relatives. But the countess of Marlborough had the insolence to ask what security she was to have for William keeping his word; and Anne rejected the offer, taking her cue from her dear Mrs. Freeman, and saying, "She could not think herself in the wrong to desire a security for what was to support her, and that the business was now gone so far that she thought it reasonable to see what her friends could do for her." This was as much as to say that she did not number her brother-in-law and sister amongst her friends. If William was stung by this unsisterly message, Mary was still more deeply wounded when she spoke personally to Anne on the subject. Anne repeated the remark about her friends acting in this matter for her, and Mary replied, "What friends have you except the king and me?" There was a deep breach made which never was closed again. The intercourse of the sisters became stiff and distant; other circumstances widened the alienation, and on her death-bed Mary refused to see Anne.

The tories in the commons exerted themselves to carry the seventy thousand pounds for the princess, but the opposition was strong enough to reduce the grant to fifty thousand pounds—the same sum which William had offered; so that Anne, without getting more, had got that at the expense of a painful quarrel with her nearest relative. The countess of Marlborough obtained her share of the spoil in a settlement of one thousand pounds a year on her by Anne; and the means of drawing a much larger sum was thus obtained, all Anne's affairs being under the control of the Churchills.

The next measure on which the whigs and tories tried their strength was a bill brought in by the whigs to do what was already sufficiently done in the bill of rights—to declare William and Mary the rightful and lawful sovereigns of this realm, and next to declare that all the acts of the late convention should be declared valid as laws. The first part, already sufficiently recognised, was quietly passed over; but the tories made a stout opposition to extending the act beyond the year 1689, on the plea that nothing could convert the self-constituted convention into a legal parliament. But the distinction was a mere party distinction, for, if the convention was not a legal body, nothing could render its acts so. The earl of Nottingham, who headed this movement, entered a strong protest on the journal of the lords against it, and this protest was signed by many peers, and amongst them the whig peers, Bolton, Macclesfield, Stamford, Bedford, Newport, Monmouth, Herbert, Suffolk, Delamere, and Oxford. The bill, however, was carried, and with still more ease in the commons.

The tories, mortified at the triumph of the whigs, now brought in a bill to change the military government of the city of London as the lieutenancy of the counties had been changed. They thanked the king for having by his measures brought in so many churchmen and thrown out so many nonconformists. This bill the whigs managed to impede till the session closed; but not so with another from the tory party, ordering payment of the five hundred pounds fines incurred by all who had taken office or served as magistrates without taking the necessary oaths of allegiance and supremacy, &c. This was carried, and the money ordered to be paid into the exchequer, and a separate account of it to be kept.

This defeat of the whigs only aroused to more fierceness the party warfare. They hastened to bring in a bill compelling every person in office, civil, ecclesiastical, or military, to take an oath, to abjure king James and his right to the crown, thence called the Abjuration Oath. This oath might, moreover, be tendered by any magistrate to any subject of their majesties whatever, and whoever refused it was to be committed to prison, and kept there till he complied. It was hoped by the whigs that this bill would greatly embarrass the tories who had taken office under the present monarchy, and accordingly it met with a decided opposition in the commons, and was thrown out by a majority of one hundred and ninety-two to one hundred and seventy-eight. It was then, with some alteration, introduced as a fresh bill into the lords. William went down to the lords to listen personally to the debate; and several of the peers made very free and pertinent remarks on the uselessness of so many oaths to bind any disloyal or unconscientious person. Lord Wharton, who had fought for the Long Parliament, and, therefore, must have been called on, under the many changes which had since taken place, to swear very contradictory oaths, said he was a very old man, and that he had taken so many oaths in his time, that he was afraid he could not have kept them all; in fact, there were more than he could remember, and that he would be no party to laying fresh snares either for his own soul or those of his neighbour. The earl of Macclesfield, who had come over with William from Holland, as captain of the English volunteers, said he had made very free with his oath to king James, and was loth to be put into the temptation to break more. Marlborough thereupon expressed his surprise to hear lord Macclesfield say what he did, for he was sure no one had done more to effect the revolution than he had, and that it appeared inconsistent to hesitate even to give the revolution all possible strength. Macclesfield, stung by the observation, retorted, that the earl of Marlborough did him too much honour, in ascribing so principal a share in the revolution to him. That there were others who had gone much further than he had done: that he had simply been a rebel, and should always be ready to venture his head whenever the laws or the liberties of his country required it. This was a hard blow for Marlborough, for it implied that he had been something more than a mere rebel, that is, a traitor; and yet such an one as kept his head out of danger by only going over openly when little danger was left. The tone of the house was getting very venomous, when the bishop of London threw it into a convulsion of laughter, by first declaiming on the uselessness of multiplying oaths, and then adding that he was ready to take any the government chose to bring forward.

The bill was defeated in the lords by being committed, but never reported, for on the 20th of May, after king William had given his consent to the bill, which he had recommended, for conferring on the queen full powers to administer the government during his absence in Ireland, and also to that of revising the *quo warranto* judgment against the City of London, the marquis of Caermarthen appeared in the house with an act of grace ready drawn and signed by the king.

William had tried in vain to curb the deadly animosities of the contending parties by bills of indemnity. They could be discussed and rejected, not so an act of grace: that issued from the sovereign, and came already signed to parliament. It must be at once accepted or rejected by each house, and in such a case as the present, where it was meant as a healing and pacifying act, it could not be rejected without a disloyal and ungracious air. Accordingly it was received with the deference which it deserved, and both houses gave their sanction to it, standing bare-headed, and without one dissenting voice. By this act William achieved a great triumph, and presents a most striking contrast to the two monarchs who had preceded him, who had made the throne swim in the blood of those who had opposed their father or themselves. If we call to mind the sanguinary commencement of the reign of Charles II., dyed in the blood of the regicides, and the horrors committed by

James on the adherents of Monmouth, we may award the praise of a fine humanity to William and Mary, who refused not only to avenge any injuries to themselves, but tied up the hands of those who would have exacted retribution for the wrongs done them or their kindred under James. Indeed, if we look back to any former reign, there is not one, not even the commonwealth itself, which so completely exemplified the genuine temper of a truly Christian government.

From the benefit of this act of grace, pardoning all past offences, were it is true, excepted thirty names, prominent amongst whom were the marquis of Powis, the lords Sunderland, Huntingdon, Dover, Melfort, and Castlemaine; the bishops of Durham and St. Davids; the judges Herbert, Jenner, Withers, and Holloway; Roger Lestrange; Lundy, the traitor governor of Londonderry; father Petre; and judge Jeffreys. This last monster of infamy was already deceased in the Tower, and it was well understood that if the others named only kept themselves at peace, and did not thrust themselves on the attention of the government by some fresh acts of annoyance, they would never be inquired after. Neither party, however, thanked William for the constrained peace. The whigs were disappointed of the vengeance they burned to enjoy; the tories, and even those who had the most narrowly escaped the intended mischief, ungenerously said that if William had really anything to avenge, he would not have pardoned it. But they only made the more conspicuous their own base nature: the grand magnanimity of William came in time to be felt and acknowledged by the nation. The day after the passing of this important act he prorogued parliament. The convocation which had been summoned, and met in Henry VII.'s chapel—St. Paul's, its usual meeting-place, having been burnt down in the great fire, was not yet rebuilt—had been prorogued some time before. Its great topic had been the scheme of comprehension, which was warmly advocated by Burnet and the more liberal members, but the High Church was as high and immovable as ever. Nothing could be accomplished, and from this time the nonconformists gave up all hope of any reunion with the church.

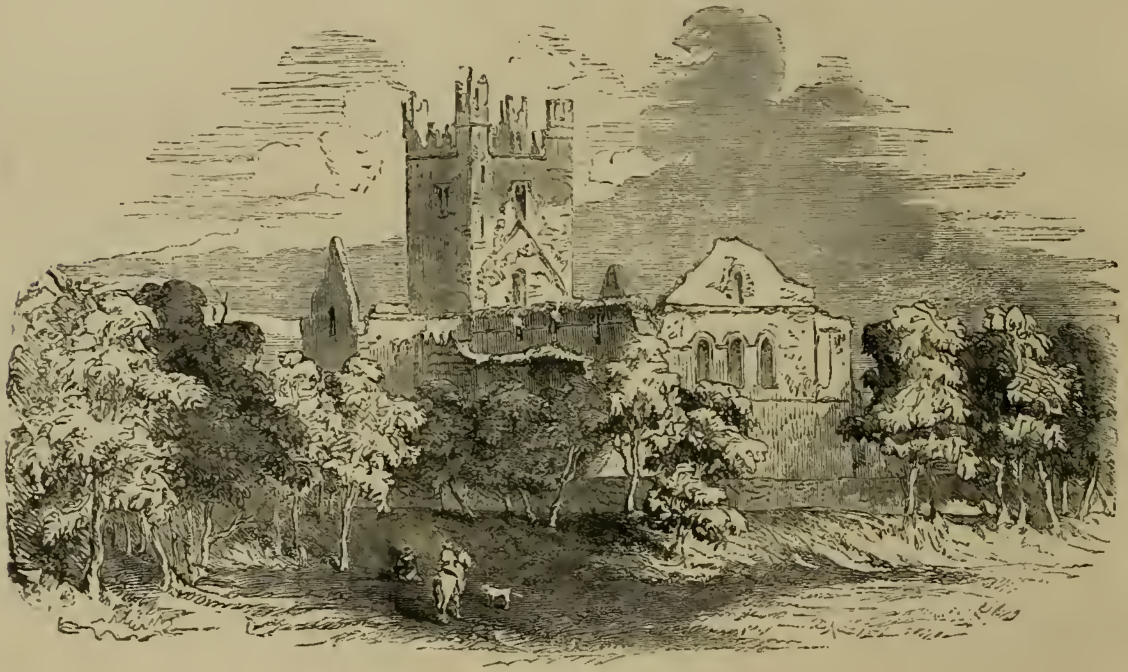
William now made active preparations for the Irish campaign. It was time, for Schomberg had, from causes which we partly detailed, effected very little, and the English fleet had done worse than nothing at sea. It was not only in Ireland that the danger of William lay, or whence came his troubles. He had to maintain the contest on the continent against Louis XIV., against James in Ireland, against corruption and imbecility in his fleet, against the most wholesale mismanagement and depredation in every department of the English government, and against the feuds and disaffection of his own courtiers and servants. Whilst the contests which we have just related were agitating parliament, William was vigorously at work exploring the depths of malversation in the government departments all around him. Shales, the commissary-general, was dismissed, and a new spirit was introduced into the commissariat under the vigilant eye of William himself. He soon effected a wonderful change in the government business of supplying the army. Instead of the vile poisons and putrid and abominable meats, excellent provisions were supplied to the army. These villanies, by which the poor soldiers had been robbed of their proper clothing, and bedding, and tents, vanished, and they were soon well clothed, well lodged, and well equipped. The road to Chester swarmed with wagons conveying wholesome supplies for the army, and a fleet lay there ready to convey the king over, with additional troops and stores. Before he set out himself, the army in Ireland amounted to thirty thousand effective men.

But the affairs of the channel fleet were in the worst possible condition. William there committed the error of continuing Torrington, better known as admiral Herbert—who had been suspected of a leaning towards James, and who had been already beaten at Bantry Bay—in the chief command, when he removed him from his post of first lord of the admiralty. Herbert was a debauched, effeminate fellow, who had sunk whatever talent or honour he might have had in the company of loose women and in the bottle. He took troops of bad women on board with him, and he staid for months together in London, indulging in all sorts of license and luxury, whilst his sailors were suffering the most atrocious treatment. They had such meat served out to them, that neither they nor even dogs could touch. They were ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-paid; the contractors and the officers were enriching themselves at their expense; and what was worse, they were compelled to bear the disgrace of having our commerce interrupted in all directions by the French cruisers. Whilst they lay inactive in Portsmouth, the French scoured our coasts, and captured trading vessels with their cargoes, to the value of six hundred thousand pounds.

On the continent affairs in general were prosperous. Though the Dutch complained that William inclined to favour the English too much, and the English were jealous of his leaning towards the Dutch, everywhere the arms of the allies had been successful against the general enemy, Louis of France. In Flanders prince Waldeck, under whom served Marlborough and general Talmache, beat the French general Humières at Walcourt; the duke of Lorraine drove them from the desolated palatinate; the duke of Baden repeatedly routed the Turks beyond the Danube, who were in the pay of France to invade Austria: and the Spaniards repelled the attempts of invasion by the troops of Louis. There was, towards the close of the year 1689, an occurrence which occasioned some anxiety to the allies. The pope, Innocent XI., died, and was succeeded by cardinal Ottobuoni, under the name of Alexander VIII., to whom Louis made instant court, and who seemed for the moment to listen to him. But the interests of the pope himself, as well as of protestant Europe, too clearly required the repression of the ambition of Louis: the pope stood firm, and the danger passed away.

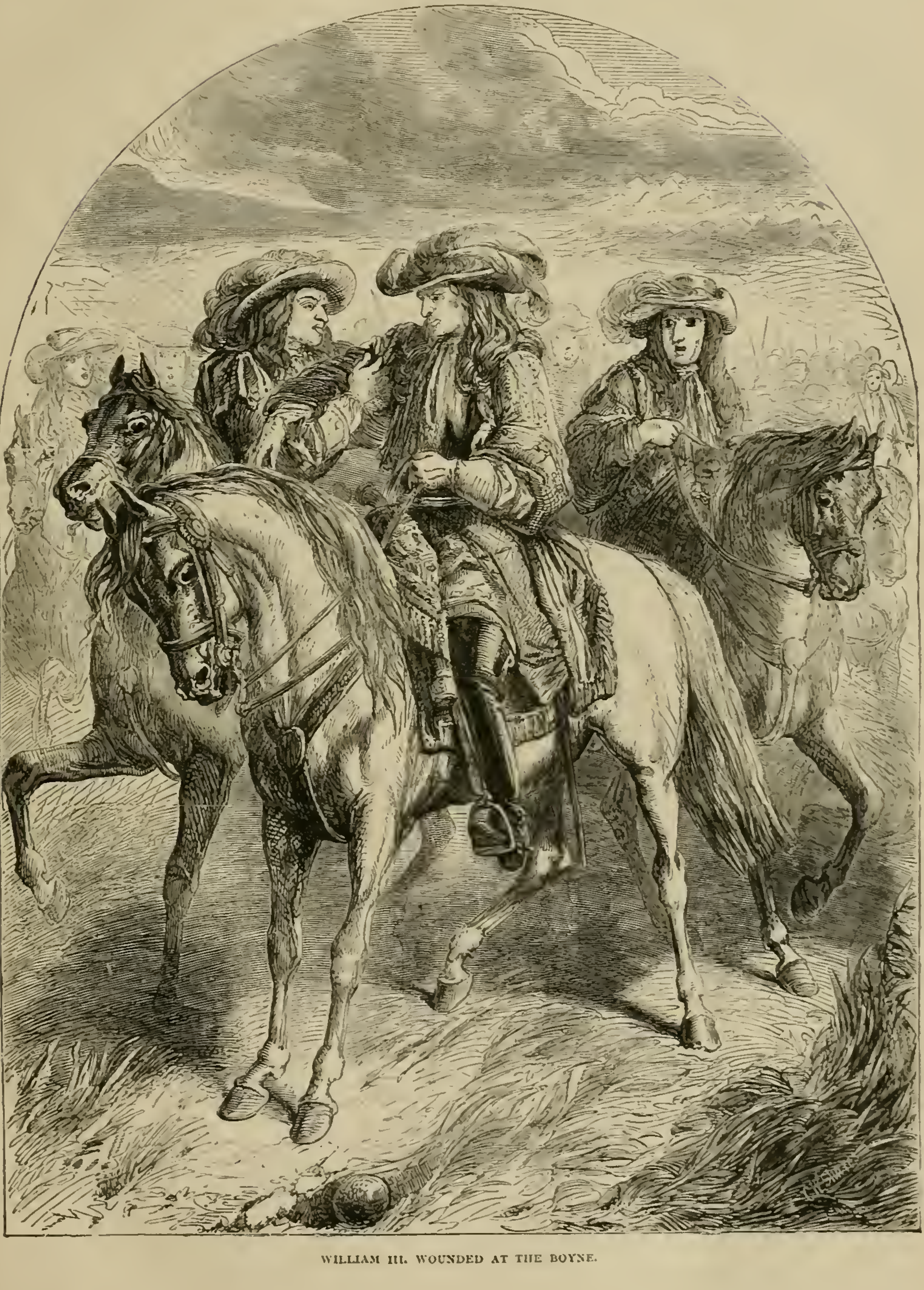
William had, however, difficulties at home to surmount before he could depart for Ireland. Just as he was prepared to set out, the discovery of an extensive traitorous correspondence was made betwixt a number of concealed Jacobites and the court of St. Germains. Some of his own ministers and courtiers were deep in it. Two messengers had been dispatched from James's queen from St. Germains, with letters to the conspiring Jacobites. One of these, of the name of Fuller, was induced by some means to betray the secret. He went boldly to Whitehall, and delivered his dispatches to William. Crone, the other, was arrested, and soon after another messenger of the name of Tempest. The disclosures made through this means revealed an extensive ramification of treason that was enough to appal the stoutest heart and coolest brain. The queen's own relative, Clarendon, was one of the most zealous plotters; Ailesbury and Dartmouth, who had both taken the oaths to the new monarch, were amongst the most guilty; and the latter, though an admiral, was prepared, in connection with other officers, to betray the coast defences, and to carry over their ships to the enemy. William Penn was arrested on account of an intercepted letter to James, and charged with treason, but he denied any treasonable intentions, and that he only corresponded with James as an old friend. Nothing of a criminal nature could be proved against him, and he was soon liberated. Viscount Preston, who had been raised to that dignity by James, but was not admitted by the peers to possess a valid patent of nobility, was another; and what was far more mortifying, the earl of Shrewsbury, who had so recently resigned the seals as secretary of state, was discovered to be deeply implicated. It was found that the conspiracy was spread far and wide through the country, and that the Jacobites in Worcestershire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and other northern counties, were laying in arms and ammunition; and gentlemen who had received commissions from James were actually mustering and drilling troops on the solitary moorlands. The correspondence was as active betwixt England and Ireland, as betwixt England and France.

Amid dangers of such magnitude, it may seem strange that William should venture to leave England, and burthen his wife with the cares and responsibilities of such a crisis, amid the machinations of so many determined enemies; but his affairs as imperiously demanded his presence in Ireland, and he therefore took the best measures that he could for the assistance and security of the queen. He appointed a council of nine of the most efficient and trusty persons he could think of, some whigs, some tories. They were Devonshire, Dorset, Monmouth, Edward Russell, Caermarthen, Pembroke, Nottingham, Marlborough, and Lowther. In making this selection William must have put aside many personal prejudices. Marlborough was appointed as most likely to advise the queen as to military affairs, though he was the known partisan and adviser of Anne. Russell, who was an admiral and treasurer of the navy, was the person to advise her in naval matters, and Caermarthen was, from his experience, and as having a great regard for the queen, the man on whom she could most rely for the management of the main business of the state. William solemnly laid upon them the great trust which he reposed in them, and called upon them, as men and statesmen, to afford the queen every assistance which her being left under such trying circumstances demanded for her. He likewise informed Rochester that he was well acquainted with the treasonable practices of his brother Clarendon, and bade him warn him from him to tempt him no further to a painful severity.



Old Abbey, Waterford.

Having arranged this matter, William set out on the 4th of June for Chester, where he embarked on the 11th, and landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th. He proceeded immediately towards Belfast, and was met by Schomberg on the way. William was attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough,



WILLIAM III. WOUNDED AT THE BOYNE.

and Manchester, Mr. Boyle, and many other persons of distinction. He appointed the whole of his army to rendezvous at Loughbrickland, and immediately set about organising his plans, and preparing his stores for an active campaign. Before we enter upon that, however, we must take a hasty glance at what Schomberg had done during the autumn, winter, and spring.

This was little for so numerous an army, commanded by so experienced a general. Schomberg was—it is true, eighty years of age—and many complained that time had diminished his fire, and that much more ought to have been effected. But William, who may be supposed a most competent judge, cast no blame upon him; on the contrary, he thanked him for having preserved his army at all, his troops having had to contend with all the horrors of a deficient and most villanous commissariat, as we have already shown.

Schomberg on landing had taken Carrickfergus, Newry, and Dundalk, where he entrenched himself. He had found the country through which he passed a perfect waste. It could afford him no provisions, and, if he were compelled to fall back, no shelter. James, on his landing, had advanced from Dublin to Drogheda, where he was with twenty thousand men, besides vast numbers of wild Irish, armed with scythes, pikes, and skeans. But Schomberg found himself in no condition for fighting. His baggage could not reach him for want of wagons, and from the state of the roads. His arms were many of them good for nothing, being the vile rubbish furnished by the contractors under the management of the fraudulent ministry and the infamous commissary-general Shales. His soldiers were suffering from want of proper clothing, shoes, beds, and tents. James advanced to Ardee, and the Irish were eager to fight, but Schomberg lay still, and wrote to William on the 27th of September, that the best thing he could do was to lie still under the circumstances. This was very different conduct to what the coffee-house politicians of London were expecting from him. They contended that, with such an army, Schomberg ought very speedily to overrun all Ireland and drive James into the sea. William, however, was too old a general to expect any man to fight with soldiers who were half starving, fast falling into fever from bad food or none, and from lying in Irish bogs without bedding amid the rains and fogs of autumn. On the 12th of October Schomberg wrote again —"If your majesty was well informed of the state of our army and that of our enemy, the nature of the country, and the situation of the two camps, I do not believe you would incline to risk an attack. If we did not succeed, your majesty's army would be lost without resource. I make use of the term, for I do not believe, if it was once put into disorder, that it could be re-established." In fact, there was no fighting with an army sent out as English contractors and war ministers generally send out English armies if they be not well looked after. James, encouraged by Schomberg's caution, advanced from Ardee, posted his army in the face of Schomberg, and dared him to battle. Schomberg lay still, and he had good cause. Besides the disabling circumstances mentioned, he had got mutiny in his camp. Amongst the Huguenots in his service had enlisted a number of French refugees of a very low character, vagabonds, thieves, and deserters, who had passed themselves off as protestants, to escape from the French in Flanders; and these wretches were now discovered to be in full correspondence with Avaux, the French minister, engaging, for a pardon and employment under James, to play the traitors whenever they should be brought out to battle. Had Schomberg, therefore, been weak enough to be induced by James's bravado to go out, he would have seen several companies of the French go over to the enemy in the midst of the action—a circumstance which would have produced a fatal effect on his troops, many of them raw and undisciplined, and discontented with their treatment. Schomberg probed into the conspiracy, which was revealed through some intercepted letters; six of the ringleaders were hanged, and two hundred others sent under guard to England. This discovery cast suspicion on all the French refugees, and the English soldiers were in a state of indignation against them almost amounting to insubordination. This was no state of things for action.

Worse still, the soldiers were fast perishing with fever. Bad food, bad clothing, bad lodging, and drenching and continued rains without proper shelter, were fast doing their work on the English army. Schomberg did his best. He stimulated his soldiers to make roofs to their huts of turf and fern, and to make their beds of heather and fern, raised on dry mounds above the soaking rains. But all was in vain. The soldiers were become spiritless and demoralised. They were either too listless to move, or too excited by whisky, which they managed to get, to follow his recommendations. Scenes like those which appeared in London during the plague now horrified his camp. The soldiers gave way to wild license, drank, swore, sung bacchanalian songs, drank the devil's health, and made seats of the corpses of their dead comrades at their carouses, which they declared were the only ones they had to keep them out of the wet.

The sickness appeared at the same time in the English fleet which lay off the coast at Carrickfergus, and swept away almost every man from some of the vessels. By the commencement of November, Schomberg's army could not number more than five thousand effective men. The Irish in James's army did not suffer so much, and they rejoiced in the pestilence which was thus annihilating their heretic enemies. But the weather at length compelled James to draw off, first to Ardee, and then into winter quarters in different towns. Schomberg, thus set at liberty, quickly followed his example, and quartered his troops for the winter in the different towns of Ulster, fixing his head-quarters at Lisburn. His army had, however, lost above six thousand men by disease.

In February, 1690, the campaign commenced by the duke of Berwick, James's natural son, who attacked William's advanced post at Belturbet; but he met with such a reception that he nearly lost his life, being severely wounded and his horse killed under him. In fact, the condition of the two armies had been completely changed during the winter by the different management of the two commanders. Schomberg had been diligently exerting himself to restore the health and to perfect the discipline of his troops. As spring advanced he received the benefit of William's exertions and stern reforms in England. Good, healthy food, good clothing, bedding, tents, and arms arrived. Fresh troops were from time to time landing, amongst them regiments of German and Scandinavian mercenaries. By the time of William's arrival the army was in a fine and vigorous condition, and amounted to thirty thousand men.

Not so the army of James; it had grown more and more disorderly. James and his court had returned to Dublin, where they spent the winter in the grossest dissoluteness and neglect of all discipline or law. Gambling, riot, and debauchery scandalised the sober catholics, who had hoped for a saviour in James. Of all the army the cavalry alone had been maintained by its officers in discipline. The foot soldiers roamed over the country at pleasure, plundering their own countrymen. James's own kitchen and larder were supplied by his foragers from the substance of his subjects, without regard to law or any prospect of payment. It was in vain that remonstrances were made, James paid no attention to them. His bad money was all gone; he had used up all the old pots, pans, and cracked cannon, and applied to Louis for fresh remittances, which did not arrive. To complete the ruin of his affairs, he requested the withdrawal of Rosen and Avaux, who, heartless as they were, saw the ruinous course things were taking, and remonstrated against it. Lauzan, an incompetent commander, was sent over to take their place, accompanied by about seven thousand French infantry. When Lauzan arrived in Ireland, the desolation of the country, the rude savagery of the people, and the disorders of the court and capital, were such as to strike him and his officers with astonishment and horror. He declared in his letters to the French minister, Louvois, that the country was in so frightful a state that no person who had lived in any other could conceive; that James's chief functionaries pulled each his different way, instead of assisting the king; and that "such were the wants, disunions, and dejection, that the king's affairs looked like the primitive chaos."

Unfortunately, Lauzan was not the man to reduce chaos to order. He had accompanied Mary, the queen of James, in her flight from London to Paris, and had there too won the good graces of Madame Maintenon; and by the influence of these ladies, who imagined him a great general, he obtained this important command. He had to fill the place of both Avaux and Rosen, of ambassador and general, without the sagacity and skill which would have fitted him for either. He conceived the greatest contempt and hatred of the Irish, and was not likely to work well with them. Such was the condition in which James was found on the landing of king William.

William on landing pushed on without delay to Belfast, and thence, without permitting himself to be delayed by the congratulatory multitudes that surrounded him, he hastened forward to his main army at Loughbrickland. The news of his arrival was carried all over Ulster by the firing of cannon and by bonfires on the heights. The protestants were in a state of wild exultation, the Irish in one of equal consternation. Dublin was thrown into a dread panic. The hour, it was felt, was at hand, when the great contest must be decided; and to all reflecting men the condition of James's army, or the prudence and abilities of its commanders, were not such as to inspire much confidence. On the other hand, the protestant inhabitants were full of confidence that the moment of their deliverance was arrived. Their elevated spirits did not escape the eyes of their enemies. Deep suspicions of their rising and seizing the city in the absence of the army fell on the authorities, and they issued a proclamation ordering all protestants to confine themselves to their houses from sunset to sunrise on pain of death, nor during the day were they to assemble in numbers more than five under the same penalty. Nor did they stop here, but they seized such numbers of leading men, both laity and clergy, that the prisons could not contain them, and they confined them in the churches under strong guards.

Meantime the two monarchs were actively engaged in the north preparing for the great struggle. William found his forces at Loughbrickland amounted to thirty-six thousand men; James was encamped at Dundalk with thirty thousand. There was, however, now a wonderful difference in the quality and discipline of the two armies. James's Irish infantry was thoroughly demoralised by neglect of discipline and by indulging in the loosest habits of plunder and riot, being more like lawless rapparees than soldiers. His cavalry and the French forces were better; but James, Lauzun, Berwick, Tyrconnel, Hamilton, and Antrim were no match for such generals as William, Schomberg, Ginckel, Ormond, Oxford, Solmes, Portland, prince George of Hesse Darmstadt, duke Charles Frederick of Würtemberg, Michelbourne—who had led the men of Londonderry—Sir Albert Conyngham, with the Enniskilleners, and Douglas, who commanded the Scotch foot-guards, besides other brave officers who had acquired a high reputation on the continent, as Sir John Francis, who commanded the Dragoon guards, and Caillemot, who led on the Huguenots.

The soldiers of William's army consisted of a variety of nations, many of whom had won fame under great leaders. There were Dutch, which had fought under William and his great generals against those of Louis of France; Germans, Danes, Finlanders, French Huguenots, now purged of their false countrymen; English and Scotch troops, which had fought also in Holland, in Tangiers, at Killiecrankie; and Anglo-Irish, which had won such laurels at Londonderry, Enniskillen, and Newton Butler. All were animated by the presence of the king, and of his assembled generals of a wide renown, and with the confidence of putting down the popish king with his French supporters and his Irish adherents, who had robbed and expelled them and their families. The Germans and Dutch burned to meet again the French invaders of their country, the desolators of the palatinate; and the French protestants were as much on fire to avenge themselves on their catholic countrymen, who had been their oppressors. It was not merely English troops acting on ordinary grounds of hostility against Irish ones, but representatives of almost all protestant Europe collected to avenge the wrongs of protestants and of their own countries.

William was confident in his army, and declared that he was not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. Schomberg still recommended caution when it was no longer needed, and thus gave a colour to the words of those who accused him of having shown too much caution already, which they insinuated was but the result of old age. On the 24th of June, only ten days after landing, William was in full march southward. James did not wait for his coming, but abandoned Dundalk and retreated into Drogheda. His generals, indeed, represented to him that caution and delay were his best policy against so powerful a force, and even recommended that he should retreat beyond Dublin and entrench himself at Athlone, as a more central and defensible position; but James would not listen to this, and Tyrconnel strengthened him in the resolution.

William marched on through a country beautiful in its natural features, but presenting all the dreadful traces of the lawless condition of things under James—houses and outbuildings burnt down, woods destroyed, and fields destitute of man and beast; yet the natural features and fertility of the country were such amid its ruin, that William was heard to say, "It is a country worth fighting for." On the 30th of June, the sixth day of his advance, William reached an eminence early in the morning near Drogheda, and beheld the camp of James posted along the south bank of the Boyne, and his flags and those of the French flying from the walls of that town. William appeared rejoiced at the sight, and exclaimed, "I am glad to see you, gentlemen; if you escape me now, the fault will be mine." He rode forward with a number of his staff to reconnoitre the hostile forces. He found the enemy disposed in two lines, extending from the walls of Drogheda to near the bridge of Slane, two miles off. At a place called Oldbridge—probably from a bridge once having existed there—was yet a ford, which he determined on the morrow to force with his troops. Only part of James's forces were visible from the undulations of the country, and some of his staff remarked that James's army was but small. "It may be larger than it looks," observed William; "but, large or small, I will soon know more about them."

With a degree of incaution remarkable in a man of such cautious habits, on such an important occasion, where the fortunes of the whole kingdom depended on his security, he ordered his followers to lay breakfast on the turf nearly opposite to Oldbridge, and there, with his staff, Schomberg, Solmes, Ormond, Sidney, Coningsby, prince George of Hesse, and others, he coolly sat down to his repast within gunshot of the opposite shore. The circumstance soon attracted the notice of the enemy, and a body of horsemen rode close to the river's brink to reconnoitre. They were so near that William's attendants could recognise amongst them the duke of Berwick, Lauzun, the French general, Tyrconnel, and others. This, which ought to have warned William and his party to remove their banquet to a safer distance, failed to do so, till suddenly, just as they had finished and were mounting, a cannon-shot struck the horse of the prince of Hesse to the ground, and a second, falling short, made a bound, and struck William himself on the shoulder. He fell on the neck of his horse, and the enemy, observing it, raised a loud shout, believing him dead. But William quickly regained his position, bade his attendants, who were now terribly alarmed, to make themselves easy; that no harm was done, but that the bullet had come quite near enough. It was found that it had torn away his coat from the shoulder, and wounded him, but not seriously. His hurt was bandaged on the spot, and William proceeded, as if nothing had happened, to superintend the operations of the field. His troops were brought down to the banks of the river, and a brisk cannonade was commenced betwixt the armies, which continued through the day. What William saw of the conduct of those regiments which had to-day for the first time come under fire, satisfied him. "All is right," he observed; "they stand fire well."

William did not return to his tent till about nine o'clock in the evening, having seen all arrangements made for forcing the river, and engaging the enemy on their own bank in the morning; and notwithstanding his wound, at midnight he rode through the ranks with torches to see that all his orders had been fully executed. Once more Schomberg declared that he was too rash in venturing to engage under such disadvantages of position; but William was not to be dissuaded, a proof that if Schomberg and not William had had to prosecute the war, it would not have been soon over.

The morning of the 1st of July, destined to become a great epoch in Ireland, rose brilliantly, and the opposing armies were in motion by four o'clock. William overnight had given the word Westminster as the recognition sign, and ordered his men, moreover, to wear each a green sprig in his hat, to distinguish them from the enemy, who, out of compliment to France, wore a white cockade, generally of paper. William's disposition of battle was for Meinhart Schomberg, the son of the old general, supported by Portland and Douglas with the Scotch guards, to take the right and secure the bridge of Slane. He himself headed the left wing near Drogheda with a strong force of cavalry, and Schomberg the centre, which was opposite Oldbridge, where he was supported by the Blues of Solmes, and the brave Londonderries and Enniskilleners, and on his left the French Huguenots under Caillemot, and betwixt them and William the Danes. Meinhart Schomberg found the bridge of Slane already occupied by Sir Neil O'Neil, with a regiment of Irish Dragoons; but the English charged them briskly, killed O'Neil, and made themselves masters of the bridge. This was a grand advantage at the outset. It enabled the English to attack the right wing of James, and endangered their seizure of the pass of Duleek, a very narrow defile in the hills, about four miles in their rear, by which they would cut off altogether their retreat. Lauzun, who had posted the main strength of the Irish infantry at the foot of Oldbridge, and supported them by Sarsfield's horse, was compelled to dispatch the horse towards Slane Bridge, to guard against this danger, thus weakening his centre.

Nearly at the same moment that this movement took place, William put himself at the head of his cavalry, and with his sword in his left hand, for his right arm was too sore and stiff from his wound to hold it, he dashed into the river and led his wing across. At the same moment Schomberg gave the word, and the centre was in motion. Solmes' Dutch Blues led the way, and their example was instantly followed by the men of Londonderry and Enniskillen, and at their left the Huguenots. The men waded through the stream, holding aloft their muskets and ammunition. The brunt of the encounter was there, for there the enemy had expected the main attack, and had not only concentrated their forces there, horse and foot, but had defended the bank with a breastwork and batteries. The

English had to advance against the deadly fire from these defences, and from the thronging Irish, who raised the wildest hurrahs, whilst they could return no fire till they were nearly across and sufficiently raised from the water. Then they saw the breastwork and the batteries lined with one mass of foes. They, however, pushed resolutely forward, fired, charged the foe, and in an instant the whole demoralised Irish broke and fled. Never was there so complete and ignominious a rout. These men, on whom so much depended, but who, spite of all warnings to James, had been suffered to plunder and riot without restraint or discipline, now dispersed with so dastardly a rapidity that it was more like a dream than a reality, and the report of the cowardice of the Irish flew nearly as fast into the whole of Europe, and has only been wiped off by their gallantry in the wars of our own times.

The engagement was now general, from the left where William commanded, almost under the walls of Drogheda, to the bridge of Slane. The English and their allies had forced their way across the river, and were engaged in fierce contest with the Irish horse, and the French cavalry and foot. When Schomberg saw the cavalry of Tyrconnel and Hamilton bear down upon his centre, and that they had actually driven back Solmes' Blues into the river, he dashed into the river himself, to rally and encourage them. Probably stung by a generous sense of shame, for he had discouraged the attempt to attack the Irish army in that position, the old man now exhibited an opposite degree of incaution, for without defensive armour he rushed into the *melée*, disregarding the advice of his officers to put on his cuirass. As he rode through the river, Caillemot was borne past him to the north bank mortally wounded, but still crying to his brave Huguenots, "On! on! my lads! To glory! to glory!" Schomberg took up the cry of encouragement to the men, appalled by the loss of their general, and said, "Allons, messieurs, voilà vos persécuteurs!" But scarcely had he uttered the words when he, too, received a mortal wound and fell. When he was found he was dead, with a bullet wound through his neck, and a couple of sword gashes on his head. In the Life of James he is said to have been killed by O'Toule, an exempt of the guards. About the same time fell Walker of Londonderry, who had come along with his townsmen. William had made him bishop of Londonderry, and when told of his death said very justly, "What business had he there?" In defending Londonderry Walker was at home and justified, but not in leaving his flock to follow the army.

For half an hour the battle raged with a fury such as the oldest soldiers of the Netherlands now declared they had never seen surpassed. Hamilton and Tyrconnel led on their cavalry against Schomberg's forces with a steadiness and bravery that was as much to their credit as their conduct in civil life had been disgraceful. William, on his part, had found a warm reception on the left. The Irish horse withstood him stoutly, and drove back his guards and the Enniskillens repeatedly. On his first coming up to the Enniskillens, he was mistaken by them for one of the enemy, and was near being shot by a trooper. The mistake being rectified, the Enniskilleners followed him with enthusiasm. William threw away all thought of personal hazard, and led them into the thickest of the fight. At one moment a ball carried away the cock of his pistol, at another the heel of his boot, but he still led on. The Enniskiliens fought desperately, and the horse of Ginckel charged brilliantly.

They were thus fighting their way towards the centre, and had advanced as far as Plottin Castle, about a mile and a half from Oldbridge, when the Irish horse made a last furious effort, drove back the Enniskilleners, and killed a number of them. William rallied them, and again led them to the charge, broke the Irish cavalry, and took prisoner Hamilton, who had been heading this gallant charge. When William saw the man who had proved so traitorous to him when sent to Ireland, wounded and a prisoner, he said, "Is this business over, or will your horse make more fight?" "On my honour, sir," replied Hamilton, "I believe they will." "*Your* honour, indeed!" muttered William; but ordering the wounded man to be properly attended to, he rode forward to join the main body and end the fight.

That was now soon over. The centre and the right wing had done dreadful execution. They had nearly annihilated whole regiments. One of them had only thirty men left without a wound. They had fought in a manner worthy of a better cause and a better leader, for James had early abandoned the field, and left his deluded followers to the mercy of the enemy. No sooner did he see the Irish fly before the enemy at Oldbridge, than, from his safe position on the hill of Donore, he gave orders for all the baggage and the artillery, except six pieces, already in full employ in the engagement, to be conveyed with all speed on the road to Dublin, so as to effect their passage through the defile of Duleek; and, escorted by Sarsfield's horse, he made all haste after them.

If James was one of the worst and most infatuated monarchs that ever reigned in time of peace, in war he was the most dastardly. In England he fled disgracefully on the approach of William, without a blow, and here again he showed the same utter want of spirit and energy. He had taken no care to keep his soldiers disciplined and in proper tone for the coming war, and he deserted them at the first symptoms of reverse. If the English had pushed on briskly from the bridge of Slane they might still have intercepted him, and brought him prisoner to William; but, the conflict over, they relaxed their efforts, and William gave orders to spare the flying troops as much as possible. When Lauzun and Tyrconnel approached the pass of Duleek with their retreating cavalry, they found it choked with a confused mass of wagons, artillery, and terrified fugitives. They therefore faced about and repelled the pursuers till the rout had got through. The cavalry of William still followed the flying throng as far as the Neale, a second pass, and till it grew dark, when they returned to the main army. James continued his panic flight, however, never stopping till he reached Dublin. The city had all day been in a state of intense excitement. First had come the news that William was wounded, then that he was dead; amid the rejoicing of the Jacobites came the horrid news of the defeat, followed about sunset by James himself, attended by about two hundred cavalry, haggard, wayworn, and covered with dust. All that night kept pouring in the defeated troops, and early in the morning James, not deeming himself safe, took leave of the mayor, aldermen, and officers of his army, upbraiding the Irish with their cowardice in having deserted him almost without a blow, and vowing that he would never trust to an Irish army again. The Irish returned the compliment, and declared that, if the English would exchange kings, they were ready to fight again, and to conquer too. If any man had ever caused his own misfortune and defeat, it was James; but he never took the means to avoid discomfiture, and he never saw, or, at least, seemed to see, that the blame lay with himself. Without, therefore, making another effort, though he had a large army still on foot, and all the south of Ireland to employ it in, he continued his flight towards Waterford, in terror all the way lest he should be overtaken by William's cavalry, and, reaching Waterford on the third day, he got away by water, without loss of time, to Kinsale, whence he sailed for France, quitting Ireland at the spot where he had entered it.

It might have been expected that Tyrconnel and Lauzun would yet rally their forces at Dublin, and make a resolute stand there. But the decisive defeat of the Boyne, the untrustworthiness of the Irish infantry, the loss on the field amounting to upwards of one thousand five hundred, and those chiefly cavalry, the desertion of vast numbers of infantry on the road southward, and the precipitate flight of James, discouraged them. Towards evening of the same day that James left, Tyrconnel and Lauzun mustered their forces and marched out of the city, determining to make their stand on the Shannon, within the strong defences of Athlone and Limerick. No sooner had they evacuated the city than the protestants issued from their retreats, liberated all the prisoners, and sent off messengers to invite William to enter his new capital in triumph.

William had lost only about five hundred men in this most important battle; the next day Drogheda had opened its gates, and on receiving the message of the people of Dublin announcing the flight of James and his army, he dispatched the duke of Ormond with nine troops of horse to occupy Dublin till his arrival. He then put his army in motion, and on the 8th of June entered that capital in triumph. He came enriched by the capture of nearly all the baggage and stores of the defeated army, the Enniskilleners alone having taken the baggage and equipage of Tyrconnel and Lauzun, including ten thousand pounds in money, a great quantity of plate and jewels, and three hundred cars laden with stores or ammunition.

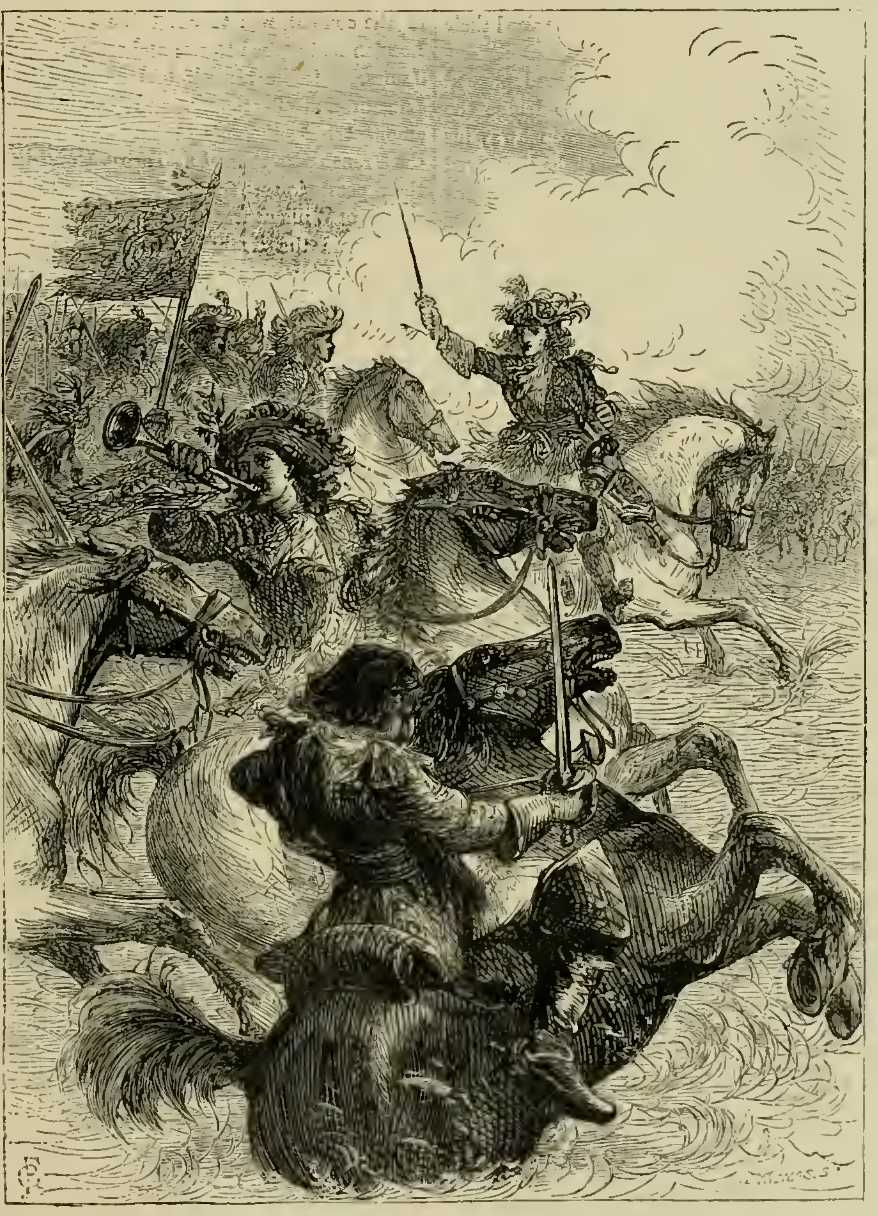
The exultation of the protestants in Dublin was beyond all control. At length they had become rid of their spoilers in a manner which promised that it would be permanent. To them and to William alike came the joyful tidings that James had not only fled from the conqueror, but had quitted the island altogether. Before him the news of William's death had spread terror through Holland and Germany, and exultation through France. With him came the startling assurance of the contrary fortune, that William was alive and victorious, his banner waving from the castle of Dublin, and James a fugitive once more at St. Germains, cursed and despised by the army and the people that he had so miserably abandoned. The people of Paris had rushed into a premature illumination, with firing of cannon, feasting, and wine flowing freely in the streets. William had been burnt in effigy, and the protestants had their shops ransacked by the rabble, before the true intelligence arrived, and swamped their joy. The infamous Melfort wrote to James's queen, saying that Herod and the devil of Luny were dead, and that now they must have a signal vengeance on England. He rioted in imagination on the repeal of the *habeas corpus* act, the suppression of the power of the commons, and the extermination of all those who had been concerned in the revolution without any useless juries, but at the order of the crown and its own appointed judges. In a word, all that James had ever been aiming at was now to be accomplished, and the slavery of England completed. Nothing could exceed the rage of this minister when the news reached Rome—where he was—that the whole was an empty rumour, and that the Austrians had had the audacity to sing a *Te Deum* in St. Stephen's at Vienna for William's victory.

The effect of the news in London, first of William's wound, then of the total defeat of James's army, may be imagined. To the honour of Mary, she wrote in haste to her husband to entreat that all care should be taken of her father; but James had taken good care of himself. The dispatch from William announcing to his queen and ministers his victory arrived at the moment that parliament was being prorogued, and with the members went into every part of England the rapid news of the great event.

William pitched his camp at Finglass, about two miles from Dublin, and took up his quarters there with his troops. On the 6th of July, however, he went in procession from the castle, attended by his staff, by the principal protestant bishops and clergy, by the mayor and corporation in their robes, and by a vast crowd of citizens, having the crown on his head, to the cathedral of St. Patrick, where he returned thanks to God for his success; and there they entombed the remains of marshal Schomberg, intending afterwards to convey them to England, which, however, never was done. On the 9th he marched southward with his army in pursuit of the enemy, dispatching Douglas to besiege Athlone, and himself, with the main division, advanced towards Waterford.

William's object in reaching Waterford was to take ship for England—not, like James, to abandon his army out of mere cowardice—but in order to protect England too. He had received news that the French, under Tourville, were hovering on the southern coast of England; that they had again defeated the British fleet under the wretched Torrington, and were meditating invasion of the country. He hastened on; the Irish troops at his approach abondoned Clonmel and Kilkenny. Waterford was similarly evacuated, and William, nominating count Solmes commander-in-chief during his absence, was about to embark, when he received further intelligence. Tourville had made a partial descent at Teignmouth, in Devonshire, sacked it, and then drawn off in consequence of the menacing attitude of the inhabitants of the western counties. He therefore hastened to rejoin his army, which was on the way towards Limerick, where Douglas had found such resistance that he had been compelled to raise the siege. On the 9th of August he sate down before that town, and found the Irish determined to make a resolute defence of it.

The Irish, ashamed of their conduct at the battle of the Boyne, and seeing their Saxon masters once more rapidly recovering their ascendancy in the island, one and all, men and officers, determined on here making a stand to the death. They did not owe their spirit to their French allies, for Lauzun and his officers ridiculed the idea of defending the place, which they regarded as most miserably fortified. Tyrconnel joined them in that opinion; but Sarsfield encouraged his countrymen, and exhorted them to cast up breastworks of earth, which, in our times—as at Hamburg and Sebastopol—have convinced military men that they are far more impervious to cannon than stone or brick walls. He could not convince the French, who had lost all faith in Irish prowess, and who pined to return to France from the miseries and privations of Ireland; nor Tyrconnel, who was old, and completely dispirited by the action of the Boyne. He and the French drew off with the French forces into Galway, and Boisseleau, a Frenchman, who *did* sympathise with the Irish, and Sarsfield, were left to defend the place. They had yet twenty thousand men, who were animated by a new spirit, and were destined to make the defence of Limerick as famous as that of Londonderry.



William III. at the Battle of the Boyne.

Limerick stood partly on an island in the Shannon; and to take that part it was necessary to have boats, for only a single bridge connected the two parts of the town, or the two towns, as they were called—the English and the Irish, William had a quantity of tin boats on the way for this service, and his cannon and ammunition were also following him. Sarsfield seized immediately on this circumstance when it came to his knowledge. He got out of the city in the night, surprised the escort of the guns, and destroyed the guns, blew up the powder, and made good his return to the town. This exploit raised Sarsfield wonderfully in the opinion of his countrymen, and at the same time raised their own spirits.

William sent for fresh guns from Waterford, and pressed on the siege; but the autumnal rains began to deluge the low, marshy banks of the Shannon, and to sweep away his men with fever. The Irish, on the other hand, had received a fresh stimulus to exertion in the arrival of Baldearg O'Donnel, the chief of one of the most famous old races of Ulster, who had been in the service of Spain, and had returned to assist his countrymen in this last effort to throw off the yoke of the Saxon. The high veneration for the name of the O'Donnel, and the character of the man, placed him at the head of a large class of the Irish in Limerick. There was a prophecy that an O'Donnel was to conquer the English, and the enthusiastic Celts believed that this was the time. And, in truth, the prediction appeared beginning to verify itself, for, after a desperate attempt to take the town by storm on the 27th of August, William resolved to raise the siege, and place his troops in healthy quarters for the winter. During this attempt, William had another narrow escape from a cannon-ball. His men, too, after breaching the walls in several places, and carrying the counterscarp, or covered way, suffered great loss. On the 30th the siege was raised, and William hastened to Waterford, and thence to England. He left the government of the island in the care of three lords-justices, namely, viscount Sidney, lord Coningsby, and Sir Charles Porter. About the same time Tyrconnel and Lauzun quitted Ireland for France, leaving the affairs of James in a council of civilians, and the army under a commission, at the head of which stood the duke of Berwick as commander-in-chief, and in the very lowest place the brave Sarsfield, of whom the aged Tyrconnel entertained a jealousy worthy of himself and of his master.

We must now take notice of what had been passing in England and Scotland during William's campaign in Ireland. Immediately after his departure the traitor Crone was brought to the bar, and, after a full and fair trial, convicted and condemned to death. Pardon, however, was offered him on condition of his revealing what he knew of the Jacobite machinations. After a violent struggle with himself, and after two respites, he complied, and gave important information to the privy council. The evidences of an active conspiracy of the Jacobites were too prominent to be overlooked. Tourville, the French admiral, was hovering on the coasts of Devon and Dorsetshire, and the Jacobites, as expecting a descent of a French force, were all in a state of the greatest excitement. It was deemed necessary to arrest a number of the most dangerous, amongst whom was Clarendon, the queen's uncle; and he and the rest were committed to the safe keeping of the Tower. Torrington was ordered to join the fleet in the Downs, and chase the French admiral from the coast. At St. Helen's he was joined by a powerful Dutch squadron, under the command of admiral Evertsen, and they lay off Ventnor, whilst Tourville with his fleet lay off the Needles. An engagement was expected every hour, when Torrington was seen to draw off from the coast of the Isle of Wight, and retreat before the French admiral towards the straits of Dover. The alarm in London became excessive. The scheme of the Jacobites, as it was revealed to the council, was to enter the Thames; the Jacobites in London had agreed to rise and seize the queen and proclaim James. James himself had engaged to leave Ireland to Lauzun and Tyrconnel, and throw himself once more amongst his adherents in England. Another squadron of the French was to land at Torbay; and the country once in their possession, the united French fleet was to cut off the return of William from Ireland. With a knowledge of these plans, and the doubtful conduct of Torrington, the privy council was in a state of great agitation. Caermarthen was for the most decisive measures, in which he was energetically supported by Monmouth. They proposed that Russell, who was not only a first-rate officer but a determined one, should be sent over to the fleet, and Monmouth, at his own request, as a military officer, was sent with him. A despatch, however, was sent before them, ordering Torrington to come to an engagement at all hazards, and this compelled him to act before Russell and Monmouth could get on board. On the 30th of June, the day before the battle of the Boyne, he felt himself compelled to come to an engagement with Tourville off Beachy Head. Tourville had eighty-two men-of-war; the united fleet of England and Holland did not exceed sixty; but a Blake or Russell would have thought little of tho difference. Torrington, as had been too plainly evident by the affair of Bantry Bay, was a man of very different stuff. When compelled to fight, he determined that the Dutch should bear the brunt of it. He therefore placed the Dutch vessels in the van, and gave the signal to engage. The Dutch fought with their usual bravery, and for many hours sustained almost the whole fury of the battle, little supported by the English. Torrington showed no disposition to engage, but appeared rather disposed to see the Dutch, whom he hated, annihilated. A few of the English captains did their duty gallantly; but, so far as Torrington was concerned, had it not been for the Dutch, the French might have ascended the Thames, as Van Tromp formerly, and insulted the whole seaboard of the country at their pleasure. When the Dutch had lost two admirals and many other officers, and their ships being in a terribly shattered condition, they drew off. One of their dismantled ships fell into the hands of the French, the others Torrington ordered to be either burnt or towed away; and, ignominiously retiring into the Thames, pulled up the buoys, to prevent the French following him. Tourville, however, had suffered so much from the Dutch, that he drew off towards his own coast, and left the Londoners to suffer all the alarms without the danger of invasion. London, indeed, was in the same state of terror as in the time of the Dutch invasion of the Thames. The wildest rumours were every hour arriving. The confidence in Torrington was gone, and he was generally denounced as being a traitor to the present government. Either he was a most incompetent commander, or his heart was not in the cause: and the latter was no doubt the fact;

for, though his treason was not patent at this time, it afterwards became certain enough that he maintained a close correspondence with the courts of both St. Germains and Versailles. But, whether traitor or imbecile, London was in no degree confident of his being able to repel the French. It was believed by numbers that the dockyards at Chatham would be destroyed, the ships in the Thames under protection of the Tower be set fire to, and the Tower itself be cannonaded. To add to the gloom and affright, the news of the defeat of count Waldeck at Fleurus, in the Netherlands, by Luxembourg, Louis's general, just then arrived. Paris was ablaze with fireworks and rejoicings, London was all gloom and panic.

And truly these were very menacing circumstances. Tourville was insolently bearding us on our own coasts; Torrington dared not or would not go to encounter him; and marshal Humières lay with a strong force on the opposite shores, not far from Dunkirk, in readiness, it was believed, to go on board Tourville's fleet and make a descent on England, where the Jacobites were all in readiness to join the invaders. But on the fourth day after the battle of Beachy Head, arrived the news of William's splendid victory on the Boyne, and the spirit of the nation rose at once. It was felt that the ascendancy of James was over, and the news of his ignominious flight, which soon followed, completely extinguished the hopes of his partisans, and gave stability to the throne of William and Mary.

And this was very soon strikingly demonstrated. Tourville triumphantly ranged along our coasts, after his victory at Beachy Head, without opposition, and he now proudly imagined that nothing was necessary to the restoration of James but a descent on England with a tolerable force, which was certain to be welcomed and swelled by the expectant Jacobites. Accordingly Tourville took on board a considerable body of soldiers, and made for the coast of Devon. His fleet numbered a hundred and eleven sail, but of these a large amount were mere Mediterranean galleys, rowed by slaves, and sent as transports to carry over the troops. On the 22nd of July he landed at Torbay, where William himself had landed; but, instead of finding the gentry or the people ready to join him in support of king James, the whole west rose as a man at the blaze of the beacon signals which blazed on all the hill-tops. Messengers were spurring from place to place all night to carry the exact intelligence to the authorities; and the next morning all Devonshire appeared to be marching for Torbay. Tourville speedily beheld numbers of armed horsemen, the gentry and yeomanry of the neighbourhood, assembled on the hills, and everything warned him to embark again as quickly as possible. But he would not retire without leaving some trace of his visit. He despatched a number of his galleys to Teignmouth, where the French landed, set fire to the town, burned down a hundred houses, destroyed the fishing-boats in the harbour, killed or drove away all the live stock they could find, and demolished the interior of the churches, the pulpits, the communion-tables, and the Bibles and Prayer-books, which they tore up and trampled under foot in their hatred of protestantism.

This specimen of what England was to expect if England was to receive back the popish James at the point of French bayonets produced the most salutary effects on the whole nation. The indignation of the protestants at the desecration of their worship and its symbols was scarcely less than the shame and mortification of many of the leading Jacobites, whose patriotism was roused by the reflection that, to restore James only by a French invasion, and to see the wealth of England become the prey of the Gallic plunderers of Germany and Flanders, to see the quiet and prosperous vales and homes of England laid waste by the lawless hordes which had laid waste the palatinate, and everything which was sound and national made the mockery of these proud and ruthless foreigners—would be humiliation under which even they could not stoop. Accordingly, the very men who had been secretly conspiring to bring in James again, who had been secretly drilling their tenantry and neighbours to unite with his forces on his arrival, spurning the idea of being parties to a French invasion, burnt the commissions which they had received from James, secreted or destroyed their weapons, and united in the burst of patriotic devotion to the reigning dynasty which flashed forth from end to end of England. Nothing had yet done the cause of William so much good.

Mary showed herself equal to the emergency in the absence of her husband. She applied to the lord mayor to know what state of defence the city was in, and received the most prompt and satisfactory answer. His lordship assured her that the city would stand by her to a man; that it had ten thousand men well armed and disciplined, prepared to march, if necessary, at an hour's notice; that it would raise six regiments of foot and two regiments of horse at its own cost, and pay besides into the royal treasury a hundred thousand pounds. The country everywhere displayed the same loyalty. The yeoman cavalry of the different counties assembled in arms; those of Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, and Buckingham marched to Hounslow Heath, where Mary received them amid acclamations of loyalty; she received the cavalry troops of Kent and Surrey likewise on Blackheath. The militia was called out; noblemen hurried to their counties to take the command of the forces there on foot; and others, amongst whom was the lately recreant Shrewsbury, flocked to Whitehall to offer their lives and fortunes for the defence of the throne. The miners of Cornwall appeared ten thousand in number, armed as best they might be, ready to expel the invaders. Those of the Jacobites who stubbornly retained their faith in James, who still designated him as the stone which the builders had foolishly rejected, and who by their secret press urged the people to the assassination of William, and to vengeance on the protestant supporters, slunk into hiding-places and remained prudently quiet. Even the non-juring clergy and bishops excited the indignation of the masses, as men who encouraged by their conduct the hopes of the papists; and the bishop of Norwich was attacked in his palace, and was only rescued by the prompt measures of the authorities. The non-jurors were suspected of leaning not only to James, but to popery; and a new liturgy, which had been printed and industriously circulated, praying, in no ambiguous words, for the restoration of James by a foreign invasion, and for the murder of William, was widely believed to proceed from them, although they strenuously denied it.

Such was the position of things in England when William returned from Ireland. In Scotland great changes had taken place. The remains of the Jacobite force in the highlands had been effectually put down. In the spring of 1690 James had sent over an officer with the commission of general-in-chief of the Jacobite forces in Scotland. General Buchan, therefore, took precedence of the drunken and incompetent Cannon; but all the troops that he could muster were not more than one thousand four hundred, and these were surprised and crushed by William's general, Sir Thomas Livingstone, who occupied Inverness. General Mackay completed the subjugation of the highlands by building a fort at Inverlochy, called after the king, Fort William, which effectually held the Camerons and Macdonalds in check. The last chance of James was over in that quarter.

At Edinburgh the battle with the disaffected clubbists came very soon to a similar end. The most prominent members, Montgomery, Ross, and Annandale, offered to yield their opposition if William would admit them to favour and office; but William disdained to purchase their adhesion, and they then in resentment flung themselves into the arms of James. The treaty was carried on through the medium of James's agent in London, one Neville Payne; and Mary, James's queen, sent over despatches, creating Montgomery for his treason earl of Ayr, and secretary of state, with a pension of ten thousand pounds to relieve his immediate necessities, for he was miserably poor, and harassed by creditors. Ross was to be made an earl, and have the command of the guards; and Annandale was to be a marquis, lord high commissioner, and governor of Edinburgh castle. But this measure, which the court of St. Germains fondly fancied was going to give them the ascendancy in the Scottish parliament, produced an exactly contrary effect. The old tory Jacobite members of the club were so much incensed at this favour shown to these renegade whigs, whilst they themselves were passed over, that the whole club went to pieces in an explosion of jealousy, and on the meeting of the nobles the newproselytes of Jacobinism, who were to have turned the scale in favour of the Stuart dynasty, were found to be utterly helpless and abandoned.

Disappointed of heading a powerful party against William's government, these miserable traitors immediately began to plot against each other. Ross and Montgomery were in haste which should reach London first to inform against his colleagues. Ross was the first to make confession to lord Melville, the lord high commissioner, and denounce Montgomery and Ferguson as the real traitors, who had seduced him, poor innocent! No sooner did Montgomery get wind of this than he hurried with equal speed to Melville with a similar confession. Melville gave them both passes to London, and they endeavoured to win their pardons from Mary by offers to denounce their accomplices, on condition that they should be not only forgiven, but employed. Annandale fled, but was arrested at Bath, and brought before the privy council, where he denounced Montgomery as the grand seducer and traitor, and showed himself equally ready to betray others. Amongst these was Payne, the agent, through whom they had accomplished their treason, who fled to Scotland, but was flung into the castle of Edinburgh, and terribly tortured by the iron boot to force fresh disclosures from him, but in vain; he was not so base as these three noisy renegades, who for their own selfish purposes were ready to oppose any government, however good, or any man who had ventured to colleague with them.

This turbulent and factious party being thus broken up, and some of the clubbists going over to the new government voluntarily as the means of safety, and others being brought over by timely offers of place or money, the settlement of the affairs of Scotland became tolerably easy. The presbyterian religion was declared the established religion of Scotland. Contrary to the will of William, a toleration act for that kingdom had been rejected. The confession of faith of the Westminster assembly was adopted; the remaining presbyterian ministers who had been rejected at the restoration, now reduced from three hundred and fifty to sixty, were restored, and the episcopalian ministers were forcibly ejected in turn, and presbyterians installed. The old synodal polity was restored, and the sixty old restored ministers, and such as they should appoint, were ordered to visit all the different parishes and see that none but godly ministers, sound in the presbyterian faith, were occupying the manses and the pulpits. This, however, did not satisfy a section of the old Cameronian school. They complained that the parliament had betrayed the solemn league and covenant, and had sworn, and had caused others to swear, to a non-covenanting monarch, and they refused to bow the knee to this Baal. Thus a non-juring party sprung up also in Scotland, and has continued to exist in a small and rigid portion of the Scottish professors to the present time. In William's opinion, however, too much had been done in the way of conformity; and on his return from Ireland he selected as lord high commissioner to Scotland lord Carmichael, a nobleman of liberal mind, and accompanied this appointment by a letter to the general assembly, declaring that he would never consent to any violent or persecuting measures, and that he expected the same from them. "We never," he nobly observed, "could be of the mind that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion; nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party. Moderation is what religion enjoins, what neighbouring churches expect from you, and what we recommend to you." And the determination of the monarch put a strong and beneficial restraint on the spirit of the religious bigots of the north.

William had returned from Ireland with a great accession of power and *éclât*. He had shown that the imbecile and bigoted James could not stand for a moment before him; he had reduced Ireland to such general subjection that the remaining insurgents in the south could not long hold out. To hasten this result, and to cut off the access of fresh reinforcements from France, he now sent out an expedition which had been some time preparing under Marlborough, to reduce Cork and Kinsale, and garrison them for himself. That strange but able man Marlborough, though he was at this very moment in full correspondence with the court of St. Germains, so as to meet all chances, and even the now feeble one of James ever regaining his throne, though he was disliked and suspected by William and Mary, yet had himself proposed this expedition, anxious to grasp some of the glory of reconquering Ireland, and perhaps not inattentive to the equally attractive prospect of winning booty. Marlborough was already lying at Portsmouth with his squadron when William reached London; and sailing thence on the 18th, he landed at Cork on the 21st of September, with five thousand men. The duke of Würtemberg there joined him with his four thousand Danes, together making a strong force, but which was in danger of becoming paralysed by the German duke insisting on taking the chief command on account of his superior rank. Marlborough was not a man willingly to resign any position which was likely to do him honour; but he consented to share the command, taking it on alternate days. With him he had also the duke of Grafton, one of Charles II.'s illegitimate sons, who had fallen under suspicion of leaning to his uncle James, but, to prove his loyalty to William, came out as a volunteer. Cork was vigorously attacked, and in forty-eight hours it capitulated. The garrison, betwixt four and five thousand men, surrendered as prisoners, and Marlborough promised to use his endeavours to obtain the favour of William for both them and the citizens. He forbade his troops to plunder, but was obliged to use force to repel the hordes of wild people who rushed in and began ransacking the catholics. The duke of Grafton fell in the attack.

Without losing a day, Marlborough sent forward his cavalry to Kinsale to demand its surrender, and followed with his infantry. The Irish set fire to the town, and retired into two forts, the Old Fort and the New Fort. The English, however, managed to put out the fire, and, Marlborough arriving, invested the forts, and took the Old Fort by storm, killing nearly five hundred men, who refused all surrender. The garrison of the New Fort, after seeing Marlborough prepared to storm that too, yielded on condition that they might go to Limerick. They were twelve hundred strong. In this fort was found abundance of provisions, a thousand barrels of wheat, and eighty pipes of claret. Having executed this mission, and secured the two forts for the king, Marlborough re-embarked, and reached London again in little more than a month from the day that he sailed from Portsmouth. William, astonished at the rapidity of this success, declared that there was no officer living who had seen so little service, who was so qualified for a general as Marlborough. The English people went still further, and declared that their countryman had achieved more in a single month than the king's Dutch favourites in two campaigns.

Soon after Marlborough's return, William received another proof of the estimation of his rising fortunes on the continent. Affairs there had not progressed during the summer. The battle of Fleurus had been lost, and the allies had lost the brave duke of Lorraine; but the imperious treatment of Louis XIV. had compelled Amadeus, duke of Savoy, to declare against him and for the allies; and at the end of October an envoy extraordinary from Amadeus arrived at Whitehall to congratulate William on his successful termination of his great enterprise, which insured the liberties of Europe, and had emboldened himself to declare for the allies.

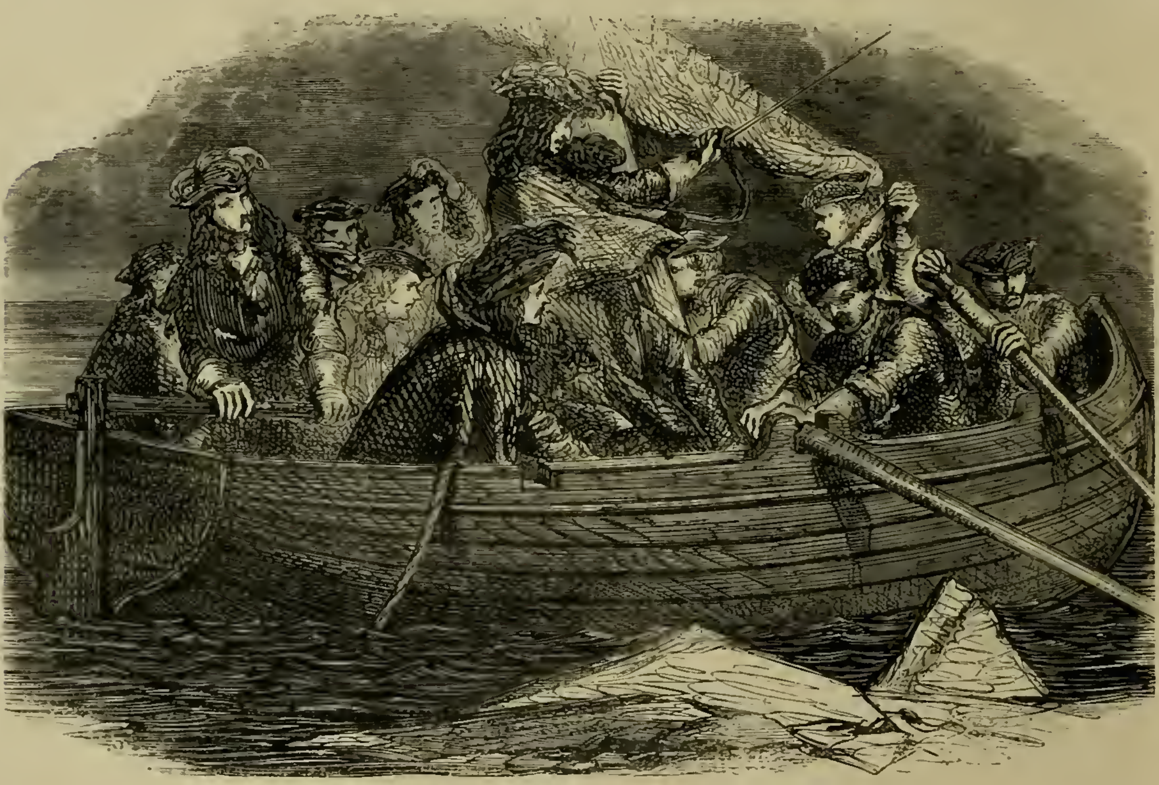
On the 2nd of October William opened the new session of parliament. He was received with the warmest demonstrations of attachment. He had shown himself strong, and James had shown himself weak. The country had been alarmed by the menace of invasion, and all parties were disposed to rally round the monarch who gave them every promise of security and pre-eminence. In his speech he paid the highest tribute to the bravery of the army, and declared that, had his affairs allowed him to have begun the campaign earlier, he should have been able to clear the whole country of the enemy. In order to do that in the ensuing campaign, and to put a check on the too conspicuous designs of the French, it would be necessary to grant liberal supplies. He reminded them of the dishonour which had befallen our flag, and of the necessity of promptness in parliament to enable him to wipe away this stain, and to secure the reputation and the liberties of England by crushing the efforts of the king of France. "Whoever goes about to obstruct your application to these matters," he said, "preferably to all others, can neither be my friends nor the kingdom's."

His speech was received with loud acclamations. Thanks were voted for his achievements in Ireland, and to the queen for her able administration during his absence; and the commons proceeded to vote supplies on a scale which had yet no example. The army was fixed at sixty-nine thousand men, of which twelve thousand were to consist of cavalry. The navy was to consist of twenty-eight thousand men; and the cost of the whole, including ordnance, was estimated at four million pounds. In return for this unprecedented force and unprecedented allowance for it, the commons demanded that they appoint a commission of nine to examine and bring forward the accounts; the commissioners to be all members of their own house. The proposition was acceded to without opposition by both the peers and the king, and a bill, including the appointment of the commissioners, was prepared and passed. On the 15th of November a bill received the royal assent for doubling the excise on beer, ale, and other liquors; and on the 20th of December another bill passed for granting certain duties upon East India goods, wrought silks, and other merchandise; and a second bill for increasing the duties on wine, vinegar, and tobacco.

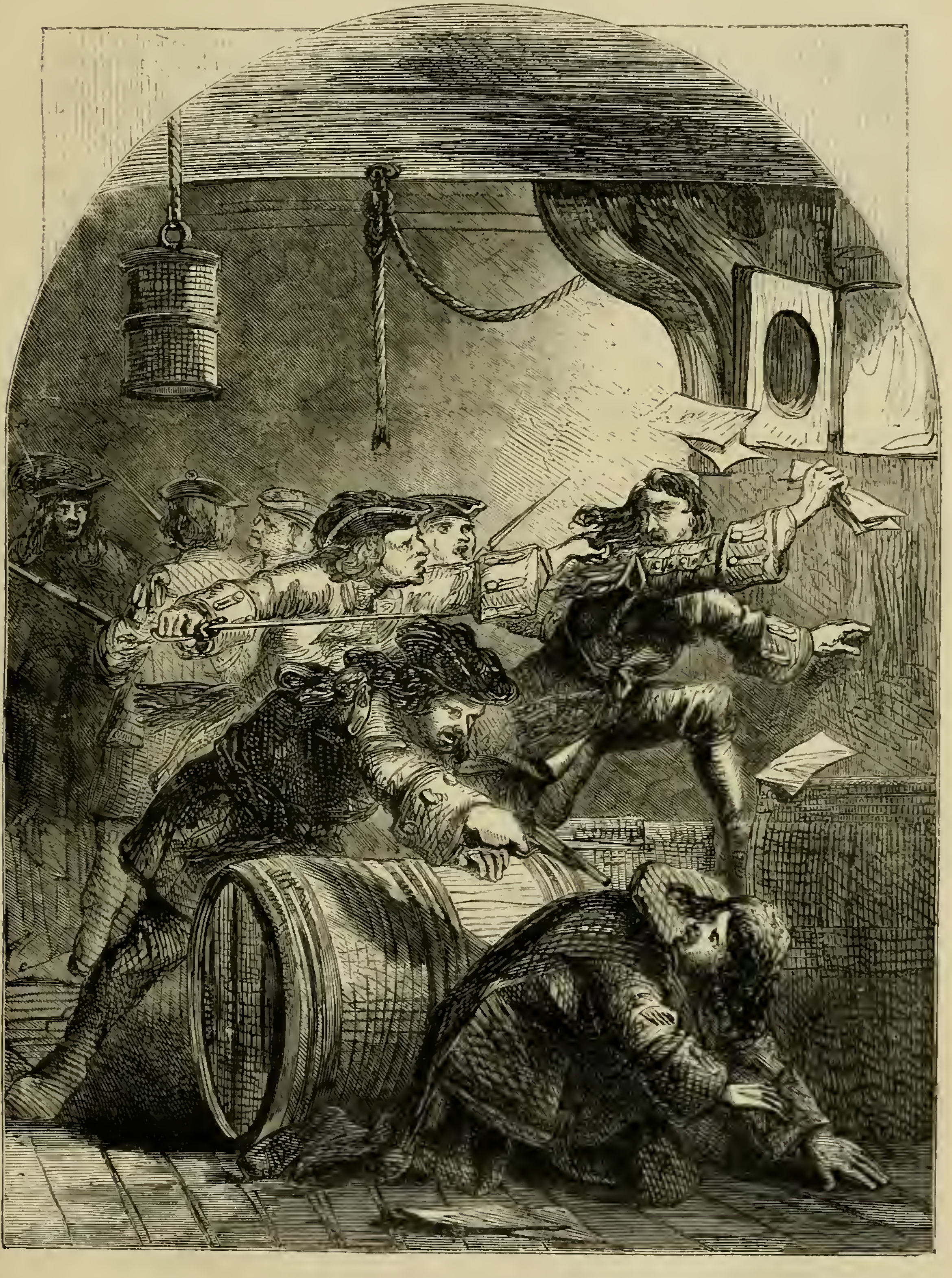
In considering the ways and means, the commons proposed, as they had laid so many burdens on themselves, that the persons of all those who had been engaged in the rebellion in Ireland should be attainted, and their estates confiscated, and the proceeds be applied to the discharge of the expenses of the war; and they brought in and passed a bill for that purpose. But the lords did not appear disposed to sanction so wholesale a confiscation of the estates of all the catholics of Ireland, as this would have amounted to; nor could it be very acceptable to the king, though they proposed to place a considerable portion of the forfeitures at his disposal. The lords allowed the bill to lie on their table, notwithstanding several urgent reminders from the commons, and so eventually it dropped. This must have been what William particularly desired, for it was contrary to his natural clemency to let loose the fiends of party fury after the sufficiently deadly evils of war, and it was contrary to his promises to many who had submitted on assurances of impunity; and having got the chief supplies which he wanted, he sought to shorten the session as much as possible, by telling the parliament that, by a certain day, it was necessary for him to leave for Holland on important affairs. Yet, after the liberal votes of the commons, still keeping in memory the disgrace of the navy, he added that, if some annual provision could be made for augmenting the navy, and building some new men-of-war, "it would be a very necessary care for that time, both for the honour and safety of the nation."

The commons thought so much the same that they voted an additional five hundred thousand pounds expressly for building new ships of war. But they felt, too, that they must not only have good ships, but good commanders; and they therefore determined on bringing lord Torrington to trial for his conduct at Beachy Head. Torrington had been sent to the Tower directly after the battle, and a bill was now brought into the upper house to remove the cause from the peers to a court-martial. When this bill was before the commons, Torrington prayed to be heard at the bar of the house in his own defence; and he there endeavoured, in the style of our own times, to throw the blame anywhere from himself. He laid it on the court of admiralty, on the secretary of state, but especially on the Dutch, who had notoriously done the real fighting of the day. His defence did not mend his case, and he was sent down to be tried by court-martial on board ship at Sheerness. There the court committed the fatal mistake of permitting the Dutch rear-admiral and officers to appear as his chief accusers; and his friends, who were on the alert to seize on every circumstance which might turn opinion in his favour, immediately raised the cry that the whole thing was a conspiracy to sacrifice our own brave countryman to the spite of the jealous Dutch. The effect was certain on the then temper of the nation; Torrington was acquitted, and even praised by some of his abettors for his caution in saving the fleet from damage!—as if that was the chief glory of an English admiral. William, however, was not to be so duped. He dismissed so very cautious an admiral from his service, and never would employ him again. Torrington, notwithstanding, had the assurance to sail up the Thames in his barge in a kind of triumph, and took his seat in the house of lords; but the peers looked coolly on him. He next presented himself at court, but was not admitted to the royal presence.

The last proceeding which marked this session was the discovery of a fresh Jacobite plot. The tory minister Caermarthen had long been the object of the particular enmity of the whigs, and they were doing everything possible to undermine his influence. Their efforts appeared to be growing palpably perceptible. The king had introduced into the ministry one after another men to whom Caermarthen had a particular aversion, or who were particularly hostile to his power. Godolphin was made first lord of the treasury; Marlborough was rising fast in the military department; and Sidney was sent for by William from Ireland without consulting Caermarthen, and appointed secretary of state. His enemies were eagerly watching for the favourable moment to come down on the declining minister and complete his ruin, when he suddenly, at the very close of the year and the session, laid before William all the particulars of a desperate plot of the Jacobites, which showed that a



William III. in an open boat off the Coast of Holland.



ARREST OF JACOBITES.

minister of such vigilance was not to be lightly dispensed with. Fortune, however, rather than his own sagacity, had favoured the prime minister.

The anticipated absence of William from England in the spring appeared to offer a favourable conjuncture for James making another attempt for the recovery of his throne. The Jacobites, therefore, had met and concluded to send three of their number to St. Germains to consult with the court there on the best means of effecting this object. It was proposed that James should make great protestations of his determination to allow of and secure the political and religious rights of all his subjects, and that he should come attended only by so moderate a force that it should not look like a French invasion. The opinions of the leading Jacobites were to be conveyed by these messengers in a packet of letters to be carefully concealed; and amongst the writers of these letters were the earl of Dartmouth, viscount Preston—so-called—and the earl of Clarendon. This weak man, whom William had warned through Rochester of his knowledge of his practices, and who had declared that he would never again meddle with treason, was here as busy as ever. A vessel was engaged, called "The James and Elizabeth," to carry over the three agents, namely, Preston, Ashton, and Elliot, who were to come on board on the last night of the year. The skipper of the James and Elizabeth, though offered extraordinary pay for the trip, suspecting what was the nature of his passengers, gave notice of the fact to Caermarthen, who sent and boarded the vessel at midnight, when the traitors were all aboard, secured them and their papers, and conveyed them to the secretary of state's office at Whitehall, where Caermarthen and Nottingham passed the night in examining the contents of the fatal packet, and the next morning laid them before the king.

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY—(Continued.)

William sets out for Holland—Preparation for Invasion of England—James's Declaration—The Queen's Measures for Defence—Capitulation of Limerick—Irish Troops volunteer for France—State of Ireland after the War—Marlborough's Plot—His Disgrace—Fuller's Plot—State of the Highlands—Massacre of Glencoe—The Battle of La Hogue—Siege of Namur—Battle of Steinkirk—Conspiracy of Grandval to assassinate William—Case of Lord Mohun—East India Bill—King refuses to ratify the Triennial Bill—New Declaration of James—Battle of Landen—New Charter to the East India Company—Distress in France—Lottery Loan—Establishment of Bank of England—Proposed Land-Bank—Naval Affairs on the Coast of France, and in the Mediterranean—The Lancashire Plot, and Trenchard's Prosecutions—Death of Archbishop Tillotson, and Appointment of Tennison—Triennial Bill passed—The Death of Queen Mary—Greenwich Hospital founded.

THIS great discovery, which fell like a thunderbolt on the Jacobites, was scarcely less disconcerting to the whigs. It was hopeless after this to attempt anything against so alert and trusty a minister. William, relieved from all apprehensions of danger by this timely discovery, left the three traitors in the custody of his government, and the leaders yet at large under their eye, and hastened to get over to Holland. On the 5th of January he prorogued parliament till the 31st of March; and in his farewell speech he said that he thought it proper to assure them that he should make no grants of the forfeited lands in England or Ireland; that those matters could be settled in parliament in such a manner as should be thought most expedient. Unfortunately, this was a promise which William failed to keep, and which brought upon him no lack of trouble in the future. On the 6th, whilst his English subjects were indulging in all the festivities of the season, William set out, attended by a splendid train of courtiers, for the Hague, where a great congress was appointed to consider the best means of resisting the aggressions of Louis of France.

But the weather intercepted his progress. A terrible frost set in, attended by fierce and contrary gales, and he was compelled to return from Canterbury to Kensington, where he remained till the 16th, when he again set out amid frost and snow. He knew that a great throng of the allies were assembling at the Hague to determine the plan of future action against the common enemy, and it was not in his nature to be absent from his post, which was the great central one. On the 18th he embarked at Gravesend, with his train, on board seven yachts, attended by twelve men-of-war, commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel and admiral Rooke. Amongst his most distinguished attendants were the dukes of Ormond and Norfolk, the earls of Devonshire—now lord steward of the household—of Dorset, Monmouth, and Portland, as well as his two other Dutch followers, Zuleystein and Auverquerque. The weather was so bad that the fleet did not make the coast of Holland till the 23rd, and found it so ice-bound that the yachts could not approach it. William, who always suffered extremely from sea-sickness, and was most impatient to reach the congress, got into an open boat with some of his attendants. The ocean was at once so rough and winterly, that not only did his nobles endeavour to dissuade him from proceeding, but the sailors themselves pronounced the attempt impracticable. But nothing moved William. To a sailor who appeared particularly averse to put off, he said, "For shame! Are you afraid to die in my company?"

The boat left the side of the ship, the waves dashing over the king and his aristocratic companions. They came near a fisherman, who, in answer to their inquiries, told them they were about a league only from Goree. This was cheering; but thick fogs came down; they lost their course; and, instead of finding land, they were beating about all night on the open sea in that intense cold. As morning dawned they perceived the shore, and the little town of Honslaerdyk; and, half dead with cold, they made their way to land over the ice. There they discharged a gun, and made a fire to warm them, which soon brought crowds of people to the shore. On the discovery of the king of England, the populace broke into transports of enthusiasm. The firing of guns, and blazing of fires, and roar of acclamations, spread the news of the long-expected arrival of the stadtholder.

William and his lords were glad to warm and refresh themselves for some hours in the hut of a fisherman. From that place to the Hague the whole way was one living throng of shouting, exulting people. The Dutch, who had murmured at their stadtholder's long absence, and complained that he had forgot their interests in those of his new subjects, now forgot everything but that he was their own countryman, the man who had most successfully defended them from encroaching France, who had made himself master of England and Ireland, and was now only the more the grand pillar of their dependence for the defeat of the great continental enemy. On the 26th of January he made his triumphant entry into the Hague.

The immense popularity of William as manifested on this occasion was a lesson to the English nobles, who were sensible of the cold and grudging respect in which William was held in England as a foreigner, notwithstanding the vast service he had rendered the country in ridding it of the incorrigible dynasty of the Stuarts, and establishing its liberties on a new and solid basis. The enormous crowds who had flocked into the Hague from all the great towns, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, Delft, and other places, including all that was distinguished in the country; the dense masses deafening them with continued acclamations as the procession passed, attended by all the authorities in their robes, and by sixteen hundred armed burghers in their most costly dresses; the festal array of the city, gay with triumphal arches bearing significant mottos; the most glowing tapestry suspended from windows and balconies, and endless wreaths and festoons of evergreens—bore enthusiastic testimony to the unbounded joy of the Dutch in seeing their great stadtholder once more amongst them. Large pictures represented the glorious actions of his ancestors and himself in defence of their country, and the increase of their renown; every window was crowded, and the fairest faces in Holland were flushed with the ardour of welcome. As the evening closed in, fireworks set the city aglow. The English nobles remarked on his wonderful popularity, and William gave them another lesson:—"Yes," said he, "but I am not the favourite. The shouting was nothing to what it would have been had Mary been with me." The meaning must have been felt. Mary was a foreigner there, yet the hearts of the Dutch were not cold to her on that account, as the English ones were to him.

A splendid assembly of his princely allies or their ambassadors were waiting to welcome him home, and to proceed to the business of the congress. Amongst these were the electors of Bavaria and Brandenburg the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Zell and Wolfenbuttel, prince Christian Louis of Brandenburg; prince Waldeck, the prince of Nassau, statdholder of Friesland; the princes of Nassau-Sarbruck, Nassau-Dillenburg, and Nassau Idstein; the duke administrator of Würtemberg; the prince of Würtemberg; the two princes of Anspach; the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, and his brother, the duke of Saxe-Eisenach; prince Philip, palatine; the duke of Zulsbach; the duke of Courland; the prince of Anhalt-Zeerborst, the landgrave of Homberg, three princes of Holstein-Beck; the duke of Holstein; the prince of Commerci; the prince palatine of Birkenfeldt; the princess of Nassau-Friesland, the princess of Radzevill, the countess of Soissons, and other ladies of princely families.

William, getting away from the noise and turbulence of mere congratulation, hastened to meet his allies, and take measures for future action. Though he had been achieving a great triumph, for which his people hailed him as "William the Conqueror," and winning great laurels in Ireland, all these princes, dukes, and electors of sounding title had done almost worse than nothing in the defence of Germany and Holland. Prince Waldeck had suffered a grave defeat at Fleurus, and Louis was still menacing with a large army not only Holland but Germany. William did not hesitate to tell the assembled princes plainly of their errors and defects. He asserted that their present difficulties were proof enough of them. Their failure, he assured them, arose from their party feuds and jealousies; that unless they could bring themselves to forget their particular interests in the general interest, and to combine heartily, promptly, and continuously, they must remain weak and at the mercy of France; that their general interest was the true interest of every individual; that whilst they were disunited, and consequently slow and uncertain in their movements, France had but one will, and struck blows rapid and decisive. Their frontier fortresses were nearly all in the hands of the French, who would very soon possess themselves of the remainder unless they combined as one man. For his own part, he pledged himself to come over at spring at the head of a powerful English army, and would spare neither money nor exertion to arrest the conquests of Louis, and pluck the liberties of Europe from his grasp.

William's spirit and sound sense seemed to reanimate the drooping energies of the allies. The quota of troops to be furnished by every prince was determined; it was agreed to bring two hundred and twenty thousand into the field in spring, and never to rest till they had not only driven Louis from the territories of his neighbours, but had compelled him to give toleration to his protestant subjects. These matters arranged, William made use of the influence which the new alliance with the duke of Savoy gave him, to procure a cessation of the persecutions of the duke's protestant subjects, the Waldenses. To him these simple mountain shepherds—Christians of a church remaining independent of Rome from the earliest times—owed it that they could once more live in peace; that numbers of them were released from dungeons, and their children, who had been torn from them to be educated in popery, were restored.

All being thus favourably settled, the princes dispersed to their several states, and William retired to obtain a short period of relaxation at Loo. But he was speedily roused from his repose. The proceedings of the congress had been closely and anxiously watched by Louis of France. He saw that its deliberations were certain to produce a profound impression on all Europe, and he resolved to neutralise this by one of his sudden and telling blows. At once all his available means and forces were put in motion. A hundred thousand soldiers were in rapid march on Mons, one of the most important fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands. Louis did not even trust the operations of this assault to his famous general, Luxembourg, and the greatest military genius of the age, Vauban; but he hurried to the scene of action himself, early as the season was—in March. Five days after the siege commenced Louis was there, accompanied by the dauphin, the dukes of Orleans and of Chartres. He pushed on the attack with all vigour, to have it over before any assistance could arrive. Though suffering from the gout, he went about amongst the soldiers, encouraging them by the blandest and most familiar addresses; helped personally to bind up their wounds in the hospitals, and partook of the broth prepared for them. With his quick perception of the dangers from his adversaries, he had noticed the diversion which it was intended that the duke of Savoy should make, by taking the field on that side; and he had suddenly thrown an army into Savoy, taken the city of Nice, and found the duke enough to do to hold his own. By this means he had been able to bring from the maritime Alps a large body of troops to this siege.

William was sensible of the disastrous effect which the fall of Mons would have on the spirits of his allies, and on those courts of Sweden and Denmark which were brought to the very point of joining the confederation; he therefore rushed from his place of temporary retirement, mustered the forces of the states-general, sent dispatches with all haste after the German princes, urging them to bring up all the troops they could collect to the rescue of Mons, and to the generals of the Spanish troops in Flanders. By hasty marches he advanced towards the devoted city; but all the vices of confederations were now glaringly apparent in contrast to the single and prompt action of a despot. The German princes, naturally slow, were already far off; the Spanish generals were utterly unprepared for such an emergency; and William found it almost impossible to procure even horses to drag his artillery and stores. He sent on, however, hasty messengers to apprise the people of Mons of his approach; but the vigilance of the French prevented their reaching the city. An immense quantity of artillery was thundering against the walls of Mons; breaches were made in them; a redoubt was carried, sword in hand; shells fell in showers on the roofs and streets of the town, which was burning in ten places. The inhabitants, appalled by the terrible destruction apparently awaiting them, threatened to murder the garrison if they did not surrender; and the garrison, ignorant of the relief which William was bringing, surrendered on the 20th of April. William, deeply chagrined, returned to the Hague, and thence hastened back to London; whilst Louis, in proud triumph, returned to Versailles to receive the congratulations of his courtiers on his splendid *coup-de-main.*

On William's return to London he found his government had tried the traitors, Preston, Ashton, and Elliott. Preston and Ashton were found guilty, and sentenced to death; Elliott was not brought to trial. By some it has been asserted that the evidence of his being admitted into the real interior of the plot was not clear; by others, that he purchased his escape by disclosures. Ashton was hanged on the 18th of January—the very day on which William had embarked at Gravesend for Holland. Preston, after much vacillation betwixt the desire to accept a proffered pardon and repugnance to the conditions attached to it—that of making a full disclosure of his accomplices—at length chose life and dishonour, and made charges against Clarendon, Dartmouth, Turner, bishop of Ely, and William Penn. Clarendon was sent for a time to the Tower; Dartmouth, who was accused, as an admiral, of the heinous crime of intending to betray Portsmouth to the French, indignantly repelled the accusation, and died in the Tower without having been brought to trial. Turner escaped to France. Macaulay, in his recent history, only too much delighted to have a shadow of crimination of Penn, says that he was accused of writing to James to assure him that, with thirty thousand men, he might command England. But what are the facts? This message to James is on the evidence of the lying and infamous Melfort, whom Macaulay himself has shown to be totally unworthy of all belief; and Penn, so far from shrinking from the charge, went straight to Sidney, the secretary of state, and denied the whole allegation. That he had a friendly feeling for and commiseration of James, he did not deny; but he declared himself a faithful subject of William and Mary, and, so far from being willing to aid any design against them, if he became aware of any such he would at once discover it. Instead of clapping Penn in the Tower—which the government would have done, had they any such letters, which Macaulay pretends, inviting James to come over with thirty thousand men—he was suffered to depart in full freedom. He afterwards made a religious journey on the continent as a minister of the Society of Friends, which Macaulay terms "wandering and lurking about," when he returned to England; but without any attempt on the part of government to molest him.

But there were deeper and more real traitors than any of these around William—namely, admiral Russell, Sidney Godolphin, and Marlborough. These men, encouraged by the fall of Mons and the triumphant aspect of Louis's affairs, renewed with fresh activity their intrigues with the court of James. It was in vain that William heaped riches, honours, and places of confidence upon them; they were ready to receive any amount of favours, but still kept an eye open to the possible return of James, and made themselves secure of pardon from him, and kept him duly informed of all the intended movements of William both at home and on the continent. Russell was made high admiral in place of Torrington. He was treasurer of the navy, enjoyed a pension of three thousand pounds a year, and a grant from the crown of property of great and increasing value near Charing Cross. But, with an insatiable greediness, he still complained of unrequited services; and, having a shoal of poor and hungry relatives badgering him for places and pensions, he complained that their incessant demands could not be gratified; and he cherished the hope that he could sell his treason at a favourable crisis to king James at no mean price. Godolphin was first commissioner of the treasury, sate in the privy council, and enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign; his former conduct in being one of the most pliant tools of James, ready to vote for his act of indulgence, being overlooked. Yet he was sworn, through the agency of a Mr. Bulkeley, to serve the interests of James. Hand in hand with him went Marlborough, who, though he was now fast overcoming the long-retained prejudices of William, had been honoured by his commission in the expedition to Ireland, and by his warm approbation on his return, and had the prospect of a brilliant command of the army in Flanders, where he could indulge his highest ambition—was yet a most thorough traitor, making a hypocritical pretence of great sorrow to James for his desertion of him, and, through colonel Sackville, and Lloyd, the non-juring bishop of Norwich, offering, on a good opportunity, to carry over the whole army to James.

Amid these lurking treasons the exultation of the Jacobites over the fall of Mons was open and insolent. They came by swarms out of their hiding-places and thronged the park and the neighbourhood of the palace, even insulting the queen in her drives before William's return.

William's indignation on hearing these facts roused him to put the laws in force against the non-juring bishops. The most extraordinary lenity had been shown them. They had been suffered to reside in their sees and occupy their palaces; they had been offered to be excused taking the oaths on condition that they would live quietly, and discharge their ecclesiastical functions of ordaining ministers, confirming their young flocks, &c., but without avail. Now that Turner was discovered in treasonable correspondence with St. Germains, and the rest refused to disavow what he had attributed to them in his letters, it was resolved to eject them. Sancroft was ejected from Lambeth, but not without much show of obstinacy, and Tillotson was nominated archbishop of Canterbury in his place; Ken removed from Bath and Wells, and Kidder instituted in his stead. In place of Turner succeeded Dr. Patrick; Fowler was appointed to Gloucester, and Cumberland to Peterborough. Soon after died Lamplugh, archbishop of York, and Dr. Sharp took his place. Sancroft continued to maintain all his old pugnacity, and nominated other bishops in opposition to William's government as sees fell vacant. But perhaps the most savage outcry was raised on the appointment of Dr. Sherlock to the deanery of St. Paul's, vacated by the election of Tillotson to Canterbury. Tillotson himself was furiously assailed by the Jacobites as a thief and a false shepherd, who had stolen into the fold of the rightful pastor. Sherlock had been a zealous non-juror himself, but had been seriously convinced of the Scriptural ordinance to submit to any government, whatever its origin, which was firmly established. He was, therefore, violently and scurrilously assailed as a perjured apostate. Amongst the ejected non-juring clergy, Henry Dodwell was so insolent, that William remarked, "That Dodwell wants me to put him in prison, but I will disappoint him." The magnanimous forbearance of William, and the audacious impertinence of the non-jurors in consequence, form a wonderful contrast.

Scarcely had William time to settle these affairs, and arrange the plan of the campaign in Ireland, when he was compelled to return to Holland. Unaware as yet of the more recent treason of Marlborough, he took him with him. He had conceived the highest opinion of his military talents, and he was confirmed in this opinion, on his arrival at the Hague, by the prince of Vaudemont, a distinguished commander in the Dutch service. He praised highly the generals Talmache and Mackay; as to Marlborough, he declared that he had every quality of a general; that his very look showed it, and that he was certainly destined to do something great. William replied that he was of the same conviction.

William found himself at the head of seventy thousand men of various nations, the different contingents of the allies, and the beginning of the campaign was very promising. He sent Marlborough on to Flanders to collect the forces there, and form a camp to cover Brussels against the advance of Luxembourg and the French. His convenient position no doubt suggested to James the idea of his immediate execution of his promised treason. James, therefore, sent him word that he expected his fulfilment of his engagement; but to this startling demand Marlborough replied that the time was not come. It was necessary to have first obtained a complete ascendancy over the troops, or, instead of following him, they would abandon him, and the only consequence would be making things worse. William's immediate arrival put an end to the temptation, and he marched against Luxembourg, who retired before him. He next sent a detachment against marshal Boufflers, who was besieging Liège, which having succeeded in, he crossed the Sambre, to endeavour to bring Luxembourg at length to an engagement. But that crafty general, who had an inferior though well-appointed army, took care to avoid a general action, calculating that William's army, made up of so many nonentities, would, if let alone, ere long go to pieces. Thus the summer was spent in marches and counter-marches without any result, except of wearying out William's patience, who in September surrendered the command to the prince of Waldeck, and retired to his favourite hunting-seat at Loo, and soon after returned to England.

The summer campaign was carried on by the allies in other quarters with more or less success. In Spain the French made some barbarous inroads, but were vigorously repelled. They were more successful in their combat with the duke of Savoy. Marshal Catinat took several of their towns, besieged Coni, and advanced within three leagues of Turin, the duke's capital Just, however, as they were hoping for a signal triumph, they were arrested by the appearance of a new hero, destined, in co-operation with Marlborough, to shake to the foundations the power of Louis XIV. This was Eugene, prince of Savoy. Eugene, being joined by young Schomberg with a few troops, and some money from William, at the suggestion of Schomberg made a sudden march across the mountains, raised the siege of Coni, and then, issuing on the plains, drove back Catinat, and regained Carmagnola. On the Rhine, where the elector of Saxony commanded, nothing of moment was effected; but the French allies, the Turks, who were harassing Austria, received a severe defeat at Salankeman, on the Danube, which placed the emperor of Germany at his ease.

The campaign in Ireland did not begin till June. The condition of that island during the winter was miserable in the extreme. The ravages which the Irish, mad with oppression, ignorance, and revenge, let loose by the frightful policy of James, had inflicted on the country from the north to the south, such as we have described them, must necessarily have left it a prey to famine, moral chaos, and revolting crime. In the north, where the protestants had regained the power, there was the commencement of restoration. Those who had fled to England with their movable property came swarming back. It was, indeed, to towns burnt down and fields laid waste; but they brought with them money, and, still more, indomitable energies, which impelled them instantly to commence rebuilding their dwellings, at least in such a manner as to shelter them from the elements, and to cultivate and sow their fields. Commerce came back with them; and the estuaries of the Foyle, the Lagan, the Bann, the Carlingford, and the Boyne, were busy with ships and boats pouring in food, seed, and live-stock. So soon as nature had time to do her part and to ripen her crops, there would be once more comparative plenty, and there was an animating prospect of a secure permanence of peace and order. But in the south, and still more the south-west, where the troops of James still held their ground, the condition of things was as appalling as can be conceived. In the north the protestants kept a tight hand on the native Irish; they refused them the possession of any arms; they forbade them to proceed more than three miles from their own dwellings, except to attend market; or for more than five papists to assemble together on any occasion or pretence. They forbade them to approach the frontier within ten miles, to prevent them holding intelligence with the enemy. If outrages were committed, they were visited with unsparing severity. But if the north was strict and yet struggling, the south was in a fearful state of calamity. The soldiers traversed the country, levying contributions of cattle and provisions wherever they could find them. They were no better than so many bandits and rapparees, who swarmed over the desolated region, carrying violence, and terror, and spoliation wherever they came. There was no money but James's copper trash, bearing high nominal values. Provisions and clothes, where they were to be had, fetched the most incredible prices; and merchants feared to approach the ports, because they were in as much danger of wholesale robbery as the shopkeepers and farmers on land.

In the Irish camp the utmost licence, disorder, and destitution prevailed. The duke of Berwick was elected to command during the absence of Tyrconnel in France; but his power was a mere fiction, and he let things take their course. Sarsfield was the only officer who had any real influence with the soldiers. But early in the spring Tyrconnel returned, bringing some supplies of money and clothing; and in April a fleet also arrived, bringing arms, ammunition, flour, and provisions. With these came what was much needed—two general officers—Saint Ruth and D'Usson. Saint Ruth was a general of considerable experience. He had lately served in Savoy, and had the *prestige* of victory; but he was vain and cruel, was mortally hated by the Huguenots for his persecutions of them, and was called by them "the hangman." His very name, therefore, was a guarantee for the Huguenot troops in the English service fighting to the utmost. He was astonished, and disgusted at the dirty, ragged, and disorderly crew which bore the name of the Irish army; but he began actively to repress their licence, and to drill them into some discipline.

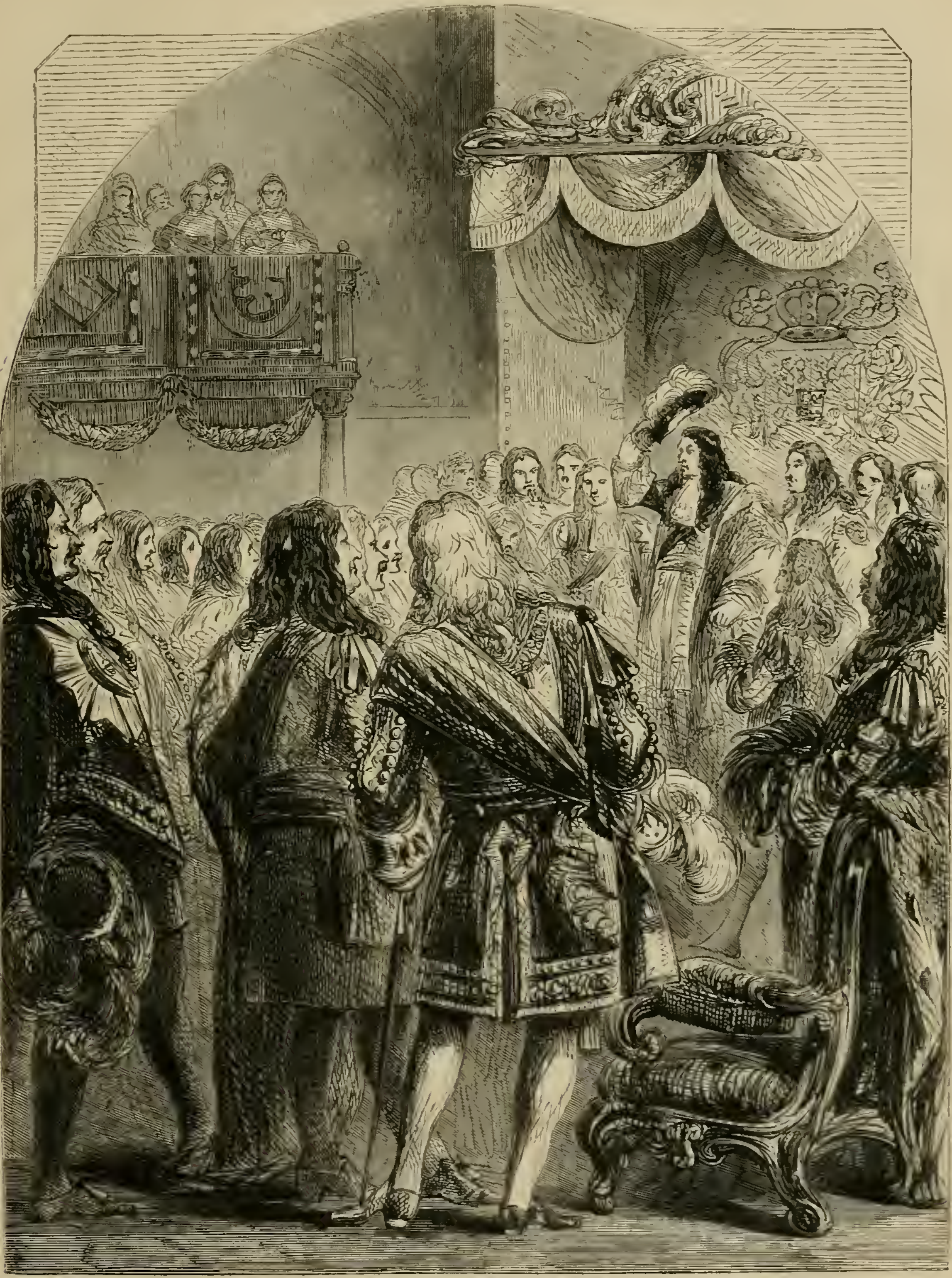
On the 6th of June Ginckell took the field against him with a body of efficient troops, reinforced by some excellent regiments from Scotland, and having now under his command Talmache and Mackay, two brave officers. At the head of the French refugees was the marquis Ruvigny, the brother-in-law of the late general Caillemot, who fell at the Boyne. On the 7th Ginckell reached Ballymore, and compelled the fortress there, containing a garrison of one thousand men, to surrender, and sent all the prisoners to Dublin. Having placed the fortress, which stood on an island in the lake, in good defence, he marched forward, and, on the 18th, sate down before the very strongly-fortified town of Athlone. On his march he had been joined by the duke of Würtemberg and his Danish division.

Athlone stood on the Shannon, the river cutting it in two. The stream there was deep and rapid, and was spanned by a bridge on which stood two mills, worked by the current below, and on the Connaught side was a strong fort, called King John's Fort, with a tower seventy feet high, and flanking the river for a distance of two hundred feet. The town on the Leinster side, where Ginckell was, was defended by bold earthen ramparts, the most indestructible of any kind by cannon. Ginckell, however, lost no time in attacking it. On the 20th his cannon were all in order for bombarding, and he opened a terrible fire on the town. Under cover of his fire the troops rushed to the walls, and the French refugees were the first to mount a breach, and one of them, flinging his grenade, fell with a shout of triumph. His example was quickly followed. The assailants sprang over the walls in hundreds, clearing the way with hand grenades; and the Irish giving way, there was a hot pursuit along the bridge, by which they sought to escape into the other half of the town. The crush and confusion there was such, that many of the flying Irish were trodden under foot, and others were forced over the parapets of the bridge, and perished in the Shannon. The near side of the town was in Ginckell's possession, with the loss of only twenty men killed and forty wounded.

The cannonade was continued on the bridge and on the town across the river, and the next day it was repeated with increased effect from batteries thrown up along the river bank. The next morning it was discovered that the mills were greatly damaged; one, indeed, had taken fire, and its little garrison of sixty men had perished in it. A great part of the fort had also been beaten down. The French officers had constructed a *tête du pont* at the end of the bridge to assist the fort, had broken down some of the arches, and made the conquest of a passage by the bridge next to impossible. To add to the difficulty of the enterprise, St. Ruth had hastened from Limerick with an army superior in numbers to that of Ginckell. But this force was more imposing in appearance than formidable in reality. Saint Ruth, calculating on the difficulty of the passage, imagined that he could hold the place with little loss till the autumnal rains drove the English from the field through sickness. He therefore ordered D'Usson to attend to the defence of the passage, and fixed his camp about three miles from the town.

There was a weak spot, however, which was pointed out to Ginckell—a ford at some little distance from the bridge. It is true that a force was posted to guard this ford, commanded by Maxwell, an officer who had recently been to St. Germains with dispatches from the duke of Berwick, and was put into command at this ford by Tyrconnel in defiance of Saint Ruth—the interference of Tyrconnel in military affairs, much to the disgust of Saint Ruth, being as constant as if he were commander-in-chief as well as lord-lieutenant. Sarsfield soon became aware of the design of Ginckell to attempt this ford, and warned Saint Ruth of it. But the vanity of that officer made him treat the warning with scorn. "What!" said he, "attempt the ford; they dare not do it and I so near." Warned again, he exclaimed, "Monsieur! Ginckell's master ought to hang him for attempting to take Athlone, and mine ought to hang me if I let him." Sarsfield, who knew better what the enemy dare do, said as he withdrew, "He does not know the English."

Ginckell himself, after reconnoitering the ford and the breastwork opposite, had no great stomach for the attempt. He continued the cannonade on the fort and town till the



CONGRESS AT THE HAGUE.

end of June, and it became necessary, from the want of forage, to advance or retreat. A council of war was called. Mackay was against the attempt, but Würtemberg, Talmache, and Ruvigny were for it, and Ginckell, though hesitatingly, consented. There was observed a degree of carelessness in the Irish soldiers guarding the ford; there had been a rumour in their camp that the English were about to retreat in despair, and the light-hearted Hibernians had begun to relax their vigilance, and to gamble and idle about. It was resolved to seize the opportunity and dash over at once. Fifteen hundred grenadiers were selected for the service, and a handsome present distributed to each man. The duke of Würtemberg, Talmache, and a number of other officers volunteered to accompany them as privates, and the spirits of the men rose to enthusiasm. In memory of the auspicious day at the Boyne, on that very day last year, they stuck each a green twig in their hats, and, locking their arms twenty abreast, they plunged into the stream. In their ardour they lifted up the duke of Würtemberg and bore him on their shoulders. Six battalions were drawn up ready to support them, under the command of Mackay. The stream, even at the ford, was deep enough to reach their chins, and very strong; but the resolute men pressed on, and soon got firm footing, and, with a stunning shout, reached the other bank. The Irish, suddenly aroused to the danger, hurried to the bank, fired a single volley, and broke The grenadiers the next moment were over the breastwork, and in full pursuit of the enemy. In a few minutes they had chased the guards from the head of the bridge; planks were thrown over the broken arches, and the troops, rushing over, enabled others to cross in rude pontoons; and in less than an hour the English were masters of the town, with the loss of only twelve men killed and about thirty wounded.

D'Usson made a vain attempt to regain the town; he was repelled with ruinous loss, and was himself thrown down by the flying route and nearly trampled to death. Saint Ruth, when he heard that the town was taken, exclaimed, "Taken! that is impossible, and I close at hand." But he found it no longer safe to be so close at hand. In the night, covered with shame of his folly and absurd confidence, he struck his tents, and made a hasty retreat towards Aghrim, where, encouraged by the natural strength of bogs and hills, he halted and entrenched himself. There was the fiercest bickering in the camp; the French party and the Irish charging each other with the misfortune. Saint Ruth, to excuse himself, laid the blame on Maxwell, whose duty it was to guard the ford. Maxwell was not there to defend himself, for his soldiers fled faster than he, and he was made prisoner. But Tyrconnel, who had always supported Maxwell, protested that he had done his duty like a brave man, and had, along with himself, repeatedly warned Saint Ruth of his temerity. The dispute rose so high that Tyrconnel quitted the camp, and retired to Limerick in high dudgeon.

Being relieved from the presence and interference of Tyrconnel, Saint Ruth again resolved to fight. He was stung by the loss of reputation which he had sustained at Athlone, and by the reflection of its injurious impression at the court of France. Sarsfield, one of those Cassandra-like counsellors, who give the most prudent advice, but are never listened to, again attempted to dissuade him. He pointed out how far superior in discipline and bottom were the troops of Ginckell to those which he now commanded, and recommended a system of excursive warfare, which should harass and, by seizing favourable crises, defeat the English piecemeal. His words were lost on Saint Ruth, who prepared for the approach of Ginckell by going amongst his soldiers personally to rouse their desire to reconquer their good name, and by sending the priests amongst them to stimulate them by religious motives. Ginckell did not let him wait long. As soon as he had settled the defences of Athlone, he pursued his march towards Aghrim.

On the 12th of July he came up with the army of Saint Ruth, and found it very strongly posted. Before him was a morass of half a mile across; beyond the morass rose the hills round the old ruined castle of Aghrim, and at their feet, betwixt them and the bog, the infantry were strongly entrenched, and supported by the cavalry posted commandingly on the slopes of the hills. Difficult as was the approach, it was recommended by Mackay to make an instant attack, whilst the spirits of the troops were high from the first sight of the enemy they had so lately beaten. The battle was determined on, though it was getting late in the afternoon. The infantry struck boldly into the red bog, and plunged on courageously, though often up to their waists in mud and water. Mackay led his horse against their right, and Eppinger's dragoons and Portland's horse advanced against their left. The cavalry found their way through the bogs very difficult; the Dutch and English dragoons met with a repulse in the pass of Urachree, and the infantry were in front of the enemy long before the cavalry could operate on the wings. The Irish infantry that day fought bravely. They poured a fierce fire into the English, and were well supported by the horse. The battle became desperate; the English fought their way into the entrenchments, and drove the Irish up one of the hills; but there they found two old Danish forts, and the old castle of Aghrim, and every hedge and thicket lined with muskets. The contest was unequal, and the infantry found themselves at length driven back to the margin of the bog. Elated at the sight, Saint Ruth exclaimed, "The day is ours! Now will we drive these English back to the gates of Dublin!"

But he was deceived. Talmache rallied the foot, and led them again to the conflict; and whilst the struggle was renewed and the day fast closing, Saint Ruth perceived the horse of Mackay and Ruvigny, the English and Huguenot cavalry, approaching on the right. They came over but a few soldiers abreast, through a narrow track betwixt the bogs; but they soon formed in a dense body, and he rode off to encounter them and prevent their out-flanking his force. As he gallopped up towards them, a cannon-shot carried off his head. The officers about him threw a cloak over his body to prevent his fall disheartening his men. But the absence of command was soon felt. The English fought with fresh fury; and Sarsfield, who was in the rear with the reserve, waiting orders, did not advance till the Irish ranks were broken and all was over. The flight became general. The English horse pursued and hewed down the fugitives as long as they could see; and had not Sarsfield covered the miserable fugitives with his horse, scarcely a man of the infantry would have been left.

The English army camped on the ground which had been occupied by the enemy for the night. Nearly twenty thousand English and their allies entered the battle against something more than the same number of Irish and French. On the side of the English six hundred were killed and one thousand wounded. On the part of the Irish four thousand fell on the field, and nearly as many are said to have perished in the flight. The panic-stricken multitude, flinging their arms away, continued their way, some of them to Limerick, and others to Galway, where D'Usson was now in command. Whole wagon-loads of muskets and other arms were picked up and purchased by Ginckell at a few pence apiece.

The English spent the next day in burying their own dead; but left the corpses of the Irish on the field, and marched forward to attack Galway. D'Usson, who had about two thousand five hundred men in Galway, made at first a show of resistance, calculating on the assistance of Baldearg O'Donnell. But O'Donnell, after endeavouring in vain to bargain for an earldom, consented to accept five hundred pounds a year and a commission in William's army. This unexpected event compelled D'Usson to surrender, on condition that he might march out and join the Irish army in its last place of retreat, Limerick.

Ginckell soon followed and invested the town. The last struggle for a monarch little worthy the cause of so much bloodshed was now to be fought out. At Limerick the Irish were to make their last stand for the possession of their native country. If they failed here, the Saxon remained absolute lord of their soil.

On the 14th of August the advanced guard of Ginckell's army appeared in sight of Limerick. On the same day Tyrconnel, who was in authority in this city, died of apoplexy, and D'Usson and Sarsfield were left in full command of the troops. A commission was produced, which appointed three lords-justices—Plowden, Fitton, and Nagle; but the city was in reality a military garrison, and the military ruled. There were fifteen thousand infantry in the town, and three or four thousand cavalry posted on the Clare side of the Shannon, communicating with the town on the island by the Thomond bridge. By this means communication was kept up with the country on that side, so that provisions might be brought in; and several cargoes of biscuits and other dry stores were imported from France. The country all around, however, had been so swept by successive forages, that it was difficult to collect any cattle or corn, and the stoutest hearts were little confident of being able to maintain a long defence.

Ginckell took possession of the Limerick side of the town, and reoccupied the ground before held by the besiegers. He commenced by erecting fresh batteries of far heavier cannon than William brought to bear on the city, and soon poured a fiery storm of balls and shells into it, which crashed in the roofs and laid whole streets desolate. At the same time a squadron of English men-of-war sailed up the Shannon, and closed access to the city or escape from it by water. The town, however, held out till the 22nd of September, when Ginckell, beginning to fear the rains and fevers of autumn, and that they might compel him to draw off, and thus continue the war to another year, determined to obtain possession of the bridge, and attack the cavalry on the other side. He therefore passed the river by a bridge of William's tin boats, and, assaulting the cavalry, put them to utter route. They left their camp with many arms and much store of provisions, and fled with as much precipitation as they had done from Aghrim, scattering again the whole country with their arms. Ginckell next attacked the fort which defended the bridge, carried it and the bridge, and thus was able to invest the whole town. In the haste to draw up the movable part of the bridge nearest to the city, the soldiers retreating from the fort were shut out, and a terrible massacre was made of them on the bridge. Out of eight hundred men only one hundred and twenty escaped into Limerick.

This disaster broke the spirit of the Irish entirely. Even the stout-hearted Sarsfield was convinced that all was over, and it was resolved to capitulate. An armistice was agreed to. The Irish demanded that they should retain their property and their rights; that there should be perfect freedom for the catholic worship, a catholic priest for every parish, a full enjoyment of all municipal privileges, and a full capability to hold all civil and military offices. Ginckell refused these terms, but offered them others so liberal that they were loudly condemned by the English, who were longing after the estates of the Irish. He consented that all such soldiers as desired to continue in the service of James should be not only allowed to do so, but should be shipped to France in English vessels; that French vessels should be allowed to come up and return in safety; that all soldiers who were willing to enter William's service should be received, and that on taking the oath of allegiance all past offences should be overlooked, and they and all Irish subjects taking the oaths should retain their property, should not be sued for any damages or spoliation committed during the war, nor prosecuted for any treason, felony, or misdemeanour, but should, moreover, be capable of holding any office or practising any profession which they were capable of before the war. They were to be allowed to exercise their religion in peace as fully as in the reign of Charles II.

These terms were accepted, and the treaty was signed on the 3rd of October, and thus terminated this war, which, in the vain endeavour to restore a worthless monarch, had turned Ireland into a desert and a charnel-house. When it came to the choice of the soldiers to which banner they would ally themselves, out of the fifteen thousand men, about ten thousand chose to follow the fortunes of James, and were shipped off with all speed, as they began to desert in great numbers. Many of those who actually embarked did it under a solemn assurance from Sarsfield that their wives and children should go with them; but, once having the men on board, this pledge was most cruelly broken, and the greatest part of the women and children were left in frantic misery on the shore. The scenes which took place on this occasion at Cork are described as amongst the most heartrending in history. But this agony once over, the country sunk down into a condition of passive but gloomy quiet which it required more than a century to terminate. Whilst Scotland again and again was agitated by the endeavours to reinstate the expelled dynasty, Ireland remained passive; and it was not till the French revolution scattered its volcanic fires through Europe, that Ireland again began to shake the yoke on her galled neck. Yet, during all this time, a burning sense of her subjection glowed in her blood, and the name of the Luttrel who went over to the Saxon at the dividing day at Limerick, and received for his apostacy the estates of his absent brother, remained a term of execration amongst the Irish. Meantime the Irish regiments which went to France won high reputation in the wars of the continent, and many of the officers rose to high rank in France, in Spain, in Austria, and Prussia. Their descendants still rank with the nobility of those countries.

For his services in this war Ginckell received from parliament its solemn thanks, and from the king and queen the title of baron Aghrim and earl of Athlone.

On the 19th of October William arrived from Holland, and on the 22nd he opened parliament. He congratulated it on the happy termination of the war in Ireland, and on the progress of our arms generally, both at land and sea. It was true that on the continent there had been no very decisive action, but the allies had compelled the French to retreat before them, and to confess their power by avoiding a general engagement with them. At sea, though perhaps not so much had been effected in some directions as might have been hoped, yet the French had been driven from the sea to their own ports, and an English fleet had conveyed a great merchant fleet from the Mediterranean in safety. This was very different to previous years, when their cruisers had made great captures of our merchantmen. We had also sent a fleet up the Shannon, which prevented them aiding the insurgents in Ireland, and were now in undisputed supremacy again on the ocean. Of course William had to demand great supplies to maintain the fleet in this position, and to pursue the war with vigour against Louis. All this the members of both houses listened to with apparent satisfaction, and voted him cordial thanks.

On the 6th of November it was unanimously voted in the commons that the supplies asked for by the crown should be granted; and first they voted £1,575,898 for the service of the navy, including the building of three new docks at Portsmouth, one dry and two wet ones. On the 16th they resolved that the army, in compliance with William's recommendation, should be raised to 64,924 men; and on the 4th of January they voted £2,100,000 for the maintenance of the army, of which Ireland was to pay £165,000. Thus the army and navy alone cost this year no less than £3,676,685—much more than the whole business of government had often cost in the reigns of Charles and James. But we are now entered on that stupendous system of continental interference, which grew and grew from William's time, till, towards the close of the Buonaparte wars, we spent in a single year, not three or four millions, but three or four hundred millions!

But though a large majority in both houses supported warmly the endeavour to curb the inordinate ambition of Louis XIV., these sums were not passed by the commons without searching inquiries into the accounts and into the abuses which, notwithstanding William's vigilance, abounded in all departments of government. No doubt the party in opposition, as is generally the case, did much of this work of reform more to gratify their private resentments, and to make their rivals' time of office anything but agreeable, than from genuine patriotism; but at the same time there was plenty of ground for their complaints. There were serious charges made against admiral Russell for his lukewarm conduct at sea, and of the management of the admiralty. The fact was that Russell, as was strongly suspected, and as we now know from documents since come to light, was no less a traitor than Torrington, Dartmouth, and Marlborough. He was in active correspondence with James, and ready, if some turn in affairs should serve to make it advantageous, to go over to him with the fleet, or as much of it as would follow him, and others of the admirals; for Delaval, Killigrew, and other admirals and naval officers were as deep in the treason.

There were loud complaints of the vileness of the commissariat still, and it was declared that far more of our men fell by disease from bad and adulterated food than in battle. The complaints against Russell, who was called to the bar of the house, he threw upon the admiralty, and the admiralty on the commissariat department. Russell complained also of the ministry, and particularly of the earl of Nottingham; and thus, by this system of mutual recrimination, exactly resembling what we have seen lately, all parties contrived to escape. The commons, however, were not so to be silenced. They charged on the officers of the army, on its commissariat, on the men in office, and on the government officials almost universally, the same monstrous system of corruption, peculation, and negligence of everything but making money for themselves. They insisted on a rigorous examination of all the accounts by their own members, and they voted that all salaries and profits arising from any place or places under the crown should not amount to more for any one person than five hundred pounds, except in the cases of the speaker of the house of commons, the commissioners of the great seal, the judges, ambassadors, and officers of the army and navy.

There were plenty of posts in which this restriction would have been most salutary, for people in some of the most trivial and useless of them were pocketing many thousands a year; but it was soon found that the whole nation could not furnish sufficient people patriotic enough to serve their country for five hundred pounds a year each; and, therefore, in a few weeks a fresh resolution was taken, which negatived this.

The business of the year 1691 closed by the passing a bill to exclude all catholics, in pursuance of the treaty of Limerick, from holding any office in Ireland, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, or from practising in any profession, or sitting in the Irish parliament, before they had taken the oath of allegiance. The commons attempted by this bill to make it necessary for a catholic to take also the oath of supremacy, and the oath against transubstantiation; but the lords showed that this was contrary to the first article of the treaty of Limerick, and this clause was struck out, and the bill then passed. When the agitation for catholic emancipation commenced, loud complaints were made that by this bill the treaty of Limerick had been violated. But this was a mistake; the violation of it took place some years afterwards by another bill. The first article of the treaty provided that on a catholic taking the oath of allegiance, he should be admitted to all the privileges specified, according to the law in Charles II.'s time; and this law, whether always enforced or not, empowered the crown to tender this oath to all subjects.

The year 1692 was opened by parliament bringing forward several important bills, which were, however, too much contested to be carried this year. The first of these was a bill for regulating the trade of the East India Company, increasing the number of shareholders, restricting the amount of stock in the hands of individuals, and incorporating a new company, which had sprung up with the old one. The East India Company had become a most flourishing concern. From the restoration to this time, only twenty-three years, its annual imports had risen in value from eight thousand pounds to three hundred thousand pounds. Its capital amounted only to three hundred and seventy thousand pounds, but it yielded an annual profit of thirty per cent., besides having, up to 1676, doubled the value of the whole capital. The company, however, instead of increasing in shareholders, was rapidly sinking into a monopoly of a few individuals. Amongst these Sir Josiah Child, whom we lately quoted in our review of the commerce of the period, stood chief, and was become, as it were, the king and despot of the whole concern. Five members were said to possess or hold a sixth of all the votes, and amongst these Child had the predominant amount. His income from the company was stated at twenty thousand pounds a year, and his word was law in it.

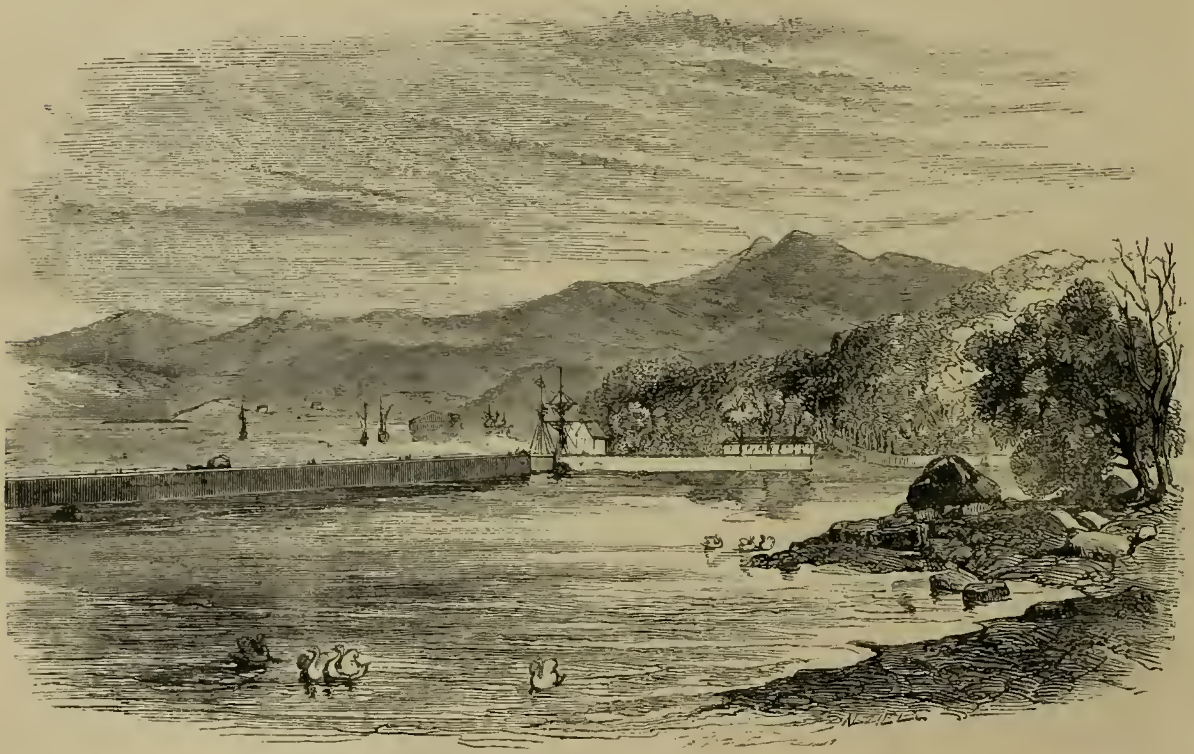
These enormous profits naturally called forth a rival company, and the contest betwixt these companies grew from year to year, till it came to occupy and divide the spirit of the whole mercantile world. The new company insisted on the right of trading also to many parts of India, the old one stood on their charter as a charter of exclusion to all others. The favour of government was purchased by the old company by well-applied gifts of money to government, and by sharing with government the profitable patronage. The question was now brought before parliament and hotly debated; but the bill was dropped for the present, and a proposition to William to grant a charter to the new company was evaded, on the plea of requiring deep consideration.

The next important bill was for regulating trials in cases of high treason. It was high time that great reforms should take place on this head During the Stuart times men had been most easily and conveniently put out of the way, by counsel being refused them under charge of high treason, and by refusal to allow them the perusal of the bill of indictment previous to the trial. Juries were packed by sheriffs, and state prisoners were thus murdered at will. The same gross injustice extended to prisoners charged with other offences; but the great strain towards injustice was in the case of those charged by the state with treason, and against whom it employed the ablest lawyers of the realm. By this machinery, all through the reigns of the Stuarts, as well as of their predecessors, whole throngs of men, and many of them of extraordinary endowments and high rank, had been judicially destroyed. The proposed bill, therefore, provided that every person charged with high treason should be allowed to have his own counsel, to have a copy of the indictment, ten days before the trial, delivered to him, along with a list of the freeholders from whom his jury were to be selected, that he might have opportunity to challenge any of them. The bill was most desirable, but it was frustrated for the time by the lords insisting on an extension of their own privileges regarding such trials. Instead of being tried by the court of the lord high steward—who could summon twelve or more peers at his discretion if the parliament was not sitting—they demanded that, during the recess, as during the session, every peer should be summoned to attend any such trial. The commons somewhat unreasonably opposed this very proper reform, on the ground that the peers had too many privileges already, and the bill dropped for the time.

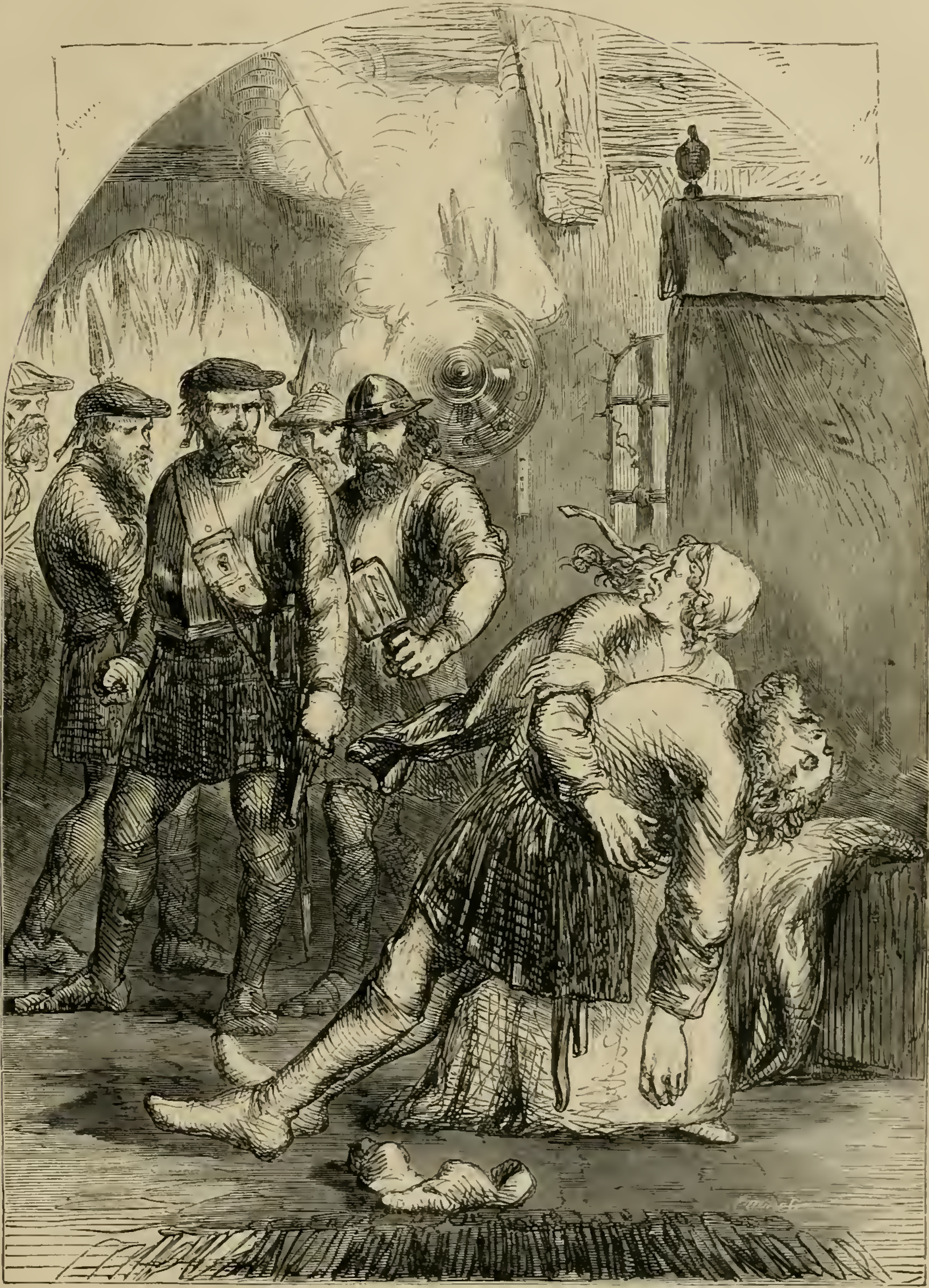
Besides these the commons sent up various other bills, which were nearly all rejected by the lords. There was a bill for reducing the rate of interest on money; a bill investing in the king the forfeited estates in both England and Ireland as a fund for the war; a bill to proportion the pay in the army to the real complement of men; for there was a practice, in which Marlborough was especially engaged, of returning regiments as complete which were far from complete, and pocketing the pay of the men wanting. There was a bill to continue the commissioners of public accounts, most unreasonably rejected by the lords, whilst they allowed to pass an act which has always been regarded with peculiar hostility in England—a poll-tax, levying on all persons, except servants, children, and paupers, a shilling a quarter; on every peer of parliament, ten pounds; on non-jurors, twenty pounds; on all persons possessing income from any sum of three hundred pounds a year, ten shillings, and on all gentlemen of three hundred pounds a year income from real property, and on all clergymen or teachers with incomes of eighty pounds, one pound each. On the 29th of February William prorogued the parliament, and made active preparations for his departure for the continent. Before he took his leave, however, he made various changes in his cabinet and ministry, which showed that the whigs were still losing ground with him, and the tories, or the "Trimmers," who veered, according to circumstances, to one party or the other, acquiring favour. The earl of Rochester, younger brother of lord Clarendon, one of Mary's uncles; lord Ranelagh, lord Cornwallis, and Sir Edward Seymour, who had all along hitherto opposed the king, were made members of the privy council, and the earl of Pembroke privy seal. Charles Montague was made a commissioner of the treasury, and Sidney lord lieutenant of Ireland. But the circumstance which occasioned the greatest sensation, and wonder, and mystery was the sudden dismissal of lord Marlborough from all his offices under the king, both in the court and the army. As Marlborough had been manifestly rising in William's estimation from the successful display of his military talents, this abrupt dismissal excited the keenest curiosity of both court and country, which William took no means to gratify, and for which he has been greatly blamed, even by historians most laudatory to him. But, from what we now know of the causes of this striking expression of William's displeasure, we can well understand that there was more in it than William could, without implicating the princess Anne, make known.

We have seen that Marlborough all along, whilst courting the favour of William, was endeavouring to recover that of James. He had been one of the very first to abandon that monarch when trusted by him, but he had written letters expressing the bitterest repentance and remorse for that treason, whilst he was thus prepared, if necessary, to perpetrate a new one. But Marlborough, as he had a genius capable of the very highest achievements, had one also capable of the most complicated treacheries in politics. It was not enough for him to be serving William and vowing secretly to James that he was only watching his opportunity to serve him, but he had a third and more alluring treason. He and his wife had the ductile and yet obstinate princess Anne completely in their hands. They lived with her at Whitehall, they drew largely from her income, they selected her friends, they moulded her likings and her antipathies; she was a complete puppet in their keeping. From his lucrative station as keeper of Anne's purse, person, and conscience, through his clever and unprincipled wife, Marlborough watched intently the temper of the nation. He saw that there was an intense jealousy of the Dutch, not only amongst the people on account of trade and national rivalry, but in the parliament and aristocracy, on account of William's preference for his Dutch friends. Bentinck, Ginckell, Auverquerque, and Zuleystein, were the only men in whom he reposed entire confidence. On them he heaped wealth, estates, and honours. Ginckell was just now elevated to an earldom, and a large grant of lands was contemplated for him in Ireland. On Portland rich grants had been profusely bestowed, and more anticipated. William's continual absences on the continent, his cold reserve whilst here, the large expenditure of men and money for the prosecution of the continental war, though really for the liberties of Europe, were represented by the discontented as a wholesale draft upon the country for the aggrandisement of Holland.

These were the things Marlborough saw which gave power and life to the intrigues of the Jacobites; and the only causes which prevented the revulsion becoming general in favour of James, were his incurable despotism, his imbecility as a monarch, and the certain return of popery in his train. But there was another person to whom none of these objections applied—the princess Anne—the person already in his guidance or power. Anne was at once English and a protestant. The former fact gave her a mighty advantage over William—the latter over James. Would it not, therefore, be possible to substitute Anne for her father? To do this it was only necessary to inflame the prejudice against the Dutch influence in the parliament and the people, to inoculate the army with the same feeling, already well-disposed to it by jealousy of the Dutch troops, and dexterously to obviate the objections of those who repelled the idea of bringing back James by turning their attention on one so much nearer home. The absence of William on the continent, and disaffection of most of the admirals, would afford the opportunity to resist his return hither by both



View near Bantry.



MASSACRE OF GLENCOE: DEATH OF MAC IAN.

army and navy. When Anne was proclaimed, and she once queen, Marlborough became the great pillar of her throne, commander of her army, dispenser of her patronage; in short, a future more brilliant than ever broke upon any subject since the days of Cardinal Wolsey, dawned dazzlingly upon him.

That this was no mere surmise is clear enough now. It was, indeed, one of the various rumours of the time. Evelyn says that it was one of these that Marlborough "was endeavouring to breed division in the army, and to make himself the more necessary by making an ill correspondence betwixt the princess and the court." But James himself as plainly asserts the fact of this charge against Marlborough. "It was the plan," he says, "of my friends to recall me through the parliament. My lord Churchill was to propose in parliament to drive away all the foreigners from the councils and the army of the kingdom. If the prince of Orange consented to this, he would have been in their hands. If he refused, parliament would have declared against him, and lord Churchill was at the same time to cause the army to declare for the parliament, the fleet the same, and then to recall me. Already this plan was in agitation, and a large party was already gained over, when some faithful but indiscreet subjects, thinking to serve me, and imagining that Lord Churchill was not acting for me, but really for the princess of Denmark, discovered all to Bentinck, and thus destroyed the whole scheme."

The proof that William was satisfied that Marlborough's grand plan was real, was that he at once dismissed him from all his employments. That Marlborough had long intrigued with James, William was quite aware, but on that account he never troubled him; this, however, was by far a more dangerous treachery, and he resented it accordingly. The Marlboroughs, notwithstanding, continued at Whitehall with Anne, and might probably never have been molested, had not the imperious lady Marlborough in her anger determined to set the king and queen at defiance. She, therefore, had the assurance to accompany the princess to the drawing-room at Kensington Palace a few evenings after, and the next day brought an expostulatory letter from the queen to her sister, informing her that after such an outrage lady Marlborough must quit Whitehall. Anne sent to entreat Mary to pass the matter over, declaring that there was no misery that she would not suffer rather than be deprived of lady Marlborough. The only answer was an order from the lord chamberlain, commanding her ladyship to quit the palace. Anne, determined not to lose the society of her favourite, quitted Whitehall with the Marlboroughs, and betook herself to Sion House, which was lent to her by the duke of Somerset, and soon after she removed to Berkeley House, standing on the present site of Devonshire House, in Piccadilly, which became her permanent residence. There all the Marlborough faction assembled, and there Anne vented her indignation without restraint or delicacy against William, calling him a Dutch abortion, a monster, a Caliban. A fresh stimulus was given to the malice of that clique; every means was used to excite hatred to the government of William, and to increase the partisans of James. With such a termagant spirit as lady Marlborough, and such a plotting spirit as that of her husband, a strong feeling was excited against the queen, who was represented as totally without heart, as having usurped the throne of her father, and sought to strip her sister of her most valued friendships. Amidst such an atmosphere of malice and detraction William was compelled to leave the queen.

He embarked for Holland on the 5th of March. He left the country amid the rumours of false plots and real schemes of invasion. One Fuller, under the tuition of the notorious Titus Oates, had been accusing no less than fifty lords and gentlemen, including Halifax and some of the king's own ministers, of having pledged themselves to bring in James. However true it might be that many of these were at heart really ready for such a change, it was clearly shown that Fuller's story was got up merely to make money by it, and it was treated with contempt. The rumour of an invasion was, as we shall find, more real. Disbelieving it, or pressed by the necessity of giving a blow to Louis in Flanders, William made a speedy journey to the Hague. There the difficulties which he had to overcome were such as would have sunk the courage of any less firm-hearted man. His allies, the German princes, were only held to the alliance by continual bribes to their cupidity, their poverty, or their preposterous pride. They looked to England and Holland to furnish not only all the requisite funds for the war, but to heap upon them honours and money for defending their own interest. The emperor of Germany, king of Austria—whose territories in Italy, as well as on the Danube, were menaced by France—was always feeling that as a catholic he was fighting against a catholic monarch, Louis, and promoting the interests of protestantism. He looked to the English and Dutch to defend his territories in both Germany and the north of Italy, and to furnish him with the means of beating off the Turks from his Danubian frontiers. The lesser tribes of landgraves, and electors, and margraves were voracious of subsidies from the allies, and of honours. The landgraves and margraves, whose estates would not equal that of a good English squire, would be made electors; the electors, kings; and if they were not gratified, threatened to join the kings of Denmark and Sweden, who were jealous of the maritime ascendancy of the Dutch and English, and were doing all they could to form a northern party in order to weaken the allied cause. Others vowed they would make peace with France if their eternal demands for money were not gratified. Spain was in the lowest state of national degeneracy and weakness, and Gastanaga, the viceroy of the Netherlands, was incapable and inert beyond all power of appeal. To make all worse, the pope, Innocent XI., died, and was succeeded by Cardinal Pignatelli, a weak old man, who was inclined to be reconciled to France.

There was nothing for it but to soothe, pay, daub over with the finery of stars and garters, and allure with the hopes of augmented titles, the debased, pauper, and pretentious petty rulers of Germany, and to hold them together as well as he could; but William must have felt, and he had soon occasion to experience it, that he could depend on nothing but his own energies and his English and Dutch forces. With a world of trouble he succeeded in getting Gastanaga removed, and the elector of Bavaria appointed regent of Flanders. His agents exerted themselves amongst the influential cardinals, whom he found as much as ever averse to the plans of Louis; and in Savoy the duke and prince Eugene, assisted by young Schomberg, promised to do good service on that side.

But though William managed to just hold his stupid and selfish allies together—too stupid and selfish to perceive their own real interests—he found it impossible to get them into the field. Whilst they were moving like tortoises, each afraid to be before his neighbour, each taking leave to delay because his neighbour delayed, Louis rushed in the arena with his wonted alertness. On the 20th of May he was in his camp at Flanders. He made a grand review of his troops in the neighbourhood of Mons. There a hundred and twenty thousand men were drawn up in a line of eight miles long. Such a circumstance was well calculated to spread a deadening report amongst the allies of the crushing immensity of his army. He was attended by a splendid retinue of nearly all the princes and rulers of France; there was the duke de Chartres, in his fifteenth year only; the dukes of Bourbon and Vendôme; the prince of Conti; and whole troops of young nobles following them as volunteers. Louis appeared in the midst of them with all the splendour and luxury of an eastern emperor. He had brought with him all the courtly throngs and amusements of Paris. There were the singers and dancers of the opera, mistresses and parasites, his court band of musicians, and all the ministers of pleasure and voluptuousness. Racine, the great poet of the age, was there to immortalise the actions of Louis by his muse. Every noble and gentleman appeared with an unheard-of splendour and retinue. The duke de Saint Simon, afterwards so celebrated for his "Memoirs," though then scarcely more than a boy, appeared with a long train of gorgeously-dressed servants, and thirty-five horses and sumpter mules.

From the imposing review Louis bore down directly on Namur. Namur stood strongly at the confluence of the Meuse and the Sambre. It was strong by nature on the sides next the rivers, and made so by art on the land side. The baron de Cohorn, an engineer who rivalled Vauban, was always in William's army to advise and throw up fortifications. Cohorn had made it one of the most considerable fortresses on the continent, and he now lay in the city with a garrison of nine thousand men under the prince de Brabazon. All the other fortresses—Mons, Valenciennes, Cambray, Antwerp, Ostend, Ypres, Lisle, Tournay, Luxembourg, and others, had yielded to the Grande Monarque; Namur alone had resisted every attempt upon it. And now Louis invested it with his whole force. Louis himself laid siege to the place with forty thousand men, and posted Luxembourg with eighty thousand more on the road betwixt Namur and Brussels. Brabazon calculated on the army of William effecting the relief of the place, and Louis resolved to make his approach impossible.

William, joined by the forces of Brandenburg and Liege, and with his army swelled to a hundred thousand men, advanced to the Mehaigne, within cannon-shot of Luxembourg's camp, but there he found himself stopped. Luxembourg's army lay on the other bank of the river, and was so strongly posted, and watched so vigilantly every movement of William, that he saw no means of forcing a way towards the belligerent city. Whilst thus impeded by the river and the vast force of Luxembourg, nature came to complete the chafing king's mortifications. Heavy rains set in on St. Medard's day, the 8th of June, the French St. Swithin. The rivers burst their banks, and the whole country lay under water. If William had the means to cross the river, the drenching torrents and the muddy soil rendered all military operations impossible. Louis with difficulty could keep his men to their posts in the siege. Still the assault was pushed on. Cohorn, the engineer, was disabled by a severe wound whilst defending a fort on which he greatly prided himself; and from that hour the defence languished. Brabazon was a man of no spirit; Cohorn's fort was taken, and the town surrendered on the 20th of June.

The exultation of Louis and the French on the fall of Namur was unbounded. This triumph had been won in the very presence of William and the allies at the head of a hundred thousand men. He ordered medals to be struck to commemorate this success, which his flatterers, and amongst them Boileau himself, declared was more glorious than the mastery of Troy by the Greeks. *Te Deum* was sung in Paris; the French nation was in ecstacies, and Louis returned to Versailles to enjoy all the incense of his elated courtiers and mistresses. But he did not return without a sting to his triumph. The news of a signal defeat of his fleet at La Hogue reached him even as he lay before Namur, and the thunder of William's artillery at the great intelligence wounded his vanity though it could not reach his army.

Louis having quitted the Netherlands, Luxembourg strongly garrisoned Namur, despatched the marquis of Boufflers to La Bassiere, and himself encamped at Soignies. William posted himself at Genappe, sent detachments to Ghent and Liege, and determined to attack Luxembourg. That general shifted his ground to a position betwixt Steinkirk and Enghein, and William then encamped at Lambeque. Here he discovered that all his movements had been previously betrayed to Luxembourg by the private secretary of the elector of Bavaria, one Millevoix, a letter of whose to the French general had been picked up by a peasant and brought to the camp. William seized on the circumstance to mislead Luxembourg. The detected spy was compelled to write a letter to the French general, informing him that the next day William was intending to send out a great foraging party, and, to prevent its being surprised, would draw out a large body of troops to protect it. The letter being dispatched to the French camp, William took immediate measures for the engagement. His object was to surprise the camp of Luxembourg, and the story of the foraging party was to prevent his alarm on the approach of the troops. He sent his heavy baggage across the Seine, and by four in the morning his troops were on the march towards Luxembourg's position. The prince of Würtemberg led the van with ten battalions of English, Dutch, and Danish infantry, supported by a large body of horse and foot under the command of general Mackay, and count Solmes followed with the reserve.

William's forces reached the outposts of Luxembourg's army about two o'clock in the afternoon, and drove them in with a sudden and unlooked-for onset. A regiment from the Bourbonnais was put to instant flight, and William, who had been informed that he should have to march through a country of hedges, ditches, and narrow lanes, but that, on approaching Luxembourg's army, he would find it open plain, now calculated that he had nothing to do but to dash into the surprised camp and produce universal confusion. He had indeed had to pick his way through the hedges and ditches, but now, instead of the open plain, there lay still a network of hedges and ditches betwixt him and the enemy. This caused so much delay, that the enemy soon became aware of the real fact, that William was upon them with his whole army. There was an instant hurrying to standards, and William found himself face to face with a body sufficient to dispute the ground with him till the whole was in order.

Luxembourg had been deceived by the forced letter of Millevoix. He had relied on it as being as correct as usual; and, though scout after scout brought intelligence of the English approaching, he deemed it only the foraging party and their supporters, and sate coolly at cards till it was nearly too late. Then he mounted his horse, reconnoitred the enemy, threw forward the Swiss regiments and the far-famed household troops of Louis, and encouraged his men to fight with their usual bravery. The young princes put themselves at the head of the household troops, and displayed an enthusiasm which communicated itself to the whole line. They found as vigorous opponents in the duke of Würtemberg and the gallant and pious Mackay. The conflict was maintained at the muzzles of the muskets, and Luxembourg afterwards declared that he never saw so fierce a struggle. The duke of Würtemberg had already seized one of the enemy's batteries, and penetrated within their entrenchments, but the immense weight of troops that kept pouring on against them at length bore them back. Mackay sent messenger after messenger to bid Solmes hasten up his reserve, but, from cowardice or treachery, Solmes would not move. He said coolly, "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make." At length William sent an express order for him to move up; whereupon he trotted his horse forward a little, but never advanced his infantry. When, therefore, Mackay saw that his soldiers were being hewed down by hundreds and no succour came, he said, "God's will be done," and fought on till he fell.

The contest was not, however, decided till the detachment of Boufflers appeared upon the field. Luxembourg sent off an express to hasten him to his assistance; but Boufflers, unlike Solmes, had not waited for that—he had heard the firing, and was already on the way. Then William was compelled to order his troops to draw off; and this retreat he managed with his accustomed skill. He was, however, roused out of his usual stoicism by the infamous conduct of Solmes; and the whole army declared that they should not have been repulsed but for his base desertion of them. Besides Mackay, fell on William's side the earl of Angus, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, and lord Mountjoy, who, having been released from the Bastille in exchange for Richard Hamilton, at once showed his sense of James's treatment of his friends, and went over to William, to fall thus early in his new cause.

The carnage on this day was terrible The English are said to have lost five thousand men, and the French to have had seven thousand killed and wounded. Five English regiments were completely cut up, and not a man of Mackay's would have escaped alive but for the gallant interposition of Auverquerque, who came up with two fresh battalions, and kept back the French in a masterly style. On the part of the French fell the prince of Turenne, the marquis of Bellefond, Tilladet, Fernacon, and a numerous list of officers. In the English camp the outcry against Solmes was universal and indignant. Both officers and men declared that this was not the first time that his conduct had been reprehensible. The officers hated and avoided him for his arrogance and ill-temper. They asked for what reason he had been advanced over the heads of English officers every way his superiors in talent and courage. William hanged Millevoix in the sight of the whole army, but we do not hear of his removal of Solmes, thus strengthening the opinion of his blind favouritism towards his countrymen. The French claimed the victory, though William retired to his camp in good order, and both armies continued to occupy their former position. In France the triumph was ecstatic. As the young princes returned home from the campaign, the whole country flocked to the roadsides to welcome them from their field of youthful glory with vociferous acclamations. In Paris everything made for ornament was called a Steinkirk. There were Steinkirk bracelets, Steinkirk chains and buckles, Steinkirk collars, Steinkirk perfumes. As the young princes and nobility had rushed to the battle in hasty array, and with their lace cravats loosely tied, it became the fashion for the ladies to wear lace neckerchiefs thus carelessly tied, and called also Steinkirks. The fame of William as a general in the field was greatly injured. He was acknowledged to be admirable at a retreat, but it was said that a first-rate general seldom practised that portion of the art of war. But his enemies, by their very joy at this rebuff, acknowledged their sense of his power; and they sought not only to tarnish his reputation, but to get rid of him altogether.

For this purpose a grand scheme of assassination had long been maturing at the French court. Louvois, the minister of Louis XIV., had conceived this plan, or had received it from some one. He sketched out the scheme, which was found amongst his papers after his death by his son-in-law and successor, the marquis de Barbesieux. Barbesieux seized on the design, and soon found what appeared an admirable instrument for its execution. This was the chevalier de Grandval, a captain of dragoons. Grandval was joined in it by colonel Parker, a refugee Jacobite, and they engaged one Dumont, a Walloon, who undertook to assassinate William whilst in the Netherlands. Parker, Grandval, and Dumont were to meet at Uden, in North Brabant, to settle all the details of the attempt. Madame Maintenon and Papaul, paymaster of the French army, were in the secret. Grandval, before setting out for the Netherlands to meet Dumont, waited on James at St. Germains, who also presented him to the ex-queen. "I am informed," said James, "of your business, and if it succeed, you and your associates shall never want."

The Jacobites had stoutly denied the knowledge of this diabolical design, but unfortunately the discoveries made in our own days in the archives of Versailles, leave no doubt upon the matter. Still more, M. Mazure has produced the most positive evidence that James after this kept hired assassins to kill William.

This conspiracy, however, like so many others, failed by letting too many people into it. Barbesieux, not contented with employing Grandval and Dumont, engaged one Leefdale, a Dutchman, and imparted the secret to Chanlas, quartermaster-general of the French army. Probably the discovery of so many being cognisant of the design alarmed Dumont; for though he had proceeded to the camp of the allies in the Netherlands, and remained some weeks, he left it and retired to Hanover, where he discovered the whole scheme to the duke of Zell. The duke instantly wrote and put William and the allies on their guard. Meantime Leefdale, who had been sent to the allied camp to watch the accomplishment of the design, probably alarmed at the movement of Dumont, and by the incautious talking of Grandval, who had thrown out broad intimations of the scheme to Morel, a Swiss protestant minister in France, who directly wrote to inform Burnet of it—confessed the whole affair, and was employed by William to secure Grandval. Accordingly the assassin was induced by Leefdale to meet him at Eyndhoven, where he was apprehended. About a week after the battle of Steinkirk he was tried by a court-martial, and finding that Leefdale and Dumont had put William in full possession of the particulars, he made a complete confession, and was shot. The sensation which the discovery of this devilish plot occasioned over the whole continent, as well as in England, was such as may be supposed. The characters of James and Louis, who were capable of such things, fell in proportion; and whilst they were execrated by the whole Christian world, they themselves took no pains to deny the charge. On the contrary, Barbesieux still continued, as before, the minister of war to Louis, which could not have been the case if Louis really abhorred such devilish measures.

After this nothing of consequence distinguished the campaign in the Netherlands. On the 26th of September, William left the army under command of the elector of Bavaria, and retired to his hunting seat at Loo. The camp was broken up, and the infantry marched to Marienkirke, and the horse to Caure. But hearing that Boufflers had invested Charleroi and Luxembourg, he sent troops under the elector of Bavaria to raise the siege of these towns. Boufflers retired, and then the elector distributed his troops into winter quarters; and Luxembourg on his side left the army under Boufflers, and went to Paris.

Besides this there had been an attempt on the part of England to besiege Dunkirk. The duke of Leinster was sent over with troops, which were joined by others from William's camp; but they thought the attempt too hazardous, and returned, having done nothing. William quitted Holland, and on the 18th of October arrived in England. The result of this expensive campaign, where such unexampled preparations had been followed only by defeat and the loss of five thousand men, excited deep dissatisfaction; and the abortive attempt to recover Dunkirk increased it. The public complained that William had lain inactive at Grammont whilst Louis took Namur, and that if he could not cross the Scheldt in the face of the French army, he might have crossed it higher up, and taken Louis in the flank; that he might, instead of lying inert to witness his enemy's triumph, have boldly marched into France and laid waste Louis's own territories, which would have quickly drawn him away from Namur. Such, indeed, might have been the decisive movements of a great military genius, but there is no reason to think William such a genius. His most striking qualities appear to have been dogged perseverance and insensibility to defeat.

In other directions the campaign of this year had been quite as unsatisfactory. In Germany, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassell had been compelled to abandon the siege of Eberemburg. On the Rhine the duke administrator of Würtemberg had been surprised and taken prisoner by the duke de Lorges at Eidelsheim. Count Tallard had repulsed the Germans from Rhinefeldt; the elector of Saxony and the emperor had, instead of supporting the allies, fallen to feud themselves; and Schöning, the Saxon general, had been seized on his way to the hot baths of Töplitz, and was kept in prison two years. The war against the Turks was indecisive. On the side of Piedmont alone had it had success. There the duke of Savoy, accompanied by prince Eugene and the young duke Schomberg, made a descent into Dauphiny, overran a great tract of country, laying it waste in revenge of the French devastation of the palatinate. They took several towns, burnt eighty villages and chateaux, marched from Ambrun to Gap on the frontiers of Provence, and threw Grenoble and Lyons into consternation. The seizure of the duke with the small-pox, and the approach of winter, induced them to retire; but they had done enough to show that France was open to the same incursions which Louis had so cruelly made into Flanders, Holland, Germany, and Savoy; and had the allies adopted more of this system, they would soon have made both France and Louis sick of the war.

During William's absence, circumstances had transpired which threw a dark shade upon his fame, which had tended to shake his throne, and which gratified the naval pride of the country, and at the same time mortified it. We must briefly review them.

The horrible event which had taken place in Scotland, still popularly styled the Massacre of Glencoe, had just become known to the English public as he left for the continental campaign, and threw no little odium upon him. The dissatisfaction which William felt with his bill of toleration for Scotland having been refused by the Scottish parliament, induced him to remove lord Melville, who had suffered the liberal views of the king to be swamped by the presbyterians, as William thought, too facilely. He therefore appointed Sir James Dalrymple, whom he had created viscount Stair, lord president of the court of session; and his son, Sir John—called now, according to the custom of Scotland, the master of Stair—as lord advocate, took the lead in the management of the Scottish affairs. Amongst the matters which came under his attention was that of settling the highlands; and it was resolved by William's cabinet, where lord Stair and the earl of Argyll were consulted as the great authorities on Scotch measures, that twelve thousand pounds should be distributed amongst the highland chiefs, to secure their good-will. Unfortunately, as we have said, the agent chosen for the distribution of this money was one of the hated tribe of Campbell. It was the earl of Breadalbane, who had deadly feuds with some of their chiefs; and, as they regarded him with aversion and suspicion, the most insurmountable obstacles arose to any reasonable arrangement. Besides that every chief wanted more money than Breadalbane thought they ought to have, the earl of Argyll contended that these chiefs owed him large sums, and that their quotas should be paid over to him in liquidation of those debts. To this the chiefs would not consent, and when the money was not paid over, they loudly avowed their conviction that Breadalbane meant to appropriate it to himself.

Amongst the chiefs, Macdonald of Glencoe was especially obnoxious to Breadalbane. Glencoe is a peculiarly wild and gloomy glen, stretching along the southern shore of Loch Leven, in Argyllshire. The English meaning of the word is "the glen of weeping," a name singularly appropriate from its being continually enveloped in dark mists and drizzling rains. It was too barren and rugged for agriculture, and, accordingly, its little section of the clan Donald were noted for their predatory habits, common, indeed, to all the highlanders, and deemed as actually honourable. They had committed frequent raids on the lands of Breadalbane, and therefore, when the old chief presented himself amongst the other chiefs at the castle of Breadalbane, he was rudely insulted, and was called upon to make reparation for his damages done to the Campbells. Macdonald—or, as he was commonly styled, Mac Ian—was glad to get away in safety. Incensed at his treatment, he exerted all his arts and influence amongst the other chiefs to embarrass and frustrate the attempts of Breadalbane towards a settlement.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the English government issued a proclamation, that every rebel who did not come in and take the oaths to William and Mary before the 1st of January, 1692, should be held to be traitors, and treated accordingly. Notwithstanding considerable delay, all the chiefs took care to come in before the appointed day except Mac Ian. In his stubborn rage against Breadalbane, he deferred his submission to the last moment. On the 31st of December, however, he presented himself at Fort William to take the necessary oaths; but colonel Hill, the governor, refused to give him the oaths, on the plea that he was not a magistrate, and told Mac Ian that it was necessary that he should go to Inverary and swear before the sheriff. The old chief was confounded; this was the last day of grace, and it was impossible to reach Inverary in the depth of winter in time. Hill, however, gave him a letter to the sheriff expressing a hope that, as Mac Ian had presented himself in time to take the oaths, though under an error as to the authority, he would allow him to take them. Glencoe did not reach Inverary till the 6th of January, and the sheriff, after much entreaty and many tears from the old chief, consented to administer the oaths, and dispatch information of the circumstance to the council in Edinburgh.

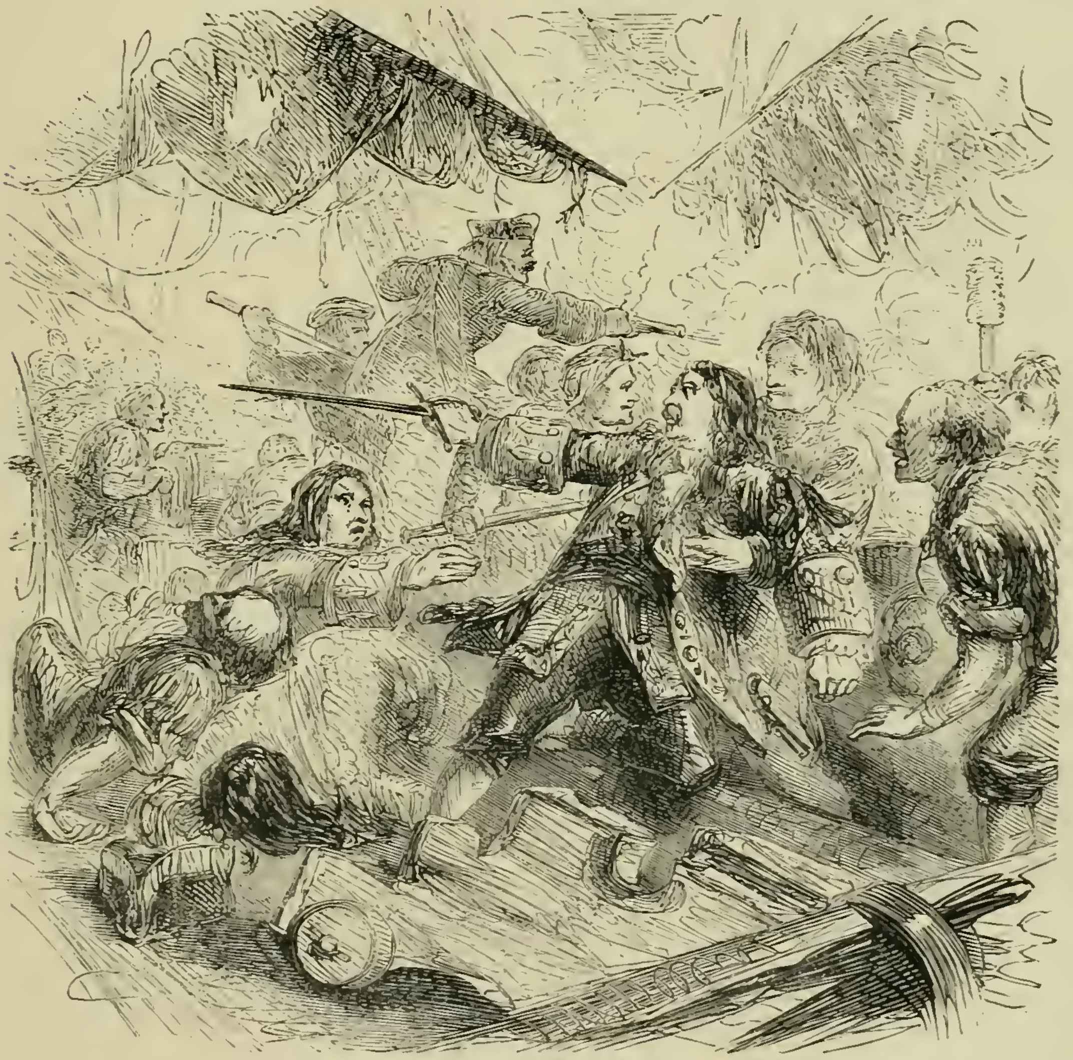
The news did not reach Breadalbane and Argyll in Edinburgh, but in London, whither they were gone to represent the state of these affairs; and both they and the master of Stair, who was there too, instead of being glad that all the chiefs had come in, were exceedingly rejoiced that Glencoe had not come in till after the prescribed time. They agreed to suppress the fact that Glencoe *had* come in, though after the time, and only laid before William's council the circumstance that he had not come in at the expiry of the limited time. A proposal was therefore made by them that this nest of robbers, as they termed the people of Glencoe, should be utterly routed out, without which, they declared, there could be no peace in the highlands. William therefore signed a warrant laid before him for that purpose, putting his signature both at top and bottom.

With this fatal instrument in their hands, these worthless men instantly took measures to wreak their vengeance on this little horde of people, and to root them completely out. An order was sent to governor Hill to dispatch a sufficient force to Glencoe to kill every man, woman, and child in it. Whether Hill was deemed too humane or too dignified a man for the office of wholesale butcher, does not appear; but he was directed to send lieutenant-colonel Hamilton on the errand. Hamilton, however, to make all sure by studying the place, sent, on the 1st of February, a captain Campbell—better known as Glenlyon, from the place of his residence. Glenlyon took with him one hundred and twenty men, part of a regiment of Campbells, and marched to Glencoe; and then appeared the full diabolism of the scheme of Mr. Secretary Stair and his associates, Argyll and Breadalbane. He was not to fall on the Macdonalds and put them to the sword as open and proscribed enemies, but to secure the completion of the barbarous design by a plan of the most revolting treachery on record. He was to profess to come as a friend, only to seek temporary quarters on his wintry march, and especially to visit a niece of his married to one of the sons of Mac Ian. He was to feign friendship, to live with the poor people some time in familiarity till all suspicion was laid to rest, and then to murder them in cold blood.

Accordingly, when this band of soldiers was seen approaching, a son of the chief and some of the people went out to learn the cause of the visit. The reply was, All in friendship, and only to seek quarters. The traitors were warmly received, and disposed of amongst the different families. Glenlyon and some of his men were accommodated by a man called Inverriggen; Lindsay, the lieutenant, by old Mac Ian; and a sergeant named Barbour in a little cluster of houses, by a leading man called Auchintriater. For nearly a fortnight this air of friendship was kept up. Glenlyon professed much attachment to his niece and her husband. He and Lindsay played at cards with the chief and his sons, and all went gaily, as far as whisky, and French brandy, and blithe spirits on the part of the hosts could make it so. But all this time Glenlyon was studying how the more completely to secure the destruction of every soul in the glen. He and his men noted carefully every outlet, and the result of the observations was sent to Hamilton. All being considered ready, Hamilton fixed the 13th of February for the slaughter, and appointed to be there before five o'clock in the morning, and to stop all the earths to which the old fox and his cubs, as he termed Mac Ian and his sons, could flee. That night, as he was marching with four hundred men through the snows to do this butcherly deed, Glenlyon was spending the evening with Mac Ian, and engaged to dine the next day with "his murdered man."

But, with all the Judas-like deceit with which he carried on his hellish design, that evening two men were heard lamenting that they had something to do that they did not relish. A suspicion was awoke, and one of the sons of Mac Ian went at midnight to Glenlyon's lodgings to see if he could discover anything. In confirmation of his worst suspicions he found him and his men all up and armed. Yet he suffered himself to be persuaded by the villain that they were called to a sudden march to chastise some of the Glengarry clan for marauding; and the young man returned home and went to bed. Glenlyon had said, "Do you think I would do anything against my own niece and her husband?"

At five in the morning, though Hamilton had not arrived, this bloodthirsty traitor commenced the massacre by murdering his host and all his family. Lindsay did the same by his host, old Mac Ian, and his family; and Barbour shot down his host and family in the same manner. Then the soldiers at every hut imitated their example, and speedily there was a hewing and shooting down of victims flying from the huts to the defiles for escape. Men, women, children, pleading most piteously, were ruthlessly murdered. But, fortunately, the sound of the firearms roused the whole glen at once, and the rush of the affrighted people was too simultaneous to allow of their being killed. The greater part of them escaped in the darkness to the hills, for Hamilton was not arrived to blockade the defiles. The sanguinary haste of Glenlyon had saved the majority. The two sons of Mac Ian were amongst the number who escaped. Above thirty people, however, were massacred, and an old man of seventy, unable to fly, was brutally stabbed.



Death of Admiral Carter.

But those who had escaped the sword and musket only escaped to the snow-covered rocks to perish, many of them, of cold and famine, for the wretches set fire to everything in the valley, and left it one black and hideous desert. When the news of this terrible affair at length spread, the public could scarcely believe that so demoniacal a deed could have been done in a Christian country. The Jacobites did not fail to dilate on its infamy with particular emphasis. The whole frightful particulars were gleaned up industriously by the non-jurors from the soldiers of this regiment, which happened the next summer to be quartered in England. All the execration due to such a deed was liberally showered on the courtiers, and the actors of the brutal butchery, and on the king who had sanctioned it. Terror, if not conscience, seized on the chief movers in it. Breadalbane sent his steward to Glencoe, to induce the miserable inhabitants who had returned to their burnt-up valley to sign a paper asserting that they did not charge him with any participation in the crime, promising in return to use his influence with the king to obtain a full pardon and immunity from forfeiture for them all. Glenlyon was shunned as a monster wherever he appeared; but Stair, so far from showing any shame or remorse, seemed to glory in the deed. As for William, there was a zealous attempt to make it appear that he did not know of what had been done; and when his warrant was produced, then that he was deceived as to the circumstances of the case. Unfortunately for William's reputation there was a searching inquiry into the facts of the affair, and when he *did* know these in all their atrocity, he failed to punish the perpetrators. Stair was for the time dismissed, but very soon restored to William's service; and after this all attempts would be futile to absolve him from gross want of feeling and of justice in the case. It is a black spot on his fame, and must remain so. Burnet, who is always anxious to defend William, says that, from the letters and documents produced which he himself read, so many persons were concerned in the business, that "the king's gentleness prevailed to a fault," and so he did not proceed against them; a singular kind of gentleness! At the very least, the blood-guiltiness of Breadalbane, Stair, and Glenlyon was so prominent, and *they* were so few, that they ought to have been made examples of; and such a mark of the sense of the atrocity of the crime would have wiped from William's reputation the now clinging stain.

Scarcely had William left England in the spring, when the country was menaced by an invasion; and whilst he was contending with Luxembourg in Flanders, the queen and her ministers had been as actively contending with real and imaginary plots, and with the French fleet at La Hogue. The papists of Lancashire had for some time been particularly active in encouraging in king James the idea that he would be welcomed again in England by his subjects. One Lant, a carpenter, had been dispatched to St. Germains, and brought back assurances that his majesty would, in the course of the spring, certainly land in England. He also sent over colonel Parker, one of the parties engaged to assassinate William, to concert the necessary measures with the catholics and Jacobites for the invasion. Parker assured them that James would embark at La Hogue with thirty thousand men. Johnson, a priest, was said to be associated with Parker to murder William before his departure if possible; but he was gone already when they arrived.

The great minister of Louis, Louvois, was dead. He had always opposed these ideas of invasion of England as absurd and impracticable. His removal enabled James to persuade Louis to attempt the enterprise. It was determined to muster a fleet of eighty sail. The count de Tourville commanded five-and-forty of them, and under him the count D'Estrees thirty-five more. The most active preparations were making for the completion of all things necessary for the equipment of this fleet, and the army which it was to carry over. The ships under Tourville lay at Brest, those of D'Estrees at Toulon; they were to meet at Ushant, and take on board the army at La Hogue. James was in high spirits; he was puffed up by the invitations which the catholic emissaries had brought him; he had, he believed, firmly won over the admirals of the fleet, Russell, Carter, Delaval, and Killigrew. Whilst in this elation of mind he sent over invitations to many protestant ladies of quality to attend the expected *accouchement* of his queen. He said many base aspersions had been cast on the birth of his son, and he desired now to prevent a recurrence of such; he therefore offered to all the distinguished persons invited safe conducts both for going and returning from the French monarch. No one accepted the invitation; and a daughter was born to James about which no one in England very much concerned themselves.

But the preparations of James and Louis occasioned similar preparations in England. The militia was called out; London was strongly guarded by troops; the train-bands of the southern counties appeared in arms on the coasts; the beacons were all kept in vigilant order, and the fleet was manned and equipped with all possible speed and strength.

The invitation of James to the birth of his daughter was speedily followed by a proclamation to his subjects in England. James had always done himself more harm by his declarations than all the efforts of his friends and allies could do him good; and this was precisely of that character. He expressed no regret for any of his past actions or measures; he betrayed no suspicion, even, that he might have governed more wisely. On the contrary, he represented himself as having always been right, good, and gracious, and his subjects wrong, captious, and unreasonable. He had always meant and done well, but he had been shamefully maligned. He now promised to maintain the church indeed; but then people had had too recent a proof of how he had maintained it in Ireland. He meant to pardon many of his enemies, but at the same time added such a list of proscriptions as looked more like a massacre than an amnesty. Amongst those expressly excepted from all pardon were the duke of Ormond, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Sunderland, Danby, and Nottingham, the lords Delamere, Wiltshire, Colchester, Cornbury, and Dunblane; the bishop of St. Asaph; Drs. Tillotson and Burnet. He excepted not even the poor fishermen who at Feversham had mistaken him for a Jesuit priest on his flight, and called him "hatchet-face;" all judges, magistrates, sheriffs, jurymen, gaolers, turnkeys, constables, and every one who had acted under William in securing and condemning any Jacobite; and all justices and other authorities who should not immediately on his landing abandon the present government and support him; and all gaolers who should not at once set at liberty all prisoners confined for any conspiracy in favour of James, or for any political deed on that side. In short, such was the Draconian rigour with which the declaration was drawn, that there was hardly a man who was not a downright Jacobite who did not tremble at the belief that it would include him. All in the west of England, where William had landed, and where he had been received on his journey towards London, and all who had resisted James in Ireland, saw the bloody sword at once suspended over their heads. To add to this general consternation, the Jacobites counted up in their exultation all their enemies for the gallows; the least computation was five hundred. Still more, before leaving St. Germains, James bestowed the order of the garter on Powis—now called duke Powis—and on Melfort. The name of Melfort was hideous as a bigoted catholic and blood-thirsty wretch; yet this man was now the acknowledged prime minister and adviser of James. This man had written in his name letters to the Jacobites; was believed to be the writer of this alarming declaration, and, if the invasion succeeded, would be the especial minister and wholesale butcher of Englishmen. To complete the terror, the Irish regiments which had committed such excesses on the protestants of Ireland, and had displayed such cowardice, were to make a large part of the invading army. Were Englishmen to be subjected to the insolence, bigotry, and licence of the Irish in their own country? Never did a proclamation so effectually annihilate the hopes of the proclaimer, and do the work of the enemy. All England was roused to a man, all differences of religion and politics were forgotten to a man; and, had James succeeded in landing, the nation, shoulder to shoulder, would have pushed him and his army into the sea.

The queen and her ministers no sooner read the declaration than they saw the whole effect of it. They had it printed and circulated all over the kingdom with a clever running commentary. Parliament was summoned for the 24th of May, and a number of persons, charged with being concerned with a plot for bringing in James, were arrested, and others absconded. Amongst those seized were Marlborough and lord Huntingdon, who were sent to the Tower; Messrs. Ridley, Knevitt, Hastings, and Ferguson were sent to Newgate; the bishop of Rochester was confined to his own house; the lords Brudenel and Fanshawe, the earls of Dunmore and Middleton, and Sir Andrew Forrester, were next secured. The earls of Scarsdale, Lichfield, and Newborough, the lords Griffin, Forbes, Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and others escaped. The princess Anne expected arrest.

On the 11th of May, a week after Marlborough was sent to the Tower, Russell sailed from the Downs in quest of the French fleet. He was at the head of ninety-nine sail of the line, the greatest force which had ever descended the British channel. Off Beachy Head he had met Carter and Delaval, who had been watching the French ports, and a fine fleet of Dutchmen was also in conjunction with him. There were between thirty and forty thousand sailors, Dutch and English, on board, and he was supported by the admirals Delaval, Ashley, Cloudesley Shovel, Carter, and Rooke. Van Almonde was in command of the Dutch squadron, with Callemberg and Vandergoes. James meantime was at La Hogue with the army, anxiously awaiting the fleet of De Tourville to carry it over. James confidently calculated on the disaffection of the English admirals, Russell, Delaval, Carter, and others. He sent an emissary to remind Russell of his promises, and to promise him and the other admirals high rewards in return. But Lloyd, the emissary, had found Russell wonderfully changed. The fatal declaration had produced the same effect on him as on others. He told the man that he was desirous to serve James, but that he must first grant a general pardon; and besides, if he met the French fleet, though James was aboard of it, he was determined to fight to the death; he would never allow himself to be beaten by the French.

In London the terror of this known disaffection had been great. The queen and her ministers consulted deeply what should be done. Should they send and arrest the traitors? The effect, they foresaw, would be to scatter terror through the whole fleet. They adopted a far more politic plan. On the 15th of May, as the combined fleet lay off St. Helen's, Russell called together the officers on board his own ship, and informed them that he had a letter from the queen to read them. In this she stated that she had heard rumours of disaffection amongst the officers, but would not believe it. She knew they would fight as became Englishmen for their country. The letter had an instant and wondrous effect. They immediately signed unanimously a declaration that they would live and die for the crown, the protestant religion, and the freedom of England. On the 18th the fleet sailed for the coast of France, and the next day descried the fleet of Tourville. Tourville had only sixty-three ships of the line, and he had orders, if he met the English fleet, to engage. But Louis had since learned the junction of the Dutch with the English, and dispatched messengers to warn him, but they were intercepted. Tourville, however, notwithstanding the preponderance of the enemy, determined to engage. He had been upbraided after the fight at Beachy Head as timid; his blood was roused, and, besides, he confidently believed that three-fourths of the English fleet were secretly for James, and would at the first brush come over to him. As he lay off Barfleur on the morning of the 19th he saw the long line of the enemy before him, and bore down upon them for battle.

At eleven o'clock the French admiral opened fire on part of the English fleet, the rest not being able to get up from the wind being contrary. The spirit with which the English received him at once dissipated Tourville's hopes of defection amongst them. The conflict continued with uncommon fury till one o'clock, when Russell was compelled to allow his flag-ship, the Rising Sun, carrying a hundred and four guns, to be towed out of the line from the damage she had received. But the fight continued furiously till three o'clock, when a fog parted the enemies. Soon after, however, a wind favourable to the English sprung up, and at the same time dispersed the fog. Fresh ships of the English came up, and the conflict continued to rage till eight in the evening. During this time Carter, who had been one of the most deeply pledged to James, but who had fought like a lion, fell mortally wounded; but, as he was carried down to his cabin, he cried to his men to fight the ship as long as she could swim. Tourville, who was now contending hopelessly against numbers, drew off, but was closely pursued, and the most terrible carnage was made of the men on board his great ship, the Royal Sun, the pride of the French navy. He fought, however, stoutly so long as the light continued; and then the whole French fleet made all sail for the French ports.

The next morning the English gave chase, Russell's vessel was retarded for some time by the falling of the topmast, but soon they were once more in full pursuit. About twenty of the French ships escaped through the perilous Race of Alderney, betwixt that island and the coast of Cotentin, where the English dared not pursue them; and these vessels, by their desperate courage, escaped to St. Malo. Tourville had shifted his flag to the Ambitious, and the Royal Sun, battered and drenched in blood, made its way, and, with the Admirable and the Conquerant, managed to reach Cherbourg, whither Delaval pursued and burnt them, with several other vessels. Tourville himself and the rest of the fleet escaped into the harbour of La Hogue, where they drew themselves up in shallow water, close under the guns of the forts De Lisset and St. Vaast.

Here they flattered themselves that they were in safety. The army destined to invade England lay close at hand, and James, his son the duke of Berwick, the marshal Bellefond, and other great officers were in the forts. But Sir George Rooke, by the orders of Russell, embarked his men in all the light frigates and open boats that could be procured, and advanced boldly upon the French men-of-war as they lay drawn up upon the beach. Regardless of the fire from the forts and the ships, the English rushed to the attack with loud hurrahs, proud to beard the French under the eyes of the very army of French and renegade Irish which dared to dream of invading England. The daring of the deed struck such a panic into the French sailors, that they quickly abandoned the vessels which lay under fort Lisset. The fort and batteries seemed paralysed by the same event, and the English set fire to the vessels. In vain Tourville manned his boats and attempted to drive back the English sailors; his mariners jumped to land again. In vain the soldiers ashore hurried down and poured in a volley on the British seamen; they successfully burnt all the six vessels lying under Lisset, and returned to their ships without the loss of a man.

The next morning Rooke was again afloat with the tide, and leading his fleet of boats and his brave sailors against the vessels lying under the fort St. Vaast. The fort did more execution than the other fort the day before; but all was in vain. The British sailors climbed up the vessels; the French fled precipitately out of them, and they were all burnt to the water's edge, except a few smaller ones, which were towed away to the English fleet. When James saw these surprising acts, he is said to have involuntarily exclaimed, "See my brave English sailors." But guns of the exploding vessels going off killed some of the people standing near him, and he then, coming to a more sober reflection, said, "Heaven fights against me," and retired. There was an end of all hope of ever invading England, and he hastened back to St. Germains in deep dejection.

The news of this most brilliant and most important battle, which gave such a blow to the power and *prestige* of Louis, was received in London with transports of delight. England was once more safe; France was humbled; invasion at an end. Sixteen of the finest ships of France had been destroyed, and on the part of England only one fire-ship. The glory was England's, for, though the Dutch had fought well, it was the English who had borne the brunt and done the miracles of bravery at La Hogue. The joyful tidings were sped away to William's camp at Grammont, and set all the cannon roaring the exultation into the ears of Luxembourg and his army. At home there was now time to inquire into the particulars of the plot for which Marlborough and others had been shut up. Luckily for them there was found to have been a sham conspiracy got up by one Young, a debauched clergyman, who had been imprisoned for bigamy and for many other crimes. Like Oates and his compeers, and the more recent Fuller, he hoped to make money, and therefore had accused Marlborough, Sprat, the bishop of Rochester, and the rest, of being in it. On examination, the plot was found to be a mere barefaced forgery, got up by Young and another miscreant named Blackhead. They had written an engagement to bring in king James, and seize William, and forged to it the names of Marlborough, Cornbury, Sancroft the ex-primate, and Sprat, bishop of Rochester. This document they had contrived to hide in a flower-pot at the bishop's house at Bromley. The bishop was arrested, but denied all knowledge of the plot, and then Blackhead confessed. Young, however, feigned another plot, and endeavoured to inveigle into it a poor man of the name of Holland, who also informed the earl of Nottingham. Young was imprisoned and pilloried, and ministers were glad to admit the accused to bail. For Marlborough and others this sham plot was a genuine godsend. They were deep in real treason, and this sham treason screened their reputations just at the moment when the power of James was being annihilated, and that of William rising in fresh vigour.

But the government was not satisfied with the success of the battle of La Hogue. It was too decisive to be left, they thought, in barren glory; it ought to be followed up by a more severe blow to France. Amid the public rejoicings, Sidney, Portland, and Rochester went down to Portsmouth to congratulate the fleet on its success. They distributed twenty-seven thousand pounds amongst the seamen, and gold medals were bestowed on the officers; and, to mark the sense of the king and queen of this great achievement of the sailors, it was announced that the wounded should be tended at the public charge in the hospitals of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew; and, still more, that the palace of Greenwich, begun by Charles II., should be finished and appropriated for ever as the home of superannuated sailors. Thus sprung this noble institution, this home for our maimed or declining mariners, from the battle of La Hogue.

But for this honour conferred on the fleet, fresh exploits were demanded of it. That it should sail to St. Malo, bombard the town, and destroy the remainder of Tourville's fleet, which had taken shelter there. Accordingly, Rooke was dispatched to take soundings on the dangerous shores of Brittany, and Russell mustered his fleet, which, having taken on board transports of fourteen thousand troops under young Schomberg—now duke of Leinster—accompanied by Ruvigny—now earl of Galway—and his Huguenots, and the earl of Argyll with his regiment, part of which had committed the melancholy massacre of Glencoe, he stood out to sea. Off Portland, however, a council of war was called, and it was contended, by a majority of both naval and military officers, that it was too late in the season—it was only the 28th of July—to attempt such an enterprise amid the dangerous rocks and under the guns of the forts and batteries of St. Malo. The fleet, therefore, returned to St. Helen's, much to the astonishment and disgust of the whole nation. High words arose betwixt the earl of Nottingham, the first lord of the admiralty, and Russell. The minister accused the admiral of cowardice and breach of duty in thus tamely giving up the enterprise against France.

Nottingham's hands were wonderfully strengthened by the deep discontent of the merchants, who complained that they were almost ruined by the so much vaunted victory of La Hogue; that before, we had a fleet in the Mediterranean and another out in the Channel protecting the traders; but that now the fleet had been concentrated to fight Tourville, and then, instead of taking up proper positions to check the French ships of war and privateers, had contemptibly returned to port; that the French, embittered by the defeat of La Hogue, had now sent out their men-of-war in every direction, and, finding our merchantmen defenceless, had committed the most awful havoc amongst them. Fifty vessels alone, belonging to London and Bristol, had been taken by them. More than a hundred of our trading vessels had been carried into St. Malo, which Russell, by destroying that port, could have prevented or avenged. That Bart, of Dunkirk, had scoured the Baltic and our own northern coasts, and Trouin had actually ascended the Shannon, and committed frightful mischief in Clare.

Amid such expressions of discontent king William returned from Holland to England. He landed on the 18th of October. He had had little success in his campaign; La Hogue was the only bright spot of the year, and the scene which now met him on his return was lowering and depressing. There had been an earthquake in Jamaica, which, in three minutes, had converted Port Royal, the most flourishing city of the West Indies, into a heap of ruins, burying one thousand five hundred of the inhabitants, and extending the calamity to the merchants of London and Bristol. The distress in England itself was general and severe. A rainy season had ruined the harvest, and reduced the people to a state of extreme misery. Bread riots were frequent, and the complaints of the excessive burthen of taxation were loud and general. Burglaries and highway robberies were of the most audacious kind. William, however, was not a man to sit and brood over such things. He at once sent out parties of cavalry into the districts where the robberies were frequent, and, by bribing some of the thieves, got information of the rest, whom his police hunted out industriously. Their chief captain, one Whitney, was taken and hanged, and the highways and domestic hearths were soon as secure as ever.

He called together parliament on the 4th of November, where there was every reason to expect no little faction and difficulties. Parliament was not merely divided into ministerialists and opposition, it was broken into sundry parties, all exasperated by one cause or another. The whigs were sore with their loss of office to a great extent; the lords were nettled at the commons refusing their claims put forward in the lord high steward's court bill, and were urged to contention by Marlborough and the other lords who had been imprisoned, and who were loud in denouncing the proceeding as a breach of their privileges. There was a great jealousy of William's employment of so many Dutch in preference to Englishmen, and the commons were as discontented with the manner in which public business was conducted.

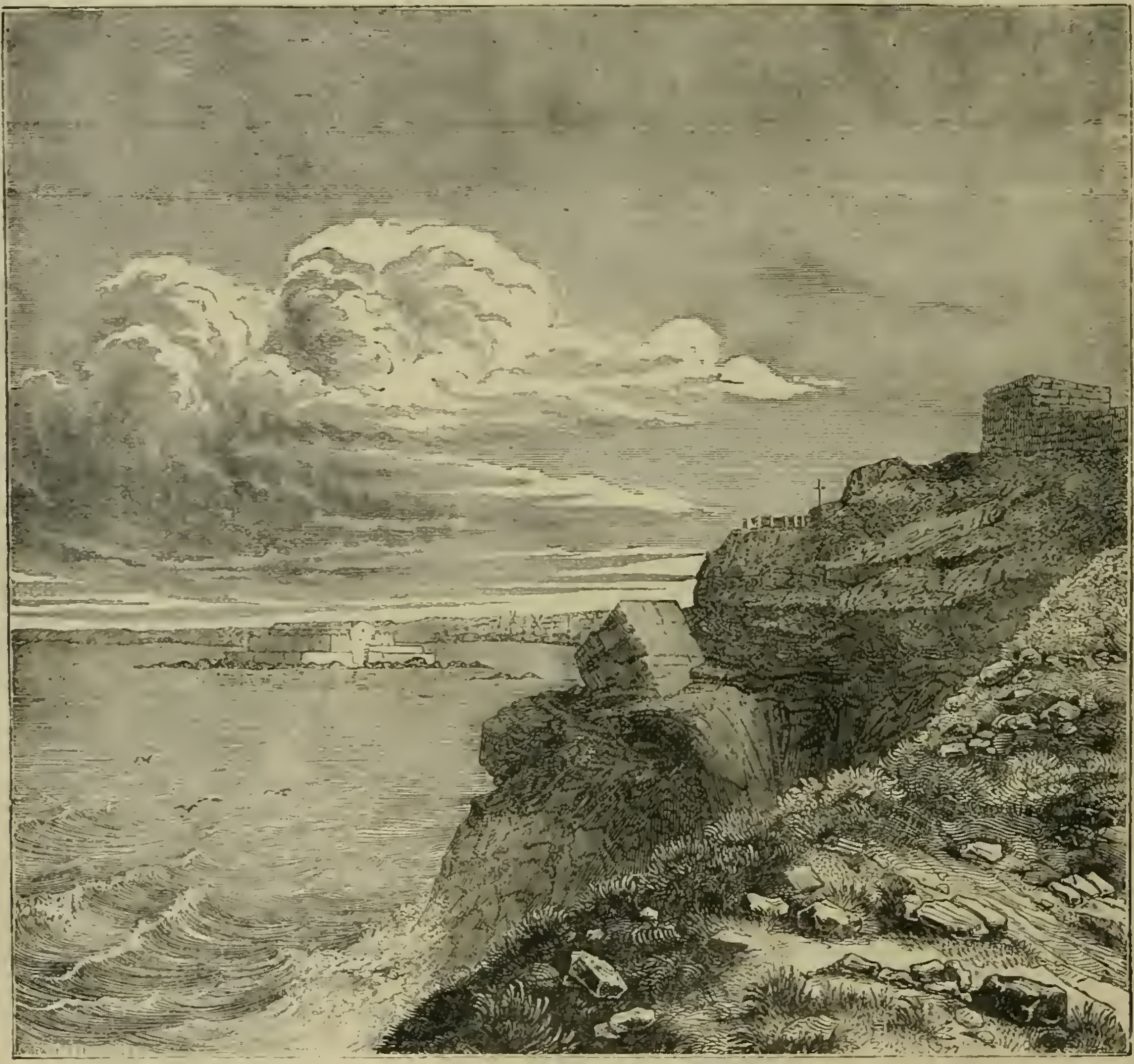
William was aware of the difficult part he had to play, and in his opening speech he took care to put La Hogue in the foreground, and to congratulate them on this glorious victory gained by Englishmen. He confessed that the success of the campaign on land had been but moderate, but he praised in the highest terms the valour of the British soldiers. He expatiated on the power and the designs of France, told them that the cause of protestantism was the cause of England, that Louis must be humbled, and that for that purpose there must be still liberal supplies. He threw out a hint of carrying the war into France itself, and assured them that his own arms were identical with theirs, and that he would willingly sacrifice his life for the honour and welfare of the nation. To conciliate both houses, he condescended to ask their advice and assistance in putting the national affairs into the best possible condition—a piece of candour of which he speedily found reason to repent. Both houses voted him thanks for his gracious speech, and, immediately seizing on his request for advice, began to offer it in good earnest.

The lords at once took up the case of Marlborough, Huntingdon, and Scarsdale. They complained that in ungratefully persecuting Marlborough the court had gone the full length of treating the princess of Denmark with severity and indignity. Her guards had been taken away; when she went to Bath, the magistrates had orders to omit the honours due to royalty, and the church to omit her name in the prayers; and this simply because she had shown her attachment to the countess of Marlborough. Marlborough, thus supported by the lords, who had their own cause of pique about the lord high steward's court bill, and by the disrespect shown to the princess, was loud in his complaints of the harshness with which he had been treated; of being kept in prison with his noble friends in defiance of *habeas corpus*. The earl of Shrewsbury, the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Mulgrave, Devonshire, Montague, and Bradford, Stamford, Monmouth, and Warrington, supported him from various motives, many of them being whigs; and the Jacobites fanned the flame, hoping for a rupture. Lord Lucas, constable of the Tower, was ordered to produce the warrants of commitment, and the clerk of the king's bench to lay before them the affidavit of Aaron Smith, the solicitor of the treasury, on which they had been remanded; and they sharply cross-examined Smith. The judges were ordered to attend, and the lords passed a resolution that the law had been violated in the case of the noble prisoners. They then consulted on the best mode of fully discharging them. The debate was so violent that the ministers were alarmed, and proposed to the king to adjourn parliament till the 17th of the month, and in the interim to liberate the noblemen from their bail. Accordingly, on the re-assembling of the lords, they were informed that the king had discharged the recognisances of the accused nobles, and the lords sullenly dropped the question.

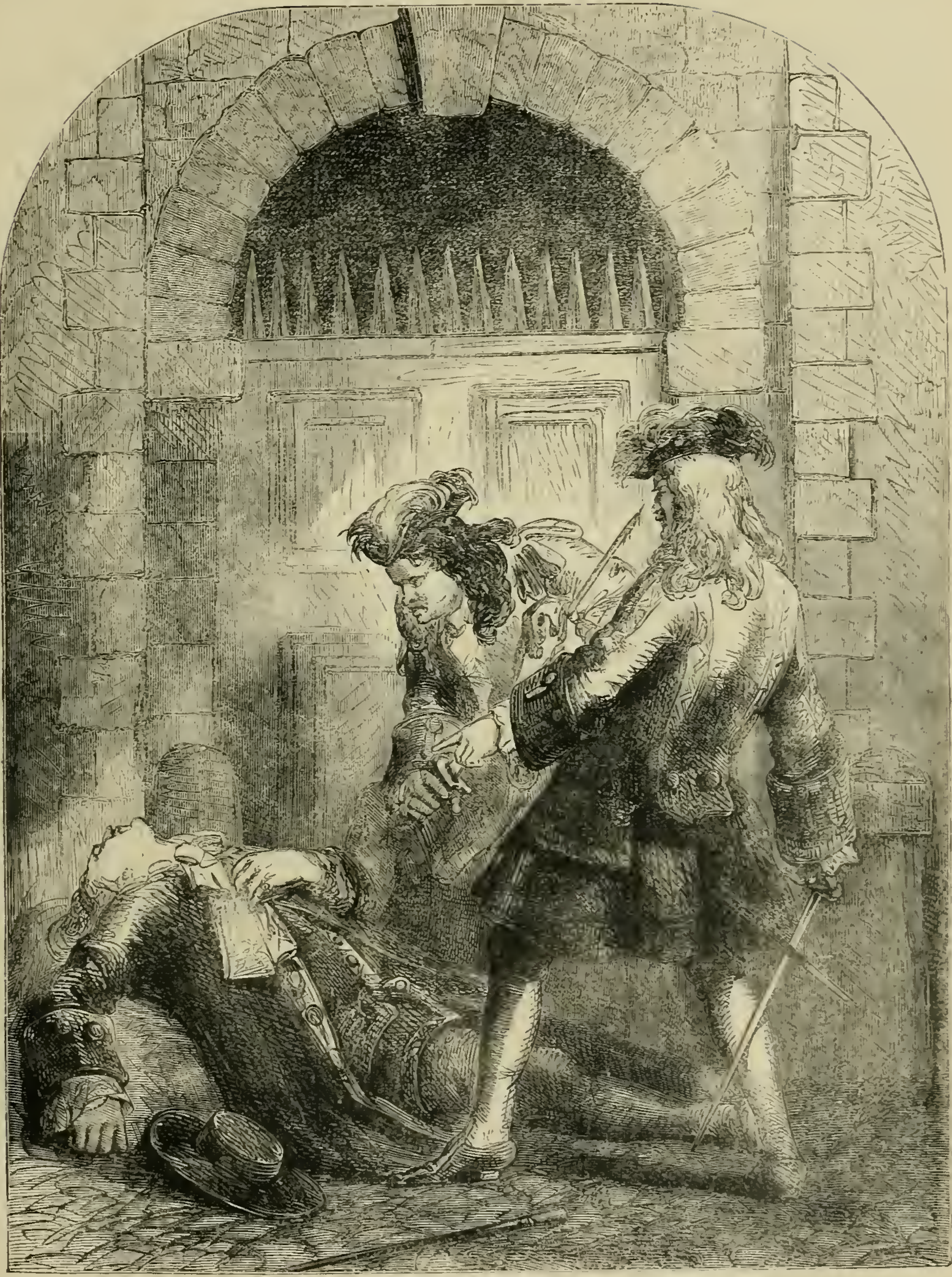
But though disappointed here, the lords immediately fastened on the king's request of advice. They moved that a committee of both houses should be appointed for preparing this advice. The motion, however, was rejected by a majority of twelve. Nevertheless, they determined to give the king advice themselves. They agreed to an address praying his majesty to appoint an Englishman commander of the forces, and that English officers should take precedence of all in the confederate army, except the officers of crowned heads. This was meant to affect the Dutch, who were only the subjects of a stadtholder; and they desired that the forces left in England should be all English, commanded by an English general. That such officers as pressed men for the fleet should be cashiered, and that no foreigner should sit at the board of ordnance. All those matters aimed at the king's favoured countrymen, William received coldly, returning only short and dry answers

The lords next fell upon Russell for his neglect to make the descent intended on the coast of France. They ordered books and papers concerning that matter to be laid before them. Nottingham plainly charged Russell with being the cause of that gross neglect of the public business. A committee was appointed, and the substance of the charge was communicated to the commons as concerning a member of that house.

The commons on their part took up the charge against Russell as a charge against themselves. They informed the lords that they found that Russell had conducted himself at the head of the fleet with fidelity, courage, and ability. Russell made his defence, and in his turn charged Nottingham with being the cause of the non-descent. He declared that above twenty days had elapsed betwixt his writing to Nottingham and receiving an answer; that therefore the expedition had become abortive



The Rock of St. Malo.



MURDER OF MOUNTFORD.

from not receiving timely and necessary information and orders. Nottingham's friends in the commons took up his defence; the lords demanded a conference; the commons refused it, and, amid this noise and animosity, the subject was left undecided.

The commons then proceeded to give the king the advice and assistance which he had so unluckily asked. They demanded that books and papers should be laid before them necessary to enable them to inquire into the management of all the government offices; but they soon came to a stand, for, inquiring into the abuses of the admiralty, the merits or demerits of Nottingham and Russell came again into question. One or both of them had been guilty of gross mismanagement, but each house defended its own member, and the only end was a motion in the commons, which, whilst it acquitted Russell, seemed to reflect on Nottingham, but not very clearly. The lords resented, made severe reprisals on the character and conduct of Russell, and then it ended.

The commons were more generally united in condemning the failure of the battle of Steinkirk and the conduct of Solmes. Some officers in the house, however, defended the conduct of the Dutch officers on that occasion, and especially of Auverquerque in bringing the remains of Mackay's troops out of the battle. They said not a word, however, in vindication of Solmes, and William, to his disgrace, still continued this insolent foreigner, who had wilfully sacrificed the lives of the brave English soldiers, in his command.

Whilst both houses were in this bad temper, the commons again took up the bill for regulating trials in case of high treason; but it was strongly opposed, so that it never went up to the lords, who would again have inserted their clause for extending the privileges of their house; and it was not a moment at which the commons were likely to concede any extension of privileges to the peers—a circumstance occurring just then to warn them had they not been sufficiently hostile without. Lord Charles Mohun, a dissolute young nobleman, was engaged, with an acquaintance named Hill, in a quarrel with Mountford, a popular actor, about a handsome actress named Anne Bracegirdle. In the quarrel, Hill killed Mountford and fled. Mohun, who was abetting him, was arrested, but, claiming to be tried by the peers, was, by a most barefaced partiality, acquitted. The commons felt that it was by no means expedient to grant more privileges to an order who thus abused what they already possessed for the frustration of justice.

The commons now went into the question of the supplies. They were fully prepared to support the king in his exertions to check the arms of France, though they protested against a fact which they had discovered by examinations of the treaty betwixt the allies, that the English paid two-thirds of the expense of the war. After grumbling, however, they voted fifty-four thousand men for the army, twenty thousand of them to remain at home. They voted two millions for the support of the army, and two millions for the navy, to consist of thirty-three thousand men, besides seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds to supply the deficiency of the quarterly poll. Still there was likely to be a deficiency. Notwithstanding the large grants of the previous year, the expenditure had far outgrown it; it was, therefore, proposed to resort to a land tax—the first imposed since the restoration, and the grand transfer of taxation from the aristocracy to the nation at large. The peers made a violent opposition, not to the tax, but to their estates being valued and assessed by any but commissioners of their own body. But they finally gave way, and a land-tax of four shillings in the pound was carried. When Louis heard of these unusual supplies, he could not forbear his amazement. "My little cousin, the prince of Orange," he said, "seems to be firm in the saddle; but no matter, the last louisd'or must carry it."

Little did Louis know the condition of England when he said that. If the last piece of gold was to carry it, the chance lay far on the side of England. Whilst France was fast sinking in exhaustion from his enormous wars and lavish luxury—whilst his people were sunk in destitution, and trade and agriculture were languishing, England was fast rising in wealth from commerce, colonies, and internal industry, and was capable of maintaining the struggle for an indefinite period.

Yet it was at this moment that the national debt assumed its determinate shape. It had existed, indeed, ever since the fraud of Charles I. on the London merchants by shutting the exchequer. It was now said to be suggested by Burnet that there were heaps of money hidden away in chests and behind wainscoats for want of safe and convenient public security, and that, by government giving that security at a fixed per-centage, it might command any amount of money by incurring only a slight increase of annual taxation for the interest. The idea was seized with avidity by William's government, and from that moment our continental wars and domestic debt have grown together till they have left us with upwards of eight hundred million pounds of credit. The idea itself, however, was perfectly familiar to William, for the Dutch had long had a debt of five million pounds, which was regarded by the people as the very best security for their money. Accordingly, a bill was passed on the 3rd of January, 1693, for raising a million by loan, and another million by annuities, which were to be paid by a new duty on beer and other liquors; and thus, with a formal establishment of the national debt, closed the year 1692.

The close of the year was also distinguished by one of those extraordinary attempts which whigs frequently make when out of place, but resist to the death when in it. This was no other than that all persons holding office under government should be incapable of sitting in parliament, and any person holding such office who should presume to take his seat as a member should not only be ejected, but declared incapable of any future re-election. Government influence was undoubtedly supported by a whole host of placemen in the commons, but the attempt utterly to exclude ministers was certain to defeat itself. The bill passed the commons, and the lords only threw it out by a majority of two. Against this rejection a strong protest was entered by the prince of Denmark—now duke of Cumberland—Marlborough, Warrington, and others, including the earl of Mulgrave, who made a most eloquent speech on the occasion, and printed it. This was called "a parliamentary reform bill," and, as it failed three days after, Shrewsbury brought into the peers once more the triennial bill, which, after much contest, passed both houses; but William declined to ratify it, because it would have caused a dissolution in the then existing parliament—a matter of much inconvenience to him, as he was anxious to prosecute the war without the necessary interruptions of such a change.

The opening of 1693 was distinguished by a warm debate on the liberty of the press. The licensing, which was about to expire, was proposed for renewal. The eloquent appeal of Milton, in his "Areopagitica," that all books which bore the names of the author or publisher should be exempt from the power of the licensers, had hitherto produced no effect; but now circumstances occurred which drew the subject into notice, and raised many other voices in favour of such exemption. In the lords, Halifax, Mulgrave, and Shrewsbury warmly advocated the principles of Milton; and though the bill passed, it was only by a slight majority, and with a protest against it, signed by eleven peers; nor was it to pass for more than two years. The circumstance which roused this strong feeling were, that Burnet had published a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, recommending them to take the oaths to William and Mary, in which, amongst their claims to the throne, he had unfortunately mentioned that of conquest. This had escaped general attention till the royal licenser, Edmund Bohun, a high tory, who had taken the oaths on that very plea—that the king and queen had won the throne by conquest—fell into the trap of one Blount, whose works he had refused to license. This man wrote an anonymous pamphlet with the title "King William and Queen Mary Conquerors." The unlucky censor fell into the trap, and licensed it. Then the storm of whig indignation broke over his head. He was summoned before parliament and committed to custody. The book was ordered to be burnt by the hangman, and the house unanimously passed a resolution praying his majesty to dismiss him from his office. The unfortunate licenser was then discharged on his own petition, after having been reprimanded on his knees by the speaker. Burnet's pastoral letter was likewise ordered to be burnt by the hangman, much to the bishop's shame and mortification. But the liberty of the press was achieved. When the two years' act maintaining the censorship expired, the commons refused to renew it.

Before the sessions closed, a deputation arrived from Ireland with heavy complaints regarding the administration of affairs in that country. Sir Francis Brewster, Sir William Gore, Sir John Margill, lieutenant Stafford, and others, appeared at the bars of both houses, and deposed that great abuses had been made in disposing of the forfeited estates; that protections had been granted to papists not included in the treaty of Limerick, and, as it was suspected, through gross bribery; that the quarters of the army had not been paid according to the provision made by parliament; that a mayor had been imposed on Dublin two years successively, contrary to its charter; that several people accused of murder had been executed without proof, and one Sweetman, really guilty, discharged without prosecution. They made extraordinary statements of the embezzlement of military stores, of effects belonging to forfeited estates, and that lords Sidney, Athlone (Ginckell), and Coningsby were deep in these malpractices.

It appeared clearly that Coningsby had shown himself a most greedy and unprincipled man; that he had embezzled stores, sold exemptions to numbers whose estates were forfeited, and extorted enormous sums under threats of confiscation. These proceedings were bad enough, but, in the eyes of the embittered protestants, they were intolerable, because they operated in favour of the Irish, towards whom they felt only vengeance.

William had listened to these complaints against Coningsby, and had removed him, and sent Sidney in his stead. But Sidney was too mild for the fiery protestants, who could not bear to see any clemency shown to the native Irish. He called together the Irish parliament to endeavour to reduce the disordered affairs of the country to some more tolerable condition; but he found it occupy itself chiefly with complaints of the too easy treatment of the natives, and he dismissed it. This, however, only increased the resentment of the protestant party, and William recalled Sidney, and intrusted the government of Ireland to lords-justices, at the head of whom was Sir Henry Copal, a strict whig, and not likely to be too indulgent to papists. But William took no pains to inquire into the peculations of his friend Ginckell, and, therefore, both himself and Coningsby escaped.

William now prorogued parliament on the 14th of March, and prepared to set out for the continental campaign. Before departing, however, he made some considerable changes in his ministry. He appointed Sidney master of the ordnance; he removed Russell from the chief command at sea, and gave him a lucrative post in the household. In his place he gave the principal naval command to Delaval and Killigrew—appointments of very doubtful wisdom, for both, though brave officers, were certainly in league with king James. Sir George Rooke, the gallant hero of La Hogue, was made vice-admiral of the red, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, an honest man, was placed at the head of the admiralty. Equally extraordinary was his appointment of Sir John Trenchard as assistant secretary of state, Nottingham retaining the principal secretaryship. Trenchard had all his life been an extreme whig and agitator. He had voted for the exclusion bill, had turned out with Monmouth in his rebellion, and had fled to France. It now looked as if these were the rewards for his hostility to James; and what was more marked was, that Trenchard was brother-in-law to the unprincipled agitator Hugh Speke, who, by his trumped-up lies, had occasioned the Irish night, and other horrors; and was a close friend of Aaron Smith, the solicitor of the treasury, who was notorious for dirty practices. A very different choice was that of the eloquent and honourable Sir John Somers as lord keeper.

Before going, too, William gave orders that a Scotch parliament should be summoned; but, as it proved a most obsequious one, and distinguished itself by nothing but professions of loyalty and obedience, we may here take all notice of it that it deserves. No mention whatever was made of the massacre of Glencoe. The Macdonalds were, with the highland clans in general, too little accustomed to see justice from southern parliaments to bring their grievances there, and the lowland Scotch were too much accustomed to look on the highlanders as wild caterans and cattle-stealers to trouble themselves about the extermination of a horde of them. In this parliament the noisy Sir

Patrick Hume, who had ruined the expedition of Argyll by his wrong-headed pugnacity, now figured as lord Polwarth. The general assembly, before dispersing, showed more spirit than the parliament; declared themselves, as representatives of the church, independent of all secular powers, and appointed their own time for meeting again.

William left instructions with the admirals for their conduct of the coming naval campaign against France. He visited the fleet himself, and examined the new fortifications at Portsmouth; and then, leaving all domestic affairs in the hands of the queen and the ministers, he embarked near Gravesend on the last day of March, and landed in Holland on the 3rd of April. By all parties the most stupendous exertions were made for this so ruinous contest. Exhausted as was France, Louis displayed a strength of preparation such as he had never yet put forth. No one, seeing the amount and equipment of his army, the number of new ships of war, and the muster and fitting out of the old, would have deemed that agriculture, trade, everything in the domestic condition of France, were in the last condition of misery, stagnation, and exhaustion. But the signal defeat which his fleet had suffered at La Hogue, and the liberal manner in which the English parliament had supplied William with money, convinced him that he had not only to wipe out his maritime disgrace, but to encounter as formidable a force in the Netherlands as ever. He seems to have resolved to strain every nerve, and, if possible, to bear down the enemy by absolute weight of numbers. At sea he beheld again, under D'Estrees and Tourville, seventy-one first-rate men-of-war, besides bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders. His army in Flanders alone amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand men.

William, on his part, had more than his usual difficulty in bringing his allies into the field. As usual, they were far more occupied in their petty feuds than thinking of presenting a sufficient front to the great enemy who, if successful, would tread them all down in their own territories as Buonaparte has since trodden their posterity. The courts of Baden and Saxony, of Saxony and Austria, and of the lesser powers, were all quarrelling amongst themselves. The northern powers were still trying to weaken the allies, and so form a third party; and on the side of Italy, Savoy was menaced by numerous forces of France, and ill-supported by Austria. The prince of Hesse had neglected to furnish his quota, and yet wanted a chief command. The prince of Baden and the elector of Saxony were at strife for the command of the army of the Rhine. When William had brought all these wretched and provoking allies into some degree of order, he mustered seventy thousand men in the field, and Louis came against him with a hundred and twenty thousand.

Louis marched himself with his army with all the pomp and splendour that he could assume. He brought all his court with him, as if his officers should be stimulated to the utmost by having to fight under the very eyes of their king and all the courtiers and ladies, madame Maintenon amongst them. Louis's plan of action was precisely what it had been in the two previous campaigns. As he had suddenly invested Mons and Namur by overwhelming forces, before his enemy could approach, he now proposed to surprise and take Brussels or Liège, and so carry off the glory of the exploit both from the allies and his own general, Luxembourg. This was a cheap and easy way of securing fame without danger; but this time William was too quick for him. Louis arrived at the commencement of June at Namur, where his ladies held a brilliant court. But William had taken up a strong position at Parke, near Louvain, and thrown reinforcements into Maestricht, Huy, and Charleroi. Louis perceived that he was checkmated, and his desire of stealing a new accession of martial honour suddenly evaporated. Nothing but hard fighting could make an impression on his stubborn antagonist, and for that Louis had no fancy. He determined, therefore, to return to Versailles with his ladies and his court, and leave Luxembourg to fight it out. The alarm at this proposal in the camp was intense. Luxembourg represented to Louis that it would have the certain effect of damping the spirits of the soldiers, and raise those of the enemy. He reminded him that now he had nothing to do but to bear down upon the allies with all his powers, and sweep them away by mere momentum, and put an end to the war. But all his representations and entreaties were lost on the Grand Monarque, who had rather steal a victory than win one. He not only persisted in going, but he weakened the forces of Luxembourg by dispatching the division of Boufflers, amounting to twenty thousand men, which he had taken under his own especial command, under Boufflers and the dauphin, to join marshal de Lorges, who had orders again to ravage the palatinate. Having done this, this monarch, who was the admiration of the age in which he lived, but who was as cowardly as he was vain, and as vain as he was cruel, hastened back again in a week towards France, with all his tinsel courtiers and women, and cooks and parasites.

But, in reality, Luxembourg was better without the pompous and voluptuous king. He had no one now to come betwixt himself and his real military genius, in which he infinitely excelled William; and he immediately brought his skill into play. Before attacking the allies he resolved to divide them on the true Machiavellian principle, "divide et impera." He therefore made a feint of marching upon Liège. Liège was one of the places that it was expected that the French would aim at securing this campaign, and the inhabitants had very cavalierly declined to take any measures for defending themselves, saying it was the business of the allies. William, therefore, put his forces in motion to prevent this catastrophe. He had advanced as far as Neer-Hespen; there, however, he heard that Luxembourg had obtained possession of Huy, which had been defended by a body of troops from Liège and Count Tilly, but which, though supported by another division under the duke of Würtemberg, had been compelled to return to Liège.

William now dispatched twenty thousand men to reinforce Liège, and thus accomplished the very thing at which Luxembourg was aiming. The moment he learnt that William had reduced his force by this detachment, he marched from Huy on the 28th of July, and passed the Jaar near its source with an army exceeding that of the allies by thirty-five thousand men. William, now aware of Luxembourg's design, committed one of those blunders in strategy, which, except for his indomitable tenacity of purpose, would long ago have ruined him. He could have put the deep river Gerte betwixt him and the enemy; it was just in the rear. His generals strongly urged him to do this, where he might have maintained his position till he had recalled his forces from Liège. But he would not listen to them. He was afraid of having to retreat before Luxembourg, and discouraging his men. He set about, therefore, instantly to strengthen his then position. It was naturally strong; on his right hand lay the village of Neer-Winden amongst a network of hedges and deep lanes, with a small stream winding through it; on his right lay the village of Romsdorff, on a brook named the Landen, whence the battle took its name. William ordered an entrenchment to be thrown up from one village to the other, and mounted with a formidable *chevaux-de-frise* of stakes. Batteries were raised along this breastwork, and the two villages, which had their walls and moats, were also made as strong as the time would allow.

This done, the king posted his troops. Brigadier Ramsay, with the regiments of O'Farrel, Mackay, Leven, and Monroe, lined the hedges and lanes on the right beyond Neer-Winden, near the village of Lare; betwixt Lare and Neer-Winden six battalions of Brandenburgers were posted; and general Dumont, with Hanoverians, occupied Neer-Winden itself. Six battalions of English, Danes, and Dutch covered Romsdorff, and a strong body of infantry extended along the breastwork from one village to the other. Behind, right and left were posted the cavalry and dragoons, one body of which covered the village Dormal, on a brook called the Beck. All these arrangements were made on the 28th of July, and the next morning at sunrise the French were seen advancing in order of battle. When Luxembourg saw the position which William occupied, with the deep river in the rear, making his situation in case of retreat most perilous, he is said to have exclaimed, "Now, indeed, I see that Waldeck is really dead"—Waldeck being noted for his skill in choosing his ground. When he drew near, however, he was surprised at the formidable defences which the allies had raised in so short a time.

The allies commenced immediately a cannonade with a hundred pieces of cannon on the ramparts, which did great execution; but the French soon returned the compliment, and about eight o'clock made a furious attack on the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden. These places were several times lost and regained. In one of the assaults the duke of Berwick was taken prisoner. Perceiving himself surrounded by the English, he plucked off his white cockade, and endeavoured to pass himself off as an English officer. His English tongue might have served him, but he had fallen under the eye of his uncle, brigadier Churchill, who received him affectionately and conducted him to William, who addressed him with courtesy, but never saw him again, as he was immediately after the battle exchanged for the duke of Ormond, who was wounded and taken prisoner in the action.

Meantime the battle was raging fiercely all along the line. The French repeatedly rushed up to the breastworks, and were as often driven back by the slaughtering fire of the infantry. A fresh attack was made on Neer-Winden, supported by the division under the duke of Bourbon, but which was repulsed with terrible carnage. Then Luxembourg called together his staff to consult, and it was determined to try yet one more assault on Neer-Winden with the famous household troops, which had carried the day at Mons and Namur. William met the guards at the head of several English regiments, which charged the guards with such impetuosity that, for the first time, they were compelled to give back. But whilst William was exerting himself on the right with a desperation and exposure of his person which astonished every one, the centre had become much weakened, and a murderous fight was going on at Romsdorff, or Neer-Landen, on the left. There the prince of Conti renewed the flagging contest by bringing up some of the finest regiments of the French infantry, whilst Villeroi there encountered the Bavarian cavalry under count D'Arco. In this *mêlée* the duke of Chartres narrowly escaped being taken.

Whilst the battle was thus obstinately disputed, the marquis D'Harcourt brought up two-and-twenty fresh squadrons from Huy, which, falling on the English, Dutch, and Hanoverians struggling against the united onslaught of Luxembourg, Marsin, and marshal de Joyeuse, bore them down by actual numbers. The whole line gave way; and now was seen the folly of William leaving the river in his rear, instead of having it in front. The confusion became terrible to escape over the bridge, and a frightful carnage must have followed had not William, with the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway, borne the brunt of the pursuing host till the rest of his army got over the bridge of Neer-Hespen. As it was, the rout and disorder were dreadful; numbers flung themselves into the river, but found it too deep, and were drowned. The duke of Ormond was here severely wounded, and Solmes mortally, and was seized by the enemy. Over his loss some of "the English bulldogs" grinned. If William by his want of judgment had led his troops into this trap, he did his best to get them out of it. He repeatedly dismounted to encourage his men, inciting them by voice and example to stand up to the enemy. He had two led horses shot close behind him; one bullet passed through his hat, another through his sleeve, and a third carried away the knot of his sash. At length he got his army over the bridge, and encamped on the other bank of the river. The French did not attempt to pursue; they were worn out with their violent exertion, and passed the night on the field of battle amongst the heaps of slain and wounded. The next morning presented the most appalling scene of butchery which has been witnessed in latter times, except those of Malplaquet and Waterloo. Twenty thousand men are said to have perished in this bloody struggle, about an equal number on each side. On the French side fell count Montchevreuil and the duke D'Uzes, the premier peer of France.

Luxembourg, exhausted with this effort, remained fifteen days at Waren, reorganising his shattered forces; and William employed the time in a similar manner, recalling the troops from Liège and from other places; so that in a short time he was again ready for action, his head-quarters being Louvain.

The battle of Landen was the great event of the campaign of 1693. When Luxembourg was rejoined by Boufflers from the Rhine, he invested Charleroi and that with so much adroitness that William was not able to prevent him. Charleroi capitulated on the 11th of October, and Louis ordered a *Te Deum* and other rejoicings for this fresh triumph. But though he professed to triumph, he had little cause to do so. He had formerly overrun Holland, Flanders, or Franche-Compte in a single campaign, and sometimes without a battle; now he had beaten the allies at Fleurus, Steinkirk, and Landen, and yet here they were as ready to fight him as ever. His country was sinking into the very depths of misery and destitution, the campaign had cost him ten thousand men, and, though he had taken sixty cannon, nine mortars, and a great number of colours and standards, he could not advance twenty miles in the direction of the United Provinces without running the risk of a similar decimation of his troops. It was a humiliating position, after all.

After the surrender of Charleroi, both armies went into winter quarters. On the Rhine, meantime, the French had been repeating those diabolical operations which had already made their names infamous all over the continent. De Lorges had again seized, plundered, and burnt the beautiful but unfortunate Heidelberg. They had broken open the tombs of the electors, and scattered their ashes into the streets; they had massacred the inhabitants, violated the women, and murdered the priests at their altars, and then ransacked the churches. To compel the garrison to surrender they had imitated the conduct of their countryman, Rosen, at the siege of Londonderry. They stripped fifteen thousand of the inhabitants naked, and drove them into the castle yard, and kept them there day and night till the garrison surrendered. Of course vast numbers of these poor people perished of cold and hunger; and all this was done by the express orders of Louis XIV., the monarch that so many base pens have glorified as the model of a great and Christian prince. The infamous De Lorges was next joined by the dauphin, so that their forces united amounted to seventy thousand; but, still afraid to engage an army of Germans which now appeared on the other side of the Neckar, they took up their quarters at Stutgard, and dispatched part of the troops to Luxembourg, in Flanders, and part to Piedmont.

In Piedmont the allies were as little successful as in Flanders. Catinat engaged the duke of Savoy and the duke of Leinster in the plain of Marsaglia, near his capital of Turin, and defeated them, killing Leinster (Schomberg), and wounding the earl of Warwick, his second in command. The allies lost eight thousand men, and their cannon; but, like Luxembourg in Flanders, Catinat was not able to follow up the advantage, and Louis immediately sent M. de Chanlais to Turin to endeavour to make terms with the duke, as he had already done with the pope, but did not yet succeed. The short resistance in Piedmont, however, had the effect of drawing some of the French forces from Spain, where they had compelled the surrender of Catalonia. In the east the Germans had invested Belgrade, but could not hold it; and Louis was active in bribing the Turks against the Austrians.

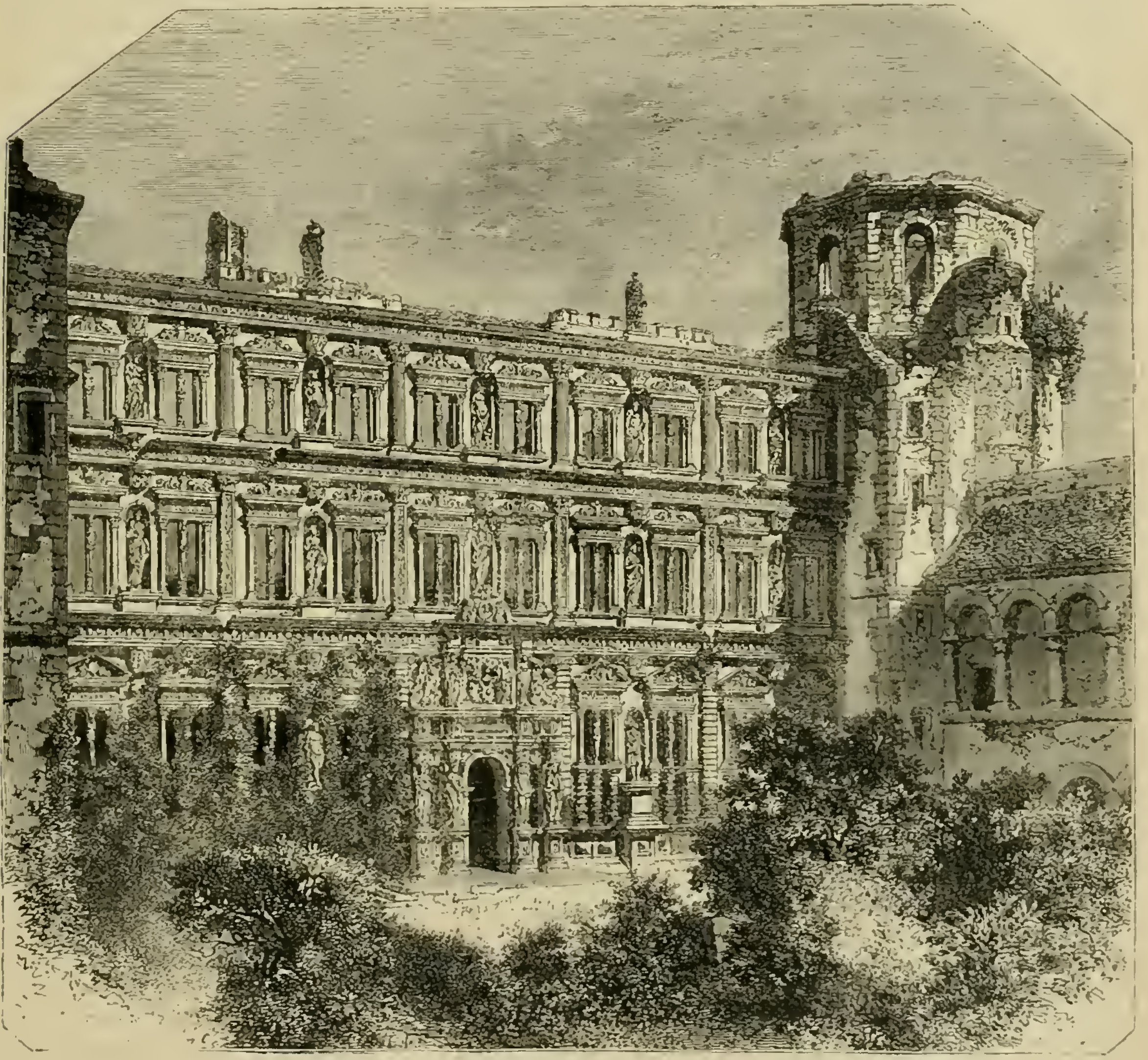
If the affairs of England had been unsuccessful by land, they had been most disastrous by sea. Before leaving for Holland William ordered that Killigrew and Delaval should, with their whole fleet, amounting to nearly a hundred sail, get out to sea early and blockade the French fleets in their ports, so as to allow our merchantmen to pursue their voyages with security. Our ports were crowded with trading vessels, which had long been waiting to sail to the Mediterranean and other seas with cargoes. About the middle of May the admirals united their squadrons at St. Helen's, and, being joined by a considerable number of Dutch men-of-war, they took on board five regiments of soldiers, intending to make a descent on Brest. No less than four hundred merchantmen were ready to start, and on the 6th of June the united fleet put out from St. Helen's to convoy them so far as to be out of danger of the French fleets, when Sir George Rooke was to take them forward to the Mediterranean under guard of twenty sail. But the French appear to have been perfectly informed of all the intentions of the English government from the traitors about the court, and the English to have been perfectly ignorant of the motions of the French. Instead of Tourville allowing himself to be blockaded in Brest, and D'Estrees in Toulon, they were already out and sailing down towards Gibraltar, where they meant to lie in wait for the English.

The united fleet of the allies having, therefore, accompanied Rooke and the merchantmen about two hundred miles beyond Ushant, returned. Rooke did not think they were by any means certain of their enemies being behind them, and earnestly entreated the admirals to go on farther, but in vain. They not only turned back, but went home, without making the slightest attempt to carry out the attack on Brest. When they reached England it was well known that Tourville had recently quitted Brest, and was pursuing his course south to join D'Estrees. The consternation and indignation were beyond bounds. A swift vessel was dispatched to overtake and recall Rooke and the merchant vessels if possible. But it is proverbial that a stern chase is a long chase. It was impossible to come up with Rooke; he had reached Cape St. Vincent, and there learnt that a French fleet was lying in the bay of Lagos; but, imagining that it was only a detached squadron, he went on, till on the 16th of June he perceived before him the whole French fleet, amounting to eighty vessels.

As to engaging such an unequal force, that would have been a wilful sacrifice of himself and his charge. The Dutch admiral Vandergoes agreed with him, that the best thing was for the merchant vessels to run into the Spanish ports Faro, St Lucar, or Cadiz, as best served them, others were too far out at sea; these he stood out to protect as long as he could, and they made, some for Ireland, some for Corunna and Lisbon. He himself then made all sail for Madeira, which he reached in safety. Two of the Dutch ships being overtaken by the French, ran in shore, and thus drawing the French after them, helped the others to get off. Captains Schrijver and Vander Poel fought stoutly so long as they could, and then surrendered. The French commander Coetlegon took seven of the Smyrna merchantmen, and sunk four under the rocks of Gibraltar. The loss to the merchants was fearful. The news of this great calamity spread a gloom over the city of London, and many were loud in attributing disloyalty to Killigrew and Delaval, probably not without cause, for that they were in correspondence with St. Germains is only too certain.

Sir George Rooke returned from Madeira to Cork, which he reached on the 3rd of August, his ships of war and the traders which had followed him for safety numbering fifty vessels. Leaving the rest of his ships to convoy the merchantmen to Kinsale, he returned to the fleet, which was cruising in the channel, and which now returned to St. Helen's, where they had already landed the soldiers. About the same time a squadron, which had gone out to seize Martinique and Dominique, under Sir Francis Wheeler, after coasting Newfoundland and Canada, returned totally unsuccessful. The Dutch set sail for Holland on the 19th of September, and thus terminated this inglorious naval campaign.

The miserable failures this summer, both by land and sea, wonderfully encouraged the hopes of the Jacobites. The enormous taxation which was grinding the people—to enable the Dutch king, as they represented, to fight his country's battles with English blood and money—they assured themselves must soon induce the English people to recall James. Their secret presses were busily at work diffusing these opinions. Two men, Dormer and Canning, had been tried at the Old Bailey, fined five hundred marks apiece, and set three times in the pillory, for such an offence. But this severity did not at all check the practice. One William Anderton, who passed for a working jeweller, had long been suspected of printing these libels, and was at length discovered in his secret printing office in St. James's Street, with some of the most furious libels about him, and one of them only partly in type. In these libels William was represented as a glaring tyrant, who detested the English, but was all the more ready to lead them to destruction, and to drain them of their substance. He was tried at the Old Bailey before the lord chief justice Treby, and though the jury were unwilling to bring in a verdict that would send him to the



Heidelberg Castle.

gallows, Treby so intimidated them by his language, that they gave way. He was condemned for high treason, and spite of strenuous endeavours made to get the sentence mitigated, was hanged at Tyburn.

But the death of Anderton, far from quieting the malcontents, only added fierceness to their attacks. The carnage of Englishmen at the battle of Landen was actively commented on, to bring William into odium; the distressed people and artisans out of work, and the sailors whose pay was far in arrears, were all excited, by ballads and halfpenny broadsides, to believe that there was nothing but misery and fraud for them so long as the Dutch dynasty continued on the throne. The sailors' wives were told that their husbands would never obtain their wages, and many of them appeared before Whitehall clamouring for their rights. Some of these the queen admitted and soothed, by assuring them that their husbands should be fully and speedily paid. Bartholomew Fair was seized on as a means of incensing the people against the admirals for their wretched management. The admirals Delaval and Killigrew, as well as the lords of the admiralty, were all burlesqued, and with such success, that government sent a posse of constables to arrest the bold caricaturers, with all their scenery. There was scarcely a street or a tavern in London in which the work of sedition was not boldly carried on.

At such a crisis William returned from his unsuccessful campaign, only to find the whole public greatly exasperated at the issue of affairs. He arrived at Kensington on the 30th of October. William found that his endeavours to employ and conciliate both parties—whigs and tories—had not answered. They could not work together, and between them everything went to ruin. The tories were almost to a man in alliance with his enemy James, and yet he dreaded again putting himself into the power of the rapacious and domineering whigs. They were, it is true, the only party really attached to his own principles They had fought out the revolution for him, and were disposed to carry on the war with vigour; but at the same time he had found them so banded together when in office, that they were rather his masters than his servants, and their rapacity was so insatiable, that the whole resources of the country were in continual danger of being embezzled under one pretext or another, and diverted to the aggrandisement of their own families. Neither were they all free from the same treason as the tories. Russell and others were in close intrigue with James. It was necessary, however, to decide on employing, almost exclusively, one party or the other. If he employed the tories, they were bent on abandoning the war on the continent, and confining it to a maritime contest. In this they had great reason on their side. It was clear that since William came to the throne, we had been drawn in to take the principal part of the continental warfare on ourselves. The whole governmental expenditure in James's time amounted to only about two millions: it was now annually at least five millions, and was rapidly increasing. We had not been able, even with that, to pay as we went on, but had formally established a national debt. We were again deeply in arrears: the navy was a million behind, and the sailors were clamorous for their wages. We were paying three-fourths of the expenditure of the campaigns in the Netherlands. Our army was now annually upwards of eighty thousand men, our navy forty thousand. We were, in fact, shedding our blood and exhausting our resources to defend the pauper princes of Germany, who, when well paid for doing it, would not combine heartily in the cause.

The tories very reasonably demanded whether this state of things was to be continued. It was clear that if we had retained an English prince on the throne, we should never have been drawn into this system of defending the continental powers, who, if they would not rouse themselves to defend themselves, ought to be beaten and trodden on by Louis till their spirit was roused for the maintenance of their own independence. At sea we were capable of not only securing our own coasts, but of annoying France, and thus serving the allies.

On the other hand the whigs asserted that if we left the Flemish and German states to fall under the victorious arms of Louis, he would then invade us. This, however, was a fallacious argument; for it is a notorious fact that, if nations are worthy of independence, they will maintain it, and that no extraneous props can hold them up if they are not politically sound at heart. Moreover it was clear that the fears of invasion were futile if we concentrated all our power at sea, and in internal strength; for we could do all that with half the force and the money that we wasted on the continent. But the whig arguments best suited William's views of using England to defend Holland, and, therefore, he was driven by circumstances towards that party. He had admitted to his favour the infamous Sunderland, one of the most unprincipled men of the age. Sunderland had been one of the most unscrupulous of James's ministers, and to please the arbitrary monarch he had actually turned papist. He had been foremost in advocating James's most detestable measures, and in executing them as a judge in the atrocious high commission court. One of his last acts was to appear and give evidence against the seven bishops. When the revolution appeared inevitable he was one of the first to betray James; and then he had, to hide himself from the contempt and abhorrence of all parties, retired to Holland, where he again returned to protestantism, and waited for time to abate the odium against him before he reappeared in the political arena. After a time, though expressly excepted from the act of grace, he ventured to return to England, and lived in retirement. No one imagined that he would have the audacity to show himself again in public life, but he had the secret good-will of William, and by degrees he crept out, and, though at long intervals, gradually accustomed the public to his presence. He had insinuated himself into the counsels of William to that degree that he secretly swayed his judgment in them—a fact, considering his most base and hypocritical character, by no means to the credit of William's own. Sunderland was firm in his advice that nothing could insure the efficiency of the public service but the return of the whigs to power; he even advocated that of Marlborough, but for a time unsuccessfully. His first success was in recalling Russell to the head of the admiralty.

On the 7th of November parliament met. William had a poor story of his campaign to relate, but he attributed his defeat to the enormous exertions which Louis had made, and on that plea demanded still greater efforts from this country. He demanded that the army should be raised to a hundred and ten thousand men, and the navy proportionably augmented. He complained bitterly of the mismanagement of the fleet, and the commons immediately proceeded to inquire into the cause of it. The whigs made a vehement charge of treachery and neglect against Delaval and Killigrew; the tories, to defend them, threw the blame on the admiralty. Lord Falkland, who was chief commissioner, was proved by Rainsford, the receiver of the navy, to have embezzled a large sum, and it was moved that he be committed to the Tower. This, however, was overruled, but he was reprimanded in his place. The lords then took up the same examination, and endeavoured to turn the blame from the earl of Nottingham to Sir John Trenchard, the whig secretary. Nottingham declared that early in June he received a list of the French fleet from Paris, and the time of their sailing, and handed it to Trenchard, whose duty it was to send the orders to the admirals. But Trenchard was in his turn screened by the whigs. The matter was again taken up by the commons, and lord Falkland was declared guilty of a high misdemeanour and committed to the Tower; whence, however, in two days he was released on his own petition. Robert Harley—destined to make a great figure in this and the succeeding reign—Foley, and Harcourt, all of whom had from whigs joined the tories, presented to the house a representation of the receipts and disbursements of the revenue, which displayed the grossest mismanagement. But the farther the inquiry went the more flagrant became the discoveries of the corruption of both ministers and members of parliament, through bounties, grants, places, pensions, and secret service money; so that it was clear that parliament was so managed that ministers could baffle any bill, quash any grievance, and prepare any fictitious statement of accounts. The result was that William was compelled to dismiss Nottingham, and to place Russell, secret traitor as he was, at the head of the admiralty. The seals which Nottingham resigned were offered to Shrewsbury, but were not at once accepted.

Having expressed their feelings on the mismanagement and treachery of the past year, the commons proceeded to vote the supplies for the next, and in this they showed no want of confidence in the king. They did not, indeed, vote him his hundred and ten thousand troops, but they voted eighty-three thousand one hundred and twenty-one, but not till they had called for the treaties existing betwixt William and his allies, and the quota which every one was to furnish. To defray the charge they voted five millions and a half, in nearly equal proportions betwixt the army and the navy, including four hundred thousand pounds to pay the arrears of the session; and this they ordered to be raised by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, and a further excise on beer, a duty on salt, and a lottery. This was a profusion which would have made the country stand aghast under the abhorrent rule of James, and the force was nearly double that with which Cromwell had made himself the dread of Europe.

These matters being settled, they tried their strength on the popular questions of the bills for regulating the trials for high treason, the triennial bill, and the place bill. None of these bills were made law. The triennial bill and the bill for regulating the trials for high treason were lost; the place bill was carried, but William refused to ratify it, under the idea that it was intended to abridge his prerogative. The excitement in the commons was intense. It was resolved to address his majesty, and such an address was drawn up and presented by the whole house. William received them very graciously, but conceded nothing, and Harley declared, on returning to the house, that the king's answer was no answer at all. Menaces of showing their power on the next occasion by stopping the supplies were thrown out, and it was proposed to go up to his majesty again to demand a more explicit answer; but the whigs represented the danger of thus encouraging the hopes of the Jacobites by the prospect of a breach betwixt the king and parliament, and the matter dropped.

The question of the charter of the East India Company was again warmly debated. The feud betwixt the old and the new company had grown so violent, that the old company, fearing government might be induced to grant a charter to the new company, had put forth all its powers of bribery, and had succeeded. This company had by some means neglected the payment of the tax on joint-stock companies, by which, according to the terms of the act, their charter was forfeited. The new company eagerly seized on this circumstance to prevent a renewal of the charter; but the old company put nearly one hundred thousand pounds at the disposal of Sir Thomas Cook, one of their members and also member of parliament, and, by a skilful distribution of this sum amongst the king's ministers, Caermarthen and Seymour coming in for a large share, they succeeded in getting their charter renewed.

The new company and the merchants of London were exasperated at this proceeding. They published an account of the whole transaction; they represented that the old company was guilty of the grossest oppression and the most scandalous acts of violence and injustice out in India and its seas; they asserted that only two of their ships had exported in one year more cloths than the old company had exported in three years; and they offered to send more the next year of both cloths and other merchandise than the company had sent in five; but the bribes prevailed, and the old company obtained its charter—not very definite in its terms, however, as regarded its monopoly, and subject to such alterations and restrictions within a given time as the king should see fit. At this juncture the old company were imprudent enough to obtain an order from the admiralty to restrain a valuable ship called the Redbridge, lying in the Thames, from sailing. Her papers were made out for Alicant, but it was well known that she was bound for the Indies. The owners appealed to parliament, and parliament declared the detention of the vessel illegal, and, moreover, that all subjects of England had a right to trade to the Indies, unless prohibited by act of parliament. Encouraged by this decision, the new company prayed the commons to grant them a direct sanction to trade thither, and the old company, on their part, prayed for a parliamentary sanction to their charter; but no decision in either case was come to, and for some years scenes of strange contention continued to be enacted betwixt the rival companies and free traders in the seas and ports of these distant regions.

But no bill in the session occasioned such a disturbance as one for naturalising foreign protestants. The introducers of this measure said that there were great numbers of foreign protestants who had been expelled France by the bigotry of Louis, or ruined in Germany and Flanders by his devastating arms, and that it would be a politic and at the same time humane measure to allow them to bring their arts and trades to England, where men were wanted to cultivate the waste lands to supply the costs of war; that we had been signally benefited by the introduction of the Flemings and French Huguenots, who had introduced cloth and silk weaving, and other beneficial handicraft arts. The bill appeared to meet with no opposition till the third reading, when a perfect tempest broke forth; and it was denounced as a scheme for introducing a swarm of Dutchmen, to creep into all sorts of offices and privileges to the rejection of Englishmen. Dutchmen would re-enact the lord-Danes; they would flock over in swarms from the Holland marshes, and go up into every man's house and kneading-trough, as they had already done in the palace. Sir John Knight, formerly mayor of Bristol, was pre-eminently insulting to the Dutch monarch by his virulent harangue, and desired the sergeant-at-arms to open the door of the house, that they might first kick the bill out of the house, and then kick the Dutch out of the kingdom.

This speech was instantly issued by the unlicensed press, and spread by tens of thousands all over the kingdom. The people were roused by it to such a pitch of fury as had not been seen since the revolution. Sir John was declared to be the saviour of the nation; but when the ministers complained of the outrageous and seditious nature of this printed speech, the house likewise resented it in no measured terms, and the Bristol knight, a man of coarse and bullying disposition, denied all knowledge of it in that form, and so was excused, but the speech itself was ordered to be burnt by the hangman, and the bill dropped.

The year 1693 terminated with a transaction which was as disgraceful to the government as many of the arbitrary measures which disgusted the nation with the Stuarts. The people of Ireland complained of the lords justices there, lord Coningsby and Sir Charles Porter, abusing their powers, and oppressing the natives grievously for their own selfish ends. Lord Bellamont, a member of the privy council, exhibited articles of impeachment against them in the house of commons. The house listened at first with undisguised indignation to the details of cruelty and misery which were laid before it; but to the surprise of all, they suddenly came to a resolution that, "considering the state of Ireland at the time, they did not think it fit to ground an impeachment upon them." That this resolution, so opposed to the manifest feeling of the house, was suggested from court, which had now its majority in the house, was immediately confirmed by the dismissal of Lord Bellamont, and the pardon of Coningsby and Porter. This, unfortunately, was the uniform custom of William. Amid all the benefits which he conferred on England, it cannot be denied that he always screened the malversations and oppressions of his officers. This was only too well shown by the impunity of the murderers of Glencoe, by the refusal to listen to the charges of peculation and extortion of Ginckell and Coningsby before in Ireland; and now again, in the same country, of Coningsby and Porter—dismissing, not the criminals, but the exposer of them.

The year 1694 opened with fresh disasters at sea. Sir Francis Wheeler, lately returned from the unsuccessful expedition to the West Indies, was sent to convoy the Mediterranean fleet, and to bring back the Smyrna homebound merchantmen. In the bay of Gibraltar, in February, he was overtaken by a terrible storm, and his vessels, not being able to make their anchors bite, were many of them driven ashore and perished. He himself went down with all his men in the Sussex, and two other ships of the line and three ketches were lost. The rest of the fleet was so shattered that, instead of pursuing the voyage, they put into Cadiz to refit, and at the same time to avoid the French, who were cruising about under Chateau-Renaud and Gabaret.

The last act of this parliamentary session proved the most important of all; it was the establishment of the Bank of England. Banking, now so universal, was but of very recent introduction to England. The Lombard Jews had a bank in Italy as early as 808; Venice had its bank in 1157; Geneva in 1345; Barcelona in 1401. In Genoa, Stockholm, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Rotterdam there had long been banks, but in England men had continued, till within a very short time previous to this period, to hoard and pay out their own money from their own strong boxes. The goldsmiths of Lombard Street had of late become bankers, and people began to pay by orders on them, and travellers to take orders from them on foreign banks. It was now beginning to be strongly agitated to establish joint-stock banks, and there were various speculative heads at work with plans for them. One Hugh Chamberlayne and his coadjutor, John Briscoe, published a scheme of a land-bank, by which gentlemen were to give security for their notes on their land; on the principle that land was as real and substantial property as gold. But the extravagant and unsound views as to the actual value of land which they promulgated ruined their credit. Because an estate was worth twenty thousand pounds at twenty years' purchase, they argued that it was worth that every twenty years, and, therefore, could be immediately convertible at the same rate for any number of years—as if they could put a hundred years' purchase in the first twenty, and raise the hundred years' value, or one hundred thousand pounds, on it at once.

There was, however, a more sober and shrewd projector, William Paterson, a calculating Scotchman, who in 1691 had laid before government a plan for a national bank on sound and feasible principles. His scheme had received little attention, but now, though a million of money was raised by the lottery, another million was needed, and Paterson secured the attention of Charles Montague, a rising statesman, to his scheme. Paterson represented that the government might easily relieve itself of the difficulty of raising this money, and of all future similar difficulties, by establishing a national bank, at the same time that it conferred the most important advantages on the public at large. He had already firmly impressed Michael Godfrey, an eminent London merchant, and the brother of the unfortunate Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, with the immense merits of his scheme. They now submitted these merits, and the particularly attractive one to a young politician of raising himself by a happy mode of serving the government, and acquiring immediate distinction for practical sagacity. Montague was a young man of high family, but a younger brother's younger son—poor, clever, accomplished, and intensely ambitious. At Cambridge he had distinguished himself as a wit and a versifier; but he was now in the commons, and had made a rapid reputation as an orator and statesman by his management of the bill for regulating the trials for high treason. This man—vain, ostentatious, not too nice in his means of climbing, but with talents equal to the most daring enterprise, and who afterwards became better known as the earl of Halifax—at once saw the substantial character of Paterson's scheme, and took it up. Whilst he worked the affair in Parliament, Godfrey was to prepare the city for it.

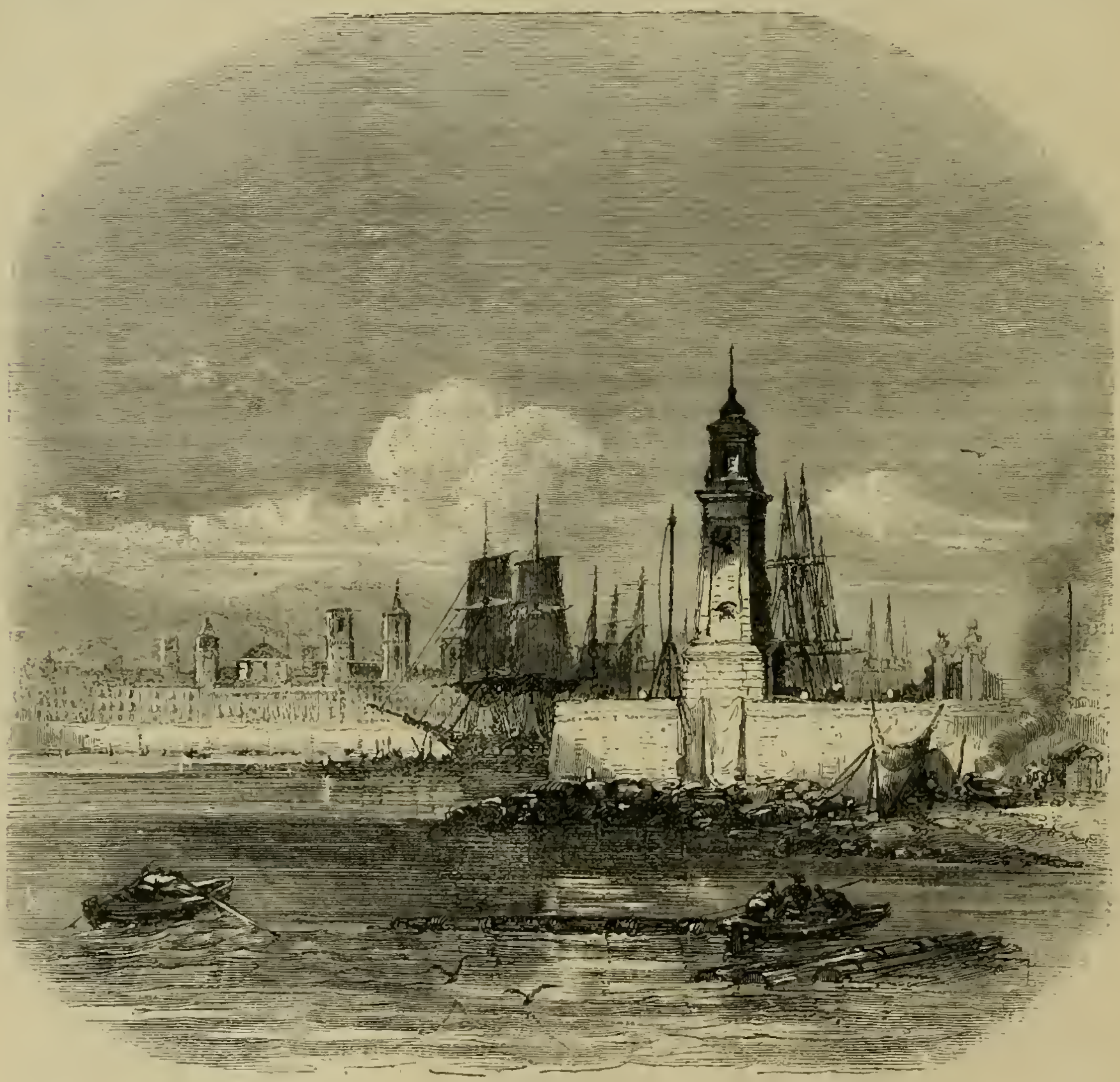
Montague submitted the scheme to the committee of ways and means, and as they were at their wits' end to raise the required million, they caught at it eagerly. The proposed plan was to grant a charter to a company of capitalists, under the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. This company was to have authority to issue promissory notes, discount bills of exchange, and to deal in bullion and foreign securities. Their first act was to be to lend the government twelve hundred thousand pounds, at eight per cent., and to receive, as means of repayment, the proceeds of a new duty on tonnage, whence the bank at first received the name of the Tonnage Bank. The bill for establishing this bank was introduced ostensibly to parliament as a bill for imposing this new duty on tonnage; the charter of the proposed bank being granted in consideration of its making an immediate advance on the tonnage duty. In the commons it underwent many sallies of wit and sarcasm, as one of the thousand speculations of the time; but in the city, where its real character was at once perceived by the Lombard Street money-dealers, it was instantly assailed by a perfect storm of execration. It was declared to be a scheme for enabling the government to raise money at any moment and to any extent, independent of parliament, and thus to accomplish all that the Charleses and Jameses had ever aimed at. To silence this suspicion, Montague introduced a clause making it illegal, and amounting to forfeiture of its charter, for the bank to lend any money to government without the consent of the parliament. This, however, did not lay the tempest. It was now denounced as a republican institution borrowed from Holland and Genoa, and meant to undermine the monarchy;—that it was a great fact that banks and kings had never existed together.

Notwithstanding all opposition, however, the bill passed the commons; and though it met with a fresh and determined opposition in the lords, where it was declared to be a scheme of the usurers to enrich themselves at the expense of the aristocracy, on Caermarthen coolly asking them, if they threw out this bill, how they meant to pay the channel fleet, they passed it; and such was its success in the city, that in less than ten days the whole sum required by government was paid in. Such was the origin of that wonderful institution, the Bank of England, which has since then helped the country through crises such as no other country and prior age of the world ever saw; at the same time that, by its example, it has made banking as universal in the country as any other business, and has grown to such gigantic magnitude and power, that as Francis, in his "History of the Bank of England," observes, it began with only fifty-four persons employed in it, and has now nearly one thousand. It paid at first in salaries only four thousand three hundred pounds, and pays now upwards of two hundred and ten thousand pounds. Its capital, originally one million two hundred thousand pounds, has grown to twenty million pounds, and its circulation of notes about that on an average. Since the gold discoveries in Australia, the bullion in its cellars has at times exceeded twenty-one million pounds.

Immediately that the Bank of England bill had received the royal assent, William prorogued the parliament, and rewarded Montague for his introduction of the scheme of the bank, by making him chancellor of the exchequer. Shrewsbury was now induced to accept the seals, William having shown him that he was aware of his being tampered with by the agents of James, and demanded his acceptance of them as a pledge of his fidelity. To secure him effectually—for William knew well that nothing but interest would secure whigs—he conferred on him the vacant garter and a dukedom. Seymour was dismissed, and his place as a lord of the treasury was given to John Smith, a zealous whig, so that excepting Caermarthen, lord president, and Godolphin, first lord of the treasury, the cabinet was purely whig. Before leaving England, William also distributed promotions freely amongst his friends. Lord Charles Butler, brother to the duke of Ormond, was created lord Butler of England, and earl of Arran in Ireland; besides Shrewsbury being made a duke, the earl of Mulgrave, for his exertions in parliament in support of the king's views, was created marquis of Normanby, with a pension of three thousand a year; Henry Herbert was made baron Herbert of Cherbury; the earls of Bedford, Devon, and Clare were made dukes; old Caermarthen, though a tory, was created duke of Leeds; viscount Sidney, earl of Romney; viscount Newport, earl of Bedford.

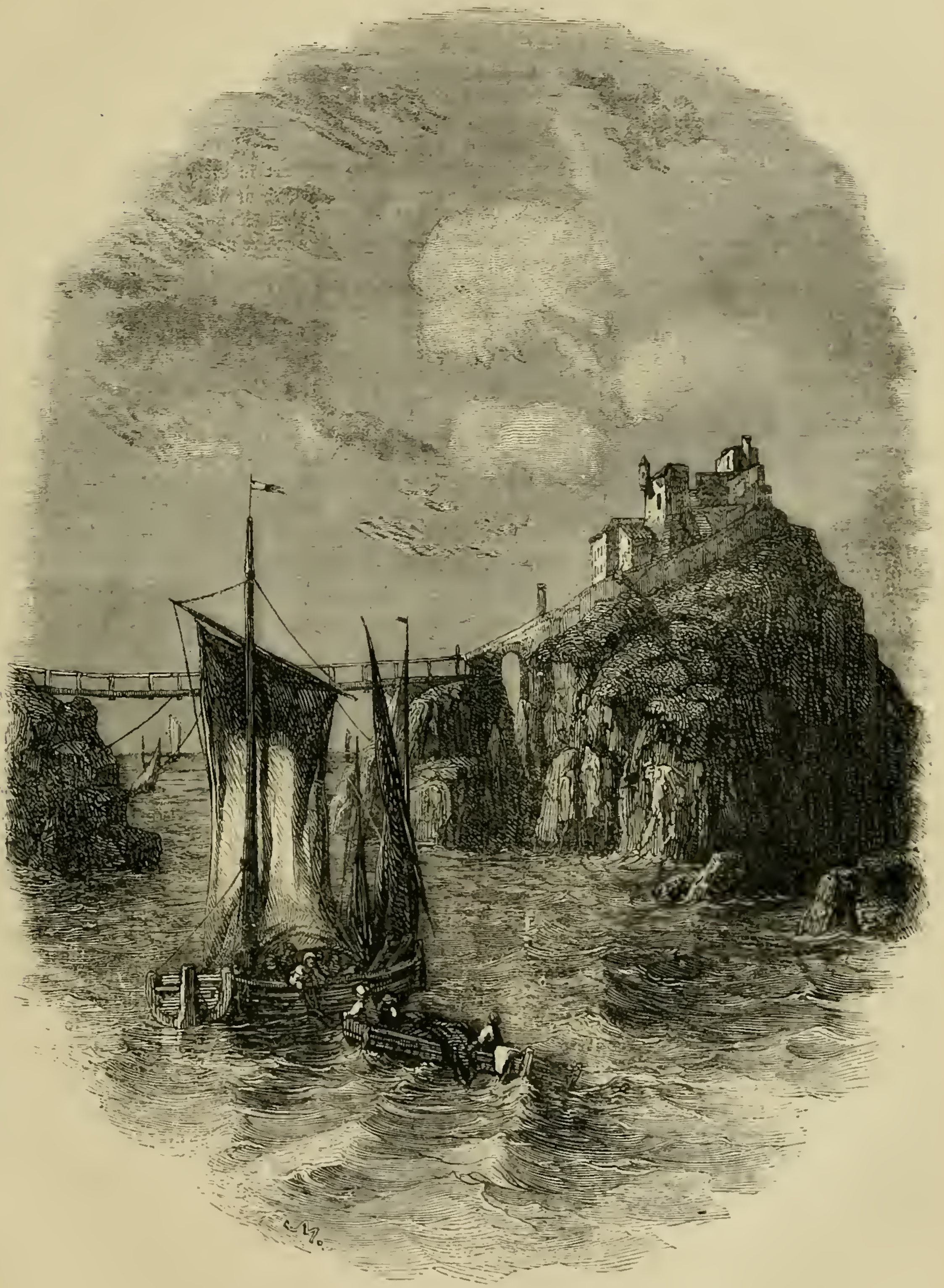
William had closed the session of parliament on the 25th of April, and in a few days he was on board and sailing for Rotterdam. Before going, however, he had ventured to refuse offers of peace from Louis. That ambitious monarch, by his enormous efforts to vanquish the allies, had greatly exhausted his kingdom. Scarcely ever had France, in the worst times of her history, been reduced so low, and a succession of bad seasons and consequent famine had completed the misery of his people. He therefore employed the king of Denmark to make advances for a peace. He offered to surrender all pretensions to the Netherlands, and to agree to the duke of Bavaria succeeding to Flanders on the death of the king of Spain; but he made no offer of acknowledging William and Mary as rightful sovereigns of England. Many thought that we ought, on such conditions, to have made peace, and thus save our money and men annually consumed in Flanders. But the majority of both parliament and the English people knew Louis too well to be assured that the moment that he had recruited his finances he would break through all his engagements, and renew the war with redoubled energy. His people were now reduced in many places to feed on nettles, and his enemies deemed it the surest policy to press him whilst in his extremity.

Finding that he did not succeed in obtaining peace, he resolved to act on the defensive only in the coming campaign in every quarter except in Catalonia, where his whole fleet could co-operate with the count de Noailles, the commander of his land forces. William, who had received intelligence of this plan of the campaign, before his departure, ordered the British fleet under Russell to prevent the union of the French squadrons from Brest and Toulon. Russell was then to proceed to the Mediterranean to drive the French from the coasts of Catalonia, and co-operate with the Spaniards on land. Meantime, the earl of Berkeley, with another detachment of the fleet, was to take on board a strong force under the command of general Tallmache, and bombard Brest in the absence of Tourville. All this was ably planned, as William's plans of his campaigns generally were; but the whole scheme was defeated, as all his schemes were defeated, by the treachery of his own courtiers and subjects: by Godolphin, his own first lord of the treasury, and by Marlborough, against whom the most damning evidence exists. Macpherson and Dalrymple, in the state papers discovered by them at Versailles, have shown that the whole of William's plans on this occasion were communicated to James by Godolphin, Marlborough, and colonel Sackville, and have given us the strongest reasons for believing that the preparations of the fleet were purposely delayed by Caermarthen, the new duke of Leeds, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and others, letters for that purpose being discovered addressed to them by James through the countess of Shrewsbury.



The Old Harbour of Barcelona.

But of all the infamous persons thus plotting against the



FORT OF BERTHAUME, NEAR BREST; AND CAPE FINISTERRE.

sovereign they had sworn to serve, and from whom they had many of them just received the highest honours that the government could bestow, none equalled in infamy the detestable Marlborough. This man, who was professing allegiance at the same time to both William and James, and who would have betrayed either of them for his own purposes, was indefatigable in hunting out the king's secrets, and dispatching them with all haste, enforcing the disgrace of his own country and the massacre of his own countrymen with all his eloquence—the sole object being his own aggrandisement. Tallmache was the only general who could be compared with him in military talent. Tallmache betrayed and disgraced, Marlborough, who was suspected and rejected by William for his treason, must, he felt sure, be employed. Accordingly, he importuned Russell for a knowledge of the destination of the fleet; but Russell, who probably by this time had found it his interest to be true to his sovereign, refused to enlighten him. But Marlborough was not to be thus defeated in his burning thirst of treason. He was on the most intimate terms with Godolphin, and most likely obtained the real facts from him. Godolphin, indeed, had already warned the French through James of the intended blow, and Marlborough followed up the intelligence by a letter dated the 2nd of May, in which he informed James that twelve regiments of infantry and two regiments of marines were about to embark under command of Tallmache, in order to destroy Brest. "This," says Marlborough, "would be a great advantage to England; but no advantage can prevent, or ever shall prevent, me from informing you of all that I believe to be for your service; therefore you may make your own use of your intelligence." He then vents his vexation at Russell for not letting him into the secret. "Russell sails to-morrow with forty ships, the rest not being yet paid; but it is said that in ten days the rest of the fleet will follow, and at the same time the land forces. I have endeavoured to learn this some time ago from admiral Russell, but he always denied it to me, though I am very sure that he knew the design for more than six weeks. This gives me a bad sign of this man's intentions."

This letter of Marlborough's was inclosed in another to the infamous Melfort by colonel Sackville, who says, "I have just now received the inclosed for the king. It is from lord Churchill; but no person but the queen and you must know from whom it comes; therefore, for the love of God, let it be kept a secret, even from lord Middleton. . . . . I send it by express, judging it to be of the utmost consequence for the service of the king my master, and, consequently, to the service of his most Christian majesty." He also adds—"You see I am not deceived in the judgment of admiral Russell, for that man has not acted sincerely, and I fear he never will act otherwise."

This diabolical treason had its full effect. Tourville had already sailed. He left Brest on the 25th of April, and was at this moment in the straits of Gibraltar, which he passed on the 4th of May. Brest was defenceless; but Louis, thus apprised of his danger, instantly dispatched the great engineer of the age, Vauban, to put the port into the best possible state of defence, and dispatched after him a powerful body of troops. The weather favoured the traitors and the French. The English fleet was detained by contrary winds; it did not quit St. Helen's till the 29th of May. On the 5th of June the fleet was off Cape Finisterre, where a council of war was held, and the next day Russell sailed for the Mediterranean with the greater part of the fleet, and lord Berkeley with the remainder, having on board general Tallmache and his six thousand troops, turned his prows towards Brest. But by this time the town was in full occupation by a great body of soldiers, and Vauban had planted batteries commanding the port in every direction, and more, eight large rafts in the harbour well supplied with mortars. In fact, there were no less than ninety mortars and three hundred cannons; all the passages under the castle were made bombproof, and there were at least five thousand infantry and a regiment of dragoons in the place.

The English had no friendly traitors amongst the French to act the Marlborough and apprise them of all these preparations; and they rushed blindly on the destruction which their own perfidious countrymen had organised for them.

Tallmache anchored his squadron just outside Camaret Bay, at the mouth of the harbour of Brest, and there he proposed to land his troops whilst the vessels bombarded the port. As volunteers in the fleet had gone young Danby, the son of the new duke of Leeds—now by courtesy bearing his father's old title of marquis of Caermarthen—and lord Mohun, so lately engaged in the disgraceful murder of Mountford the actor. These young nobles proposed to sail into the bay of Camaret and reconnoitre its condition. They reported that it was strongly defended by batteries. Tallmache, however, and Berkeley, ignorant of their design having been long betrayed, despised the danger, and ordered Caermarthen the next morning to enter the bay with eight vessels and batter the works they had seen, whilst Tallmache would land his men from a hundred boats.

But Caermarthen was scarcely in the mouth of the bay when not only the batteries he had observed, but three masked ones, opened upon him with terrible effect. He sent in haste to warn Tallmache, but the general was landing nine hundred men from his boats, and exclaimed, "The die is cast; we cannot retreat with honour." But even as he spoke his men were mowed down from a deadly fire from both batteries and entrenchments. They stood well, however, to their arms, and returned the fire with such effect that the batteries began to slacken, and they gave a loud hurrah in anticipated triumph. But the hope was delusive. Caermarthen, with his ships endeavouring to cover their landing, was suffering a murderous slaughter; whole decks were cleared of their men, and at the same time the soldiers on land saw cavalry issuing from openings left purposely betwixt the entrenchments. The impetuous charge of these horse, combining with the raking fire from the batteries, threw the handful of soldiers into disorder. Tallmache, seeing the case hopeless, now exerted himself to get off his men; but many of the boats were left high on the sands by the receding tide. The greater part of the unhappy men were slaughtered, and Tallmache was shot through the thigh, and was borne off to the ships. Besides the loss of the soldiers, Caermarthen lost four hundred seamen. Tallmache died in a few days, exclaiming that he had been betrayed by his own countrymen. He was so, more absolutely than he or even most of his contemporaries were aware of. The object of Marlborough was accomplished more completely than he could have anticipated. His rival was not disgraced, but destroyed —taken out of his way; and the hypocritical monster went to Whitehall to condole with the queen over this national dishonour and calamity, and to offer what he truly called "his own unworthy sword." When the offer was forwarded to William in Holland, he bluntly rejected it; but Marlborough ultimately achieved his end, and we ought never to forget, when we remember Ramilies, Blenheim, and Malplaquet, that amongst the acts by which he rose to a dukedom was the massacre of Camaret Bay.

Lord Berkeley returned to St. Helen's to take fresh orders from the admiralty, and was commanded to make a raid on the coast of Normandy. He again set sail on the 5th of July, and bombarded Dieppe, laying the greater part of it in ashes. Havre received the same treatment, and the fleet then ranged the coast, scattering terror amongst the inhabitants all the way, and harassing the French troops which were obliged to march after them. The French and Jacobites denounced this warfare on peaceable people as horrible and un-Christian; but it was replied that it was to retaliate for the atrocities repeatedly committed by the French on the palatinate, as if the diabolical orders of Louis were to be revenged on simple people who had no concern in them. By such conduct the English only degraded themselves to Louis's scale of wickedness. Berkeley then returned home, devolving the command on Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who, being joined by captain Masters with six-and-twenty Dutch pilots on the 12th of September, they attempted to fire the vessels in the harbour of Dunkirk, but failed, and then sailed to Calais, and did considerable mischief to the town.

Whilst these unfortunate demonstrations had been making, admiral Russell had sailed to the Mediterranean, and done good and legitimate service. When he arrived before Barcelona, the French had united their fleets from Toulon and Brest, in spite of the endeavours of the English. They were in full possession of the Bay of Rosas, and town after town had fallen into their hands. The fate of Barcelona was decided had not the fleets of the allies arrived, for the English was now joined by the Dutch under Callemburgh and Evertsen. The army of the viceroy of Catalonia had been routed on the banks of the Ter, and all Catalonia trembled to its fall. But at the approach of the English the French made a precipitate retreat from the coast, and secured themselves in Toulon, where Russell sent vessels to blockade them. The Spanish government, in its sudden joy at this deliverance, presented Russell with a diamond, said to be worth twenty thousand pounds; but that was all the gratitude shown or benefit received. As we have experienced in Spain in our time, the Spaniards wanted the admiral to supply his own fleet with victuals, and even complained that he had not brought an army to drive out the French and defend the country against them. The viceroy was urgent that he should attack and exterminate the French vessels under the batteries of Toulon. After impressing respect for the English power on the states of Venice and Tuscany, and confirming by it the wavering faith of the duke of Savoy, Russell, by express order of the king, wintered with his fleet in the harbour of Cadiz, so as to be able to prevent the union of the Toulon and Brest fleets at spring. He spent the time in active repair of his vessels and having them well supplied for the opening of the next campaign, though he received little aid from the Spanish government, who, as has been justly observed, are generally more effectual in annoying their friends than enemies. From this time, however, Russell seems to have gone heartily into the service of the new sovereigns, and a new spirit arose in the navy which soon made itself felt by the enemies of the country.

On the continent no very decided events of war occurred. William, early in June, found himself at Louvain at the head of one hundred thousand men, where he was joined by the electors of Bavaria and Cologne. About the same time the Dauphin arrived in the camp of Luxembourg, and assumed the nominal command; but Luxembourg was still the real general, who pitched his camp at Fleurus. His force was much inferior to that of the allies, and according to the plan of the campaign determined on by Louis, he acted solely on the defensive. Various marches and countermarches took place, but at length Luxembourg appeared to be moving on Maestricht, and William having no fear of his taking that place, determined to march boldly on French Flanders. He resolved to pass the Scheldt, and dispatched the duke of Würtemberg to cross it at Oudenarde, and the elector of Bavaria to do the same at Pont des Espières. But Luxembourg instantly comprehended the design, and by a forced march of such rapidity that he astonished every one, he reached the most distant place before the slow German elector; and to the astonishment of that commander, was seen already entrenching himself on one bank of the river when he arrived on the other. William, however, still determined to cross the river, and finding that Würtemberg had effected it at Oudenarde, he followed and passed there. His intention was to get possession of Courtray, but Luxembourg had extended his lines so as to prevent that. William, therefore, drafted some forces from Maestricht and Liege, and sent them against the town of Huy, which they took. William himself passed the Lys and encamped at Wanneghem, and ordered Dixmude, Deynese, Tirlemont, and Ninone, to be secured for winter quarters, and quitted the army on the last day of September; the Dauphin returned to Versailles, and both armies retired into their winter quarters in the middle of October. William had advanced dangerously near to Dunkirk and the French frontiers, yet Louis was delighted with Luxembourg's wonderful march, and wrote a letter with his own hand, praising the whole army, which was read at the head of every regiment. It is clear that had William been well informed of Louis's inability to maintain the campaign actively, and had kept the field longer, he might, by a skilful and bold manœuvre, have still marched into French Flanders, greatly to his own reputation. At that day, however, it was the established fashion to retire early to winter quarters, as they did to bed; and William was rather a sturdy keeper of the field, than a commander of comprehensive genius.

On the Rhine the prince of Baden met de Lorges, the brutal ravager of Heidelberg and the palatinate, in the valley of the Neckar, near Heibronn, and drove him across the

Rhine near Manheim, to a position betwixt Spires and Wurms. The prince then crossed also, higher up, into Alsace, which he laid under contribution, but retired again on the approach of de Lorges. In Austria, the Turks in the neighbourhood of Belgrade and Peterwaradin had effected nothing. In Savoy as little was done; but lord Galway, a brave general, was sent to supply the loss of Schomberg; and in Catalonia, as we have related, the appearance of Russell put a stop to the triumphs of Noailles, who had already taken Gironne and Ostalric. Such were the meagre details of the land campaign.

On the 9th of November William landed at Margate, where the queen met him, and their journey to the capital was like an ovation. On the 12th the king met his parliament, and congratulated it on having decidedly given a check to the arms of the French. This was certainly true, though it had not been done by any battle this campaign. Russell had effaced at Barcelona the defeat of Camaret Bay, and in the Netherlands, if there had been no battle, there had been no repulse, as in every former campaign. He had now no Mons, no Fleurus, no Namur, no Landen to deplore; on the contrary, he had driven the French to their own frontiers without the loss of a man. But he still deemed it necessary to continue their exertions, and completely to reduce the French arrogance, and he called for supplies as liberal as in the preceding year. The customs act was about to expire, and he desired its renewal.

The commons adjourned for a week, and before they met again archbishop Tillotson was taken suddenly ill whilst performing service in the chapel at Whitehall, and died on the 22nd of November. With the exception of the most violent Jacobites, who could not forgive him taking the primacy whilst Sancroft was living, the archbishop was universally and justly beloved and venerated. In the city especially, where he had preached at St. Lawrence in the Jewry for nearly thirty years, and where, as we have seen, his friend Firmin took care to have his pulpit supplied with the most distinguished preachers during his absence at Canterbury, he was enthusiastically admired as a preacher and beloved as a man. The king and queen were greatly attached to him, and William pronounced him, at his death, the best friend he ever had, and the best man he ever knew.

Tillotson was succeeded by Dr. Tennison, bishop of Lincoln. Mary was very earnest for Stillingfleet; but even Stillingfleet was too high church for William. Could he, however, have foreseen that it was the last request that the queen would ever make, he would no doubt have complied with it. In a few weeks Mary herself was seized with illness. She had been worn down by the anxieties of governing amid the feuds of parties and the plottings of traitors during the king's absence, and had now not strength to combat with a strong disease. The disease was, moreover, the most fatal which then attacked the human frame—the smallpox. No means had yet been discovered to arrest its ravages, and in her the physicians were for a time divided in opinion as to its real character. One thought it measles, one scarlet fever, another spotted fever, a fourth erysipelas. The famous Radcliffe at once pronounced it smallpox, and smallpox it proved. It was soon perceived that it would prove fatal, and Dr. Tennison was selected to break the intelligence to her. She received the solemn announcement with great fortitude and composure. She instantly issued orders that no person, not even the ladies of her bed-chamber, should approach her if they had not already had the complaint. She shut herself up for several hours in her closet, during which she was busy burning papers and arranging others. Her sister Anne, on being apprised of her danger, sent a message, offering to come and see her; but she thanked her, and replied that she thought she had better not. But she sent her a kind message, expressing her forgiveness of whatever she might have thought unkindness in Anne.

Mary has been accused of great want of feeling. It has been said that she was ready to mount her father's throne and send him into exile, and that she lived in feud or estrangement with her sister. In the case of her father, it was clear and stern necessity that he should be removed; it was the national will, and it was Mary's equal duty to obey the national will in succeeding to the throne in exclusion of a papist succession. In every emergency Mary entreated that her father should receive no personal injury or dishonour, and her wishes were fully complied with by William. As it regarded Anne, Mary was certainly more sinned against than sinning. Anne allied herself to a party which was, during the whole life of Mary, incessantly plotting to annoy her, and, if possible, to expel her from the throne. In no previous reign would Anne have received the same liberal and honourable treatment, being, as she was, the perpetual centre of a hostile and irritating party, of which her friends, the mean-souled Marlborough and his termagant wife, were the head.

In everything else the very enemies of Mary were compelled to praise her. She was tall, handsome, and dignified in person, yet of the most mild and amiable manners; strong in her judgment, quick in perceiving the right, anxious to do it, warm in her attachment to her friends, and most lenient towards her enemies. To her husband she was devotedly attached; had the most profound confidence in his abilities, and was more happy in regarding herself as his faithful wife than as joint sovereign of the realm. William, on his part, had not avoided giving her the mortification of seeing a mistress in his court in the person of Mrs. Villiers, yet she had borne it with a quiet dignity which did her much credit; and now William showed that, cold as he was outwardly, he was passionately attached to her. His grief was so excessive that, when he knew that he must lose her, he fainted many times in succession, and his own life, even, began to be despaired of. He would not quit her bedside for a moment day or night till he was borne away in a sinking state a short time before she expired. After her death he shut himself up for some weeks, and scarcely saw any one, and attended to no business, till it was feared that he would lose his reason. During his illness he had called Burnet into his closet, and, bursting into a passion of tears, he said "he had been the happiest, and now he was going to be the most miserable of men; that during the whole course of their marriage he had never known a single fault in her. There was a worth in her that no one knew beside himself."

Mary died in the utmost peace after taking the sacrament, and ordering a small cabinet which she called for to be delivered to the king as soon as she was dead. The public, as it had just cause, testified the most genuine grief for her loss, and the same sentiment was everywhere expressed abroad, especially amongst the persecuted Huguenots, to assist whom she had deprived herself even of the usual indulgences of her station. At St. Germains only was there no sign of respect to her memory; the court was forbade to put on the slightest tinge of mourning.

The funeral of the queen might be said to be attended by all London. During the whole time that she lay in state the whole of the neighbourhood of Whitehall remained from day to day one dense crowd, and on the day of the funeral the whole population appears to have drawn towards the palace. The procession was not only attended by the lord mayor and all officers of the city, but by both houses of parliament—a circumstance never attending a royal funeral before, because with every other sovereign the parliament itself had expired. Mary was only in her thirty-third year, and the sixth of her reign.

Mary's remains were deposited in the south aisle of Henry VII.'s chapel, but her real monument is at Greenwich. When the battle of La Hogue was fought, she had begged of William, who was in Holland, that the palace of Greenwich, begun by Charles II., should be completed on an ampler and more magnificent plan as the home of the veteran seamen of England. William now ordered Wren to produce a plan worthy of the queen and the object; and the present splendid palace, or hospital as it is called, rose to her memory, a most noble and befitting trophy of a true woman's sympathy with the defenders of her country.

We must now step back a little to notice the business of the session which this mournful event interrupted and terminated. In the matter of supply the commons voted the same sums as in the former session for the army and navy, settled the act for the customs for another term of five years, and fixed the land-tax again at four shillings in the pound. They then entertained some vehement complaints against Sir John Trenchard for having imprisoned and brought to trial certain innocent men, as the complainants termed them, as conspirators, at the instigation of the notorious Hugh Speke, Aaron Smith, and one Taafe, an Irish papist. Trenchard was, in fact, very severe against plotting malcontents, and had arrested a number of men in Lancashire on the evidence of Taafe and one Lunt, and brought them to trial at Manchester. The men were guilty enough, for they had been found with concealed arms and accoutrements, and Taafe and Lunt had been in communication with them; but Taafe not having been rewarded as he expected by Trenchard, turned round, sold himself to the Jacobites, and on the day of trial suddenly appeared in the witness-box, and declared the whole thing a hoax. The triumph of the Jacobite party was immense, and, not satisfied with having won it, they determined to pursue their success in parliament; but there the scene was changed. Howe, who was one of the firmest of the opposition, denounced the ministers for their treatment of innocent men, and their employment of knaves against them; but the whigs eagerly caught at the matter, demanded an inquiry, and then the whole truth came out. Both lords and commons voted that there had been a dangerous conspiracy, declared the conduct of government not only just but meritorious, and sent Taafe to prison.

The bills for the regulation of trials in cases of treason, the place bill, and the triennial bill, were again brought forward. The two former were again rejected, but the triennial bill was passed by both houses by large majorities, and William no longer ventured to refuse his signature. The precarious state of the queen's health probably hastened his acquiescence, as, in case of her death, he would need all his popularity. He ratified it, to the great joy of all parties; and by this bill the present parliament would end before the 25th of March, 1696.

CHAPTER III.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III.

Inquiries into Abuses in the Army—The Commons expel some of their Members for Corruption—Examination of Cooke, Acton, and others—Impeachment of the Duke of Leeds—Session of Scottish Parliament—Inquiry into the Massacre of Glencoe—Parliament of Ireland—Siege of Namur—Boufflers seized—Duke of Savoy takes Casal—Bombardment of St. Malo—Wilmot's Expedition to the West Indies—Commons remonstrate against a Grant to the Earl of Portland—Conspiracy to assassinate William—Land-Bank established—Louis makes Peace with the Duke of Savoy—Sir John Fenwick beheaded—Earl of Monmouth sent to the Tower—French take Barcelona—Neville's Abortive Expedition to the West Indies—Elector of Saxony chosen King of Poland—Peter the Czar travels in Disguise with his own Ambassadors—The Peace of Ryswick.

The death of queen Mary raised marvellously the hopes of the Jacobites and the court of St. Germains. Though the Jacobites had charged Mary with ascending the throne contrary to the order of succession, they now asserted that William had no right thereto, and that Mary's claim, however weak, had been his only colourable plea for his usurpation. Mary it was whose amiability and courtesy had reconciled the public to the government of her husband. His gloomy and morose character and manners, and his attachment to nothing but Holland and Dutchmen, they said, had thoroughly disgusted the whole nation, and would now speedily bring his reign to an end. He spent a great part of the year on the continent; Mary had managed affairs admirably in his absence, but who was to manage them now? They must soon go into confusion, and the people be glad to bring back their old monarch.

And truly the wholesale corruption of his parliament and ministers served to give some force to their anticipations. Never was there a time when dishonesty and peculation, hideous as they have been in most periods of our government, were more gross, general, and unblushing than amongst the boasted whigs who had brought about the revolution. From the highest to the lowest they were insatiably greedy, unprincipled, and unpatriotic—if want of patriotism is evidenced by abusing the institutions and betraying the honour of the nation. One of the best of them died just now, namely, George Seville, marquis of Halifax. He bore the name of "the Trimmer," but rather because parties had changed than that he himself had changed. He had discouraged extreme measures, especially such as were bloody and vindictive. He had endeavoured to save the heads of both Stafford and Russell; he had opposed the virulence of the whigs in the days of the popish plot, and of the tories in that of the Rye House plot. But even he had not kept himself clean from intriguing with St. Germains. Compared, however, with the unclean beasts which he left behind, he was a saint.

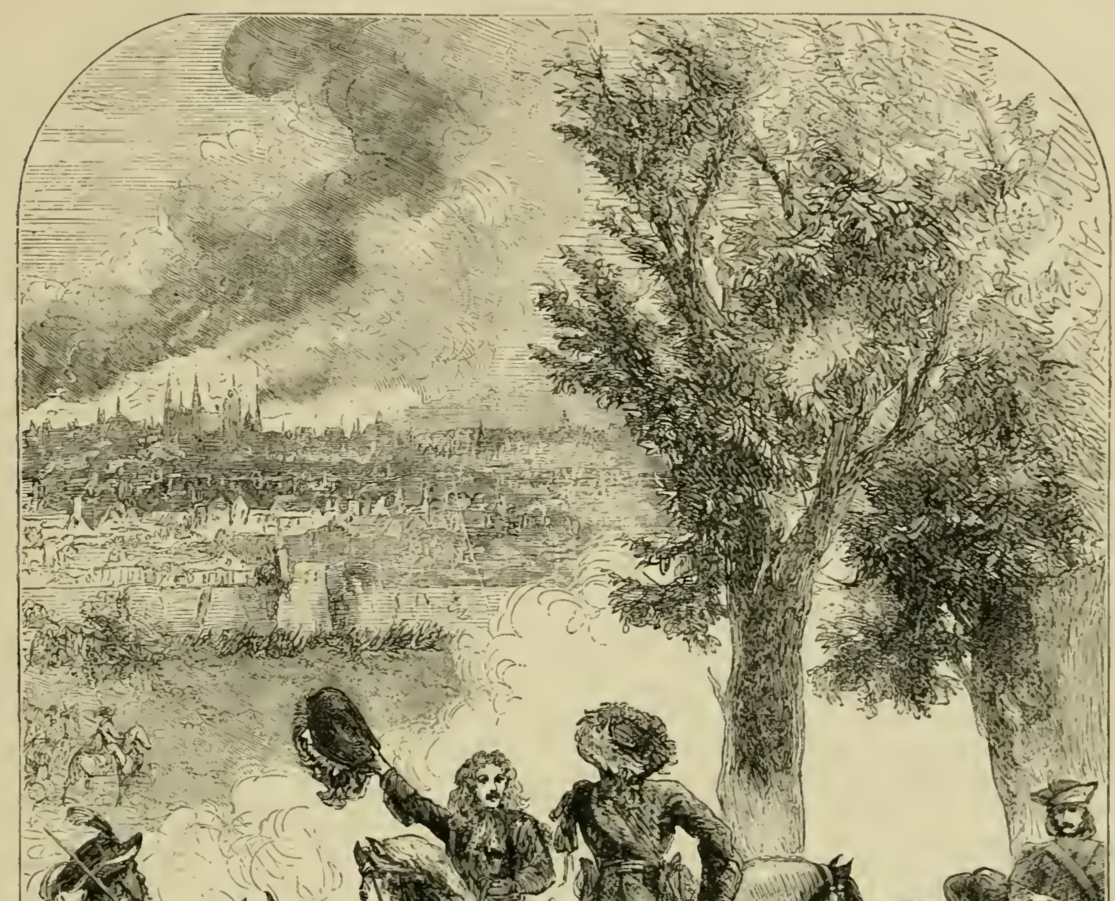
The sink of corruption was first opened up in the army. The inhabitants of Royston complained to the commons that the officers of colonel Hastings' regiment, which lay there, exacted subsistence money under threat of military execution. The commons, highly incensed at this unconstitutional proceeding, summoned the officers of the regiment, and Pouncefort, the agent for the regiment, before them. But it soon appeared that the money thus exacted by Pouncefort and the agents for the officers and men had not been paid to them. Pouncefort was committed to the Tower, and Guy, the secretary to the Treasury, and a member of the house also, for receiving a bribe of two hundred guineas from Pouncefort to get the king's bounty. The house sent a strong address to the king on these corruptions, who dismissed Hastings, the colonel, and appointed a council of officers to sit weekly, and hear the complaints of officers and men who had been defrauded. But the commons were now on the scent of still deeper villanies, and they went on. They committed James Craggs, an army contractor, because he refused to answer questions put to him in the course of research into the frauds practised by the contractors on government. This Craggs, who will figure largely in the approaching period, had been originally a barber and then a footman, but was now rapidly growing into wealth and distinction by his successful acts and speculations. The commons brought in a bill to compel both him and Harnage, another contractor, as well as Pouncefort and his brother, to account for the sums paid to them on account of the army, or to punish them for refusal.

But whilst the commons were busy with this affair, a petition from another defrauded class opened up another despicable scene of rascality. The hackney-coachmen complained that they had been shamefully fleeced by the commission for licensing their coaches, which had come into power the preceding session. The wrongs and insults which these men had endured, not only from these base commissioners but from their servants, and from the kept mistress of one of them, were something extraordinary. Three of the commissioners were summarily dismissed.

The tide of inquiry was now, however, flowing fast, and higher delinquents were reached by it every day. Scarcely was Craggs lodged in prison, when there was a charge made against Sir John Trevor, speaker of the house of commons, for receiving a bribe of one thousand guineas to insure the passing of the city orphans' bill. This was a bill to enable the corporation of London to make a sort of funded debt of the money of the orphans of freemen which had been left in their charge, and which they had spent. To carry this bill and cover their criminality, bribes had been given, not only to Trevor, but to Hungerford, chairman of the grand committee, and many others. Trevor was ejected from the chair of the house, where he had long made a regular trade by selling his influence to the amount of at least six thousand pounds per annum, besides his salary of four thousand pounds. For his insolence and greediness he was become universally hated, and there was great rejoicing over his exposure and expulsion. Paul Foley, the chairman of the committee of inquiry, was elected speaker of the house in his stead. Hungerford was also expelled, and Seymour came into question. His overbearing manners had created him plenty of enemies, and on his remarking on the irregular conduct of a member, the indignant individual replied that it was certainly wrong to talk during a discussion, but it was far worse to take money for getting a bill passed. The hint thrown out was quickly seized, and on examining the books of the East India Company, to which enormous bribery also was traced, it was found that Seymour had received a bribe of ten thousand pounds, but under the artful cover of selling him two hundred tons of saltpetre for much less than its value. It was, moreover, sold ostensibly to a man named Colston, but really to Seymour, so that the house could not expel him; but a public mark was stamped on his character.

But the examination of the books of the East India Company laid bare a series of bribery of ministers and parliament men, which made all the rest dwindle into insignificance. In previous years there were found items in the books of one thousand two hundred and eighty-four pounds, and two thousand and ninety-six pounds; but in the past year, during the great contest with the new company, Sir Thomas Cook, who, we have seen, was empowered to bribe at his discretion, had expended on ministers and members no less a sum than one hundred and sixty-seven thousand pounds. Wharton, himself a most profligate man, pursued these inquiries on the part of the commons with an untiring avidity. In order to damp this inquiry, the guilty parties caused it to be whispered about that it was best not to press the matter too far, as a large part of the money might have been given to the king through Portland. But nothing could stop the inquest, and it turned out that large sums had been offered to the king, but had been refused, and fifty thousand pounds to Portland, but refused. Nottingham had also refused ten thousand pounds, but others had not been so scrupulous. Cook refused for a time to disclose the names of those who had received the money, but he was threatened with a bill to compel him on terms which, had he persisted, would have totally ruined him. He then offered to disclose all on condition that a clause in the bill should indemnify him against the consequences of his disclosures. This was done, and immediately Sir Basil Firebrace was named as receiving a sum of forty thousand pounds. When pressed to explain what had become of this money, the worthy knight fell into great confusion and loss of memory; but he was compelled to account for the cash, and then it came out that he had, through a Mr. Bates, paid five thousand five hundred guineas to the new duke of Leeds (Danby). The duke denied having had the money, and then Bates said he had left it with one Robarts, a foreign servant of the duke's, to *count it out for him*, and that with the duke's permission. Robarts, however, was so bad at counting coin, that he had taken half a year to do it in, and only brought it back on the very morning that the committee of inquiry was formed.

The duke did not deny that he had got all the money that he could through Bates from the company for others; but this, according to the morals of that age, was considered quite pardonable. To take a bribe himself was criminal if found out, to assist others in selling their votes was venial. The commons impeached the duke, but then



THE BOMBARDMENT OF BRUSSELS.

his servant Robarts was missing, and as Leeds insisted on his presence as evidence for him, the impeachment remained uncarried out. In fact, William, who, though suffering perpetually from the gross corruption all around him, was always the first to screen great offenders, now hastened parliament to a conclusion. The exposures were so numerous that nobody but the triumphant whigs desired to see the matter probed yet deeper. Who could say to whom the inquiry might not reach? William was tender, too, of Leeds, from the remembrance of the regard which his late queen had entertained for him, and the active services which he rendered her in his absence. He did not even remove him from being lord president of the council, but he advised him not to show himself there; but he never again recovered his position in the court, and William, in appointing the lords justices to exercise the government in his absence, left out his name. The parliament was prorogued on the 3rd of May. It had witnessed a marvellous display of the want of moral principle in its members; and the industrious endeavours of Wharton had placed the whigs safely and completely on the seat of power.

In the following week the Scottish parliament commenced its session, after an interval of two years. The duke of Hamilton was dead, and John Hay, marquis of Tweeddale, was appointed lord high commissioner, a man in years, and of fair character. The question which immediately seized the attention of the estates was the massacre of Glencoe. That sanguinary affair had now come to the public knowledge in all its perfidy and barbarity, and there was a vehement demand for inquiry and for justice on the perpetrators. The facts which had reached the queen long ago regarding this dark transaction, had greatly shocked her, and she had been earnest for a searching inquiry; but William, who by this time must have been fully aware that the matter would not bear the light very well, had not been too desirous to urge it on. The Jacobites, however, never ceased to declaim on the fearful theme; and the presbyterians, who hated the Master of Stair, who under James had been one of their worst persecutors, and was a man without any real religion, were not the less importunate for its unveiling. Seeing that the parliament would now have it dragged to the light, William made haste to make the movement his own. He signed a commission appointing Tweeddale its head, and sent it down with all haste to Edinburgh. The parliament expressed great thanks to the king for this act of justice, but it deceived nobody, for it was felt at once that no commission would have issued but for the public outcry, and it was now meant to take it out of the earnest hands of the estates and defeat it as far as possible; and this turned out to be the case. The report of the commission was long in appearing, and had not the estates been very firm, it might have been longer, and have been effectually emasculated, for the lord high commissioner was on the point of sending it to William, who was now in the Netherlands, and deeply immersed in the affairs of the campaign. The estates insisted on its immediate production, and Tweeddale was compelled to obey. It then appeared that several of the Macdonalds had been admitted to give their evidence on the atrocities committed in their glen; and the conclusion was come to that it was a barbarous murder. The king's warrant, however, was declared to have authorised no such butchery, and the main blame was thrown on the Master of Stair and the earl of Breadalbane.

Undoubtedly Sir John Dalrymple, the master of Stair, had urged on by his letter the massacre of the clan with unflinching cruelty; but William contented himself with merely dismissing him from his office. Nothing short of this man's execution for his crime could exempt William from the imputation of ordering, or at least favouring, this wholesale and detestable murder — detestable because perpetrated under such circumstances of revolting treachery. But, as we have observed, William seems to have had very little sense of the crimes and cruelties committed by those who were serviceable to him. On all occasions, instead of showing a virtuous indignation and a feeling of pity for the sufferers, he treated the criminals with impunity. It was thus with Ginckel, Coningsby, and other oppressors in Ireland; it was the same again here, where the most odious charges lay against himself and his agents. The earl of Breadalbane was found to have encouraged the clans in their adhesion to James, at the very time that he was employed to distribute money amongst them to reconcile them to William, telling them that he was himself all the while just as firmly attached to James himself. William resented this, and Breadalbane was arrested and committed to the castle of Edinburgh; but well did one of his contemporaries know the man, when he said that he was subtle as a serpent and slippery as an eel, and had no attachment to anything but his own interest, for he immediately declared that he had only told them so to get into their confidence, that he might find out James's secrets for William; and William seems to have at once accepted this rogue's plea, for he set him at liberty and granted him a new pardon. As to the subordinate instruments of the massacre, major Hamilton, captain Drummond, Glenlyon, lieutenant Lindsay, and sergeant Barbour, they were plainly pronounced murderers. though they had only acted according to the orders of the men so lightly let off, and there was a royal order sent down to seize and prosecute them; but no doubt there were also secret orders of another kind, for they appear never to have been proceeded against. The whole of this transaction, therefore, from first to last, leaves a black stain on the character of William; for, if he did not expressly order the massacre with a full knowledge of its injustice, when he had the most perfect knowledge of all its diabolical particulars, he treated it as a very venial affair.

To put the Scotch parliament into good humour, William promised them, through the marquis of Tweeddale, that, if they would pass an act establishing a colony in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where it was open to the English rightfully to plant a colony, he would grant them a charter with as full powers as he had done to the subjects of his other dominions. This was no doubt in consequence of a scheme agitated by Paterson, the originator of the bank of England, for founding a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, for trading betwixt the Atlantic and Pacific—forming, in fact, a link of commerce betwixt China and India, as well as the Spanish states on the Pacific coasts and Europe. The act, supposed to be drawn by Paterson himself, was passed, and preparations began for carrying the scheme into effect; but as the expedition did not sail till 1698, we have here only to note a transaction which led eventually to much misery. Parliament granted some indulgence to the episcopalians, by which seventy of their clergy retained their livings, and voted a hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the services of the state.

In Ireland there was also a parliamentary session held under the lord-deputy, Capel, in which the protestant ascendancy was most fully and tyrannically established. They voted one hundred and sixty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds for the English service, and passed an act annulling all attainders and other acts passed in the late parliament of James. They passed another act disowning all papists; one to forbid the catholics sending their children abroad to be educated; and another for settling the estates of intestates. These were but the beginning of a long series of acts which were passed betwixt this time and the third year of queen Anne, by which the unfortunate Irish were as completely ground to the dust and converted into slaves, as if they had been Russian subjects. And all this time the Toleration Act was in pretended force.

At the moment that William was about to set out for the continent, a most determined plot for his assassination was discovered; but as the conspirators were not brought to trial till the following year, we defer notice of it till then.

William embarked on the 12th of May for Holland. Before going he had appointed as lords-justices to carry on the government in his absence—archbishop Tennison; Somers, keeper of the great seal; Pembroke, keeper of the privy seal; Devonshire, the lord steward; Dorset, the lord chamberlain; Shrewsbury, the secretary of state; and Godolphin, first lord of the treasury. There had also been a formal reconciliation betwixt him and the princess Anne. Marlborough and his wife were now all anxiety for this reconciliation. The queen being gone, and William, from his infirmities, not being calculated on for a long life, Marlborough saw Anne at once brought many degrees nearer the throne. Instead of James ever returning, the crafty Marlborough felt sure that, even if William did not succeed in retaining his popularity, any change would seat, not James, but Anne on the throne. It was his interest, therefore, to promote by all means Anne's chance of succession, because, once on the throne, he felt that he should be the ruling power. Anne was, therefore, induced by him and his countess to write a conciliatory letter to William, proposing to wait on him and endeavour to console him in his distress. This had not been effected without some difficulty and delay, but, when once effected, William received the princess very cordially; gave her the greater part of the late queen's jewels, restored all her honours, her name was once more united in the prayers for the royal family, and the foreign ambassadors presented themselves at her house. In one thing, however, Marlborough was disappointed. William did not appoint Anne regent during his absence, as he had hoped, because he knew that that would be the same thing as to make Marlborough viceroy. The king still retained his dislike to the Marlboroughs, and though he permitted them to reside again under the same roof with the princess, he refused for some time to admit Marlborough to kiss his hand in the circle at Kensington, and offered him no renewal of his offices and command.

William entered on the campaign of 1695 under unusual advantages. Louis of France had reduced his country to such distress that he was now obliged to stand on the defensive. The people were loud in their complaints all over France of the merciless exactions for the continuance of the war. They were actually perishing of famine. Barbessieux, the minister, was not able to devise resources like the able Louvois, who was gone; and now Louis had lost by death the great marshal, Luxembourg, who had won for him almost all his martial renown. The forces in Flanders, deprived of their heroic and experienced head, were badly supplied with provisions, badly recruited, and to make all worse, Louis, as he had chosen his prime minister, now selected his general —not from the men of real military talent, but from a courtier and man of pleasure—Villeroi. He was a tall, handsome man, much admired by the ladies, and a reckless gambler, but totally unfit to cope with William in the field. Boufflers was still at the head of a division of the army, but under Villeroi.

Louis was apprehensive that the allies would make a push at Dunkirk. He therefore ordered a new line to be drawn betwixt the Lys and the Scheldt, and every means to be taken to cover Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournai, and Namur. William arrived in the camp of the allies on the 5th of July, and immediately marched against Villeroi, who retired behind his lines betwixt Ypres and Menin. He, however, detached ten thousand men to support Boufflers, who had advanced as far as Pont d'Espières. William then sent forward the elector of Bavaria to confront Boufflers, who also retired behind his lines, and the elector passed the Scheldt, and posted himself at Kirk. William, having thus driven the French to the frontiers of Flanders, then dispatched the baron Von Heyden from the camp of the elector of Bavaria, along with Ginckel, to invest Namur. At the same time, leaving Vaudemont to confront the army of Villeroi on the border of Flanders, William suddenly marched also for Namur, the Brandenburgers having orders to advance from another quarter. William's hope was, by this ably-concerted plan, completely to invest Namur before any fresh troops could be poured into it; but Boufflers, perceiving his design, managed to throw himself into the city with seven regiments of dragoons, by which the garrison was raised to fifteen thousand men. Immediately on the heels of Boufflers arrived William and the elector, and encamped on both sides of the Sambre and Meuse, thus investing the whole place.

They began to throw up their entrenchments on the 6th of July, under the direction of the celebrated engineer, Cohorn. The city had always been strong; it had been of late years made much stronger by Cohorn, and since then the French had added to its defences. Its castle was deemed impregnable; the town was full of provisions and of brave soldiers, and it was regarded as a somewhat rash act in William to attempt so formidable a fortress, with the chance of being taken in the rear by Villeroi at the head of eighty thousand men. The moment that Villeroi saw the object of William he began to put himself in motion to attack Vaudemont, and, having beaten him, to advance on Namur.

Vaudemont, however, began to fortify his camp, and Villeroi's vanguard appearing at Dentreghem, he intrenched himself on both sides. Villeroi made sure, nevertheless, of a complete victory over him, having such a superiority of force, and he sent word to Louis that he would speedily hear of a victory. But Vaudemont, perceiving another body of French advancing from the Scheldt so as to inclose him, very adroitly drew back, and made a retreat, much admired by military judges, to Ghent. Villeroi, thus disappointed, appeared as if intending to invest Newport; but Vaudemont detached a strong force for its defence, and Villeroi turned aside and besieged Dyxmude, where general Ellenberg commanded with eight battalions of foot and a regiment of dragoons; and Deynse, held by general O'Farrell. Both these officers shamefully capitulated in less than a couple of days, and O'Farrell almost before a shot was fired. Vaudemont sent to Villeroi, demanding the surrender of the garrison to him according to a cartel existing betwixt the belligerent powers; but he took no notice of it. No sooner, however, were Ellenberg and O'Farrell again released, than they were tried by court-martial for their dastardly conduct; Ellenberg being shot, and O'Farrell dismissed with infamy.

Villeroi, privately mortified at the cowardice of the duke of Maine, the natural son of Louis by the countess Montespan, who was learning the art of war under him, and who failed, through terror and confusion, to interrupt the retreat of Vaudemont, now marched on Brussels, to avenge on the innocent inhabitants the ravages of the English on the coast towns of France. Vaudemont, who, on the movement of Villeroi towards Brussels, had sent to William for reinforcements to prevent mischief to that city, advanced from Ghent and took post at Dighen. He proposed to occupy the plain betwixt Gigot and St. Pee; and William sent the earl of Athlone (Ginckel) and the count of Nassau, with thirty battalions of infantry and forty squadrons of horse, to a position betwixt Gemappe and Waterloo, and Vaudemont then posted himself betwixt Mountzey and the counterscarp of Ixel, having thus communication with Athlone and Nassau. These movements enabled the allies, who now occupied ground destined to a more famous conflict in our own time, to throw some forces into the city, but not to prevent the design of Villeroi, who sat down at Anderlek, and announced to the governor of Brussels that he had orders to bombard the town; that his royal master most reluctantly resorted to this ruinous expedient, but that the prince of Orange had committed cruel ravages on the French sea-ports, and, in order to prevent his continuance of such practices, he was compelled to retaliate; that he was the more reluctant to fire on the town, because he knew that the electress of Bavaria was in it; but that if the governor would let him know in what part of the town she resided, he would spare that.

This message, so exquisitely French, such an assumed excess of politeness, and such a wanton and unprovoked piece of real brutality, was answered by the elector of Bavaria, who informed Villeroi in what part of the town the electress was quartered, but very properly added that this was no town of the king of England on which to retaliate; that the only justifiable retaliation would be on English towns, but that he would inform the king of the message, and send an answer within twenty-four hours. But Villeroi's orders were to bombard the town, to create an ill-feeling betwixt William and the allies, on whom he had thus brought such a calamity, and he therefore directly opened fire on the place with red-hot balls and shells. The bombardment commenced on the evening of the 13th of August, and continued till the afternoon of the 15th. The city was in a blaze; no less than fifteen hundred houses were burnt down, together with six convents or churches, and many other public buildings. The lower town would have been totally destroyed, had not the inhabitants blown up many houses to cut off the communication of the flames. The noble Hotel de Ville, one of the finest buildings in Europe, and the scene of some striking historical events, was in great danger, and an immense property in Brussels lace and other valuable goods was destroyed. The electress, for whom the king expressed so much concern, miscarried through terror. What does not seem easily explicable, the allies seem to have looked on without making any attempt to interrupt this devastation.

In one respect, however, Villeroi's bombardment failed. It could not, as it was hoped, draw William from the siege of Namur. Villeroi, having done his will on the city, removed to Enghein, and then, evacuating several towns which the French had held for some time, he again advanced to Soignies, close upon William's army; but Vaudemont, having now joined Athlone at Gemappe, the two general, pitched their camp at Mazey, and kept watch on Villeroi.

William was all this time—except for a few days, when he was anxiously observing the French proceedings before Brussels—prosecuting the siege of Namur with a determined ardour which cost a terrible amount of human lives. The trenches had been first opened on the 11th of July, and the batteries on both sides commenced a furious fire. This continued for a week, and on the 18th a storming party, headed by lord Cutts, consisting of five battalions of English, Scotch, and Dutch, attacked the works on the right of the counterscarp, supported by six English battalions under general Fitzpatrick, whilst nine thousand pioneers advanced on the left under general Salisch. Twelve hundred of the allies fell in this bloody action, whilst William, looking on in exultation, thought not of their destruction, but of the bulldog valour of the British soldiers, exclaiming to the elector of Bavaria, "See my brave English! See my brave English!" They drove in the enemy, though at a terrible sacrifice.

On the 27th the English and Scotch again assaulted the counterscarp under Ramsay and Hamilton, supported by the Dutch. They were received by a murderous fire, but rushed on with a courage incredible, and effected a lodgment on the covered way before the gate of St. Nicholas, and also on part of the counterscarp. Whilst this desperate struggle was going on, some persons were killed at William's very side in the trenches. William was always greatly displeased at people who were not soldiers exposing themselves, and had several times discovered his servants near the scene of action, and ordered them away; but to-day Mr. Godfrey, the deputy-governor of the Bank of England, who had come out to arrange the remittances for the army, appeared near him. William warned him away, saying, "As you are no adventurer in the trade of war, Mr. Godfrey, I think you should not expose yourself to the hazards of it." To which Godfrey replied, "Not being more exposed than your majesty, should I be excusable if I showed more concern?" The king said, "Yes; I am in my duty, and, therefore, have a more reasonable claim to preservation." Whilst he was uttering these words, a cannon-ball laid Godfrey dead at his feet.

On the 30th of July the elector of Bavaria attacked Vauban's line that surrounded the defences of the castle, and broke through it, and reached even Cohorn's celebrated fort, under the eyes of Cohorn himself, but could not effect a lodgment in it. On the 2nd of August another party of grenadiers, headed by the dare-devil lord Cutts, attacked and lodged themselves on the second counterscarp. The governor, count Guiscard, now engaged to give up the town, time being allowed for the garrison to retire into the citadel. This being done, and the allies having engaged to give up the one thousand five hundred wounded men left below, on the 13th the bombardment of the fort commenced with renewed fury. Both sides fought with the fanaticism of courage, and committed great havoc on each other. Boufflers at length attempted to cut his way through the besiegers in a headlong sally, but was repulsed, and shut up again.

At this crisis Villeroi's army had reached Fleurus, and fired ninety pieces of cannon to apprise the besieged of their vicinity. William immediately left the conduct of the siege to the elector of Bavaria, and drew out a strong force to confront Villeroi, who was reinforced by a large body of troops from Germany. This was a most anxious moment to the people of both England and France. The armies of the two nations were drawn out against each other, and covered the plains of the Sambre and the Meuse. Boufflers was urging Villeroi to strike a decisive stroke for his deliverance and the rescue of Namur, and William had Boufflers in his rear if he was beaten by Villeroi.

At Versailles Louis was imploring heaven for victory, with all his court on their knees, confessing and receiving the eucharist; and in London the Jacobites, frantic with confident expectation that now William would be annihilated, filled London with all sorts of horrible rumours and alarms. But after having faced each other for three days, Villeroi saw that the position and numbers of the allies were too formidable, and he quietly decamped along the river Mehaigne to Boneffe. As Boufflers was now left without hope of succour, the allies informed him of the retreat of Villeroi, and summoned him to surrender without occasioning more slaughter. But there was a tradition in the French army that no marshal of France had ever capitulated, and he stood out. The bombardment re-commenced on the 21st with sixty-six cannon and sixty mortars, and, says Ralph, "As if the besiegers had designed to level the walls like those of Jericho, with one blast, the dreadful business of the day was opened with one general discharge from all these batteries at the same instant with such an effect, that not only the whole circumference of the castle, but the very hill it stood on, seemed to reel with the shock, and to be lost in the cloud of dust and smoke that followed it. Scarce could the besiegers themselves sustain the horror of their own experiment; and, as to the besieged, their consternation and confusion were inexpressible; those that escaped could scarcely believe that they had escaped; every object round about them wore a face of ruin; for bursting bombs, fractured battlements, dying men, and horses staking themselves on the palisadoes, or plunging headlong into the ditches in a fit of ungovernable frenzy, were the only objects they were surrounded with."

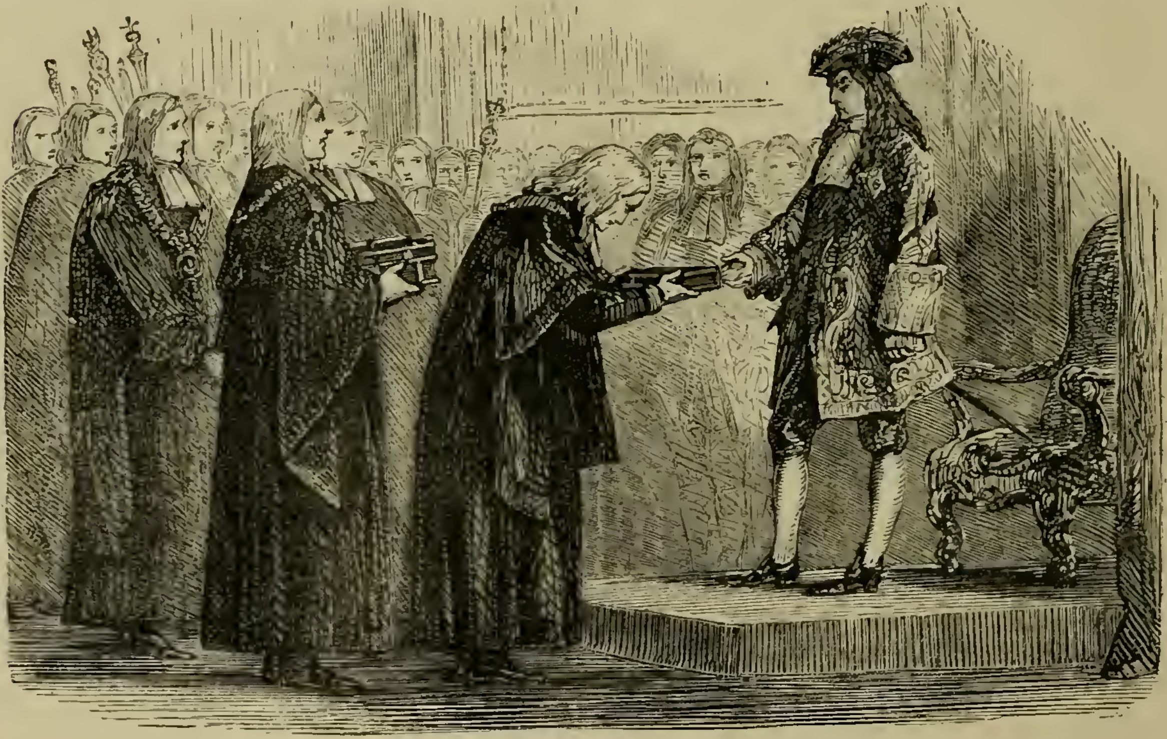
Yet this did not induce Boufflers to surrender; there must be yet more carnage Early in the afternoon an assault was made in four places at once. Cutts, as usual, led on the chief body of grenadiers. They were mowed down by wholesale. Cutts himself received a wound in the head, which disabled him for some time; and, whilst his wound was bandaging, the grenadiers recoiled before the murdering fire from the batteries. But again Cutts presented himself at their head, and they turned to support a body of Bavarians who were ordered to support them, but who were in vain endeavouring to force the palisadoes, and were fast being shot down. The English coming up as they were on the point of giving way, by a desperate effort burst through the palisadoes, stormed the battery which had made such havoc with the Bavarians, and turned the guns against the enemy. In the meantime the Dutch and Brandenburgers had also been successful; lodgments were made for a mile in length in the French outworks, but two thousand of the allies had fallen.

Boufflers now demanded forty-eight hours to bury his dead, which was granted him; and, in truth, he had need of it, for his trenches were all choked with the fallen, and his force was already reduced to about one-third its original strength. When he entered the town the garrison mustered fifteen thousand men; now it was only about five thousand. When the dead were buried, Boufflers offered to surrender in ten days if he were not relieved before; but the allies would not listen to anything but an immediate surrender, and he complied, on condition that the garrison should be allowed to march out with the honours of war, but leaving the artillery and stores to the conquerors. The allies announced the surrender to Villeroi by the discharge of all their artillery, and by a running fire of all their musketry three times repeated. He knew the meaning of it, and retreated towards Mons.

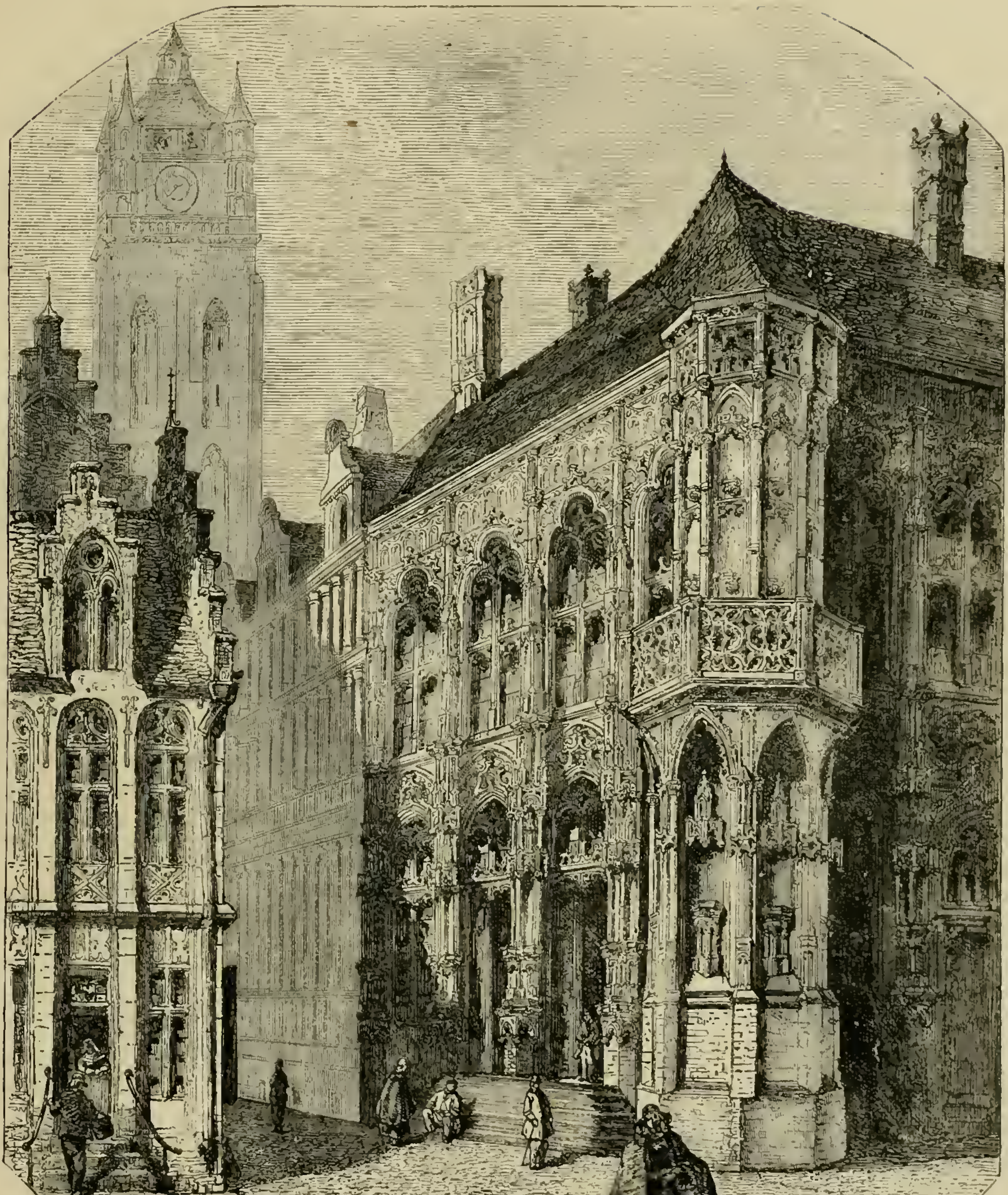
Accordingly, on the 26th of August, Boufflers marched forth with drums beating and flags flying, William, the elector of Bavaria, and all the officers being assembled to witness this gratifying spectacle. Boufflers lowered his sword in token of submission to the elector of Bavaria, and the troops marched on. Before Boufflers, however, passed out of the trenches, Dykvelt informed him that he was the prisoner of the king of England. Boufflers was highly enraged at what he regarded as an act of gross perfidy; but he was informed that he was detained in consequence of his sovereign having broken the cartel, and refused to deliver up the two captured garrisons of Dyxmude and Deynse, and that he was held as a hostage for the faithful discharge of the articles agreed upon. There was no denying the perfidy of his king, which had caused this refusal, and Boufflers sent an express to inform Louis, who immediately returned a promise that the garrisons should be sent back, and Boufflers was forthwith released. On his return to Fontainebleau, he was received by Louis as if he were a conqueror, and created a duke, with a grant of money to enable him to support his new rank.

This was the great event of the campaign, and spread exultation throughout all the countries of the allies. It seemed to wipe out the successive defeats of Mons, Fleurus, Landen, and the former loss of Namur; it showed the allies at length victorious, and Louis discomfited and on the wane. William retired for a while to his favourite Loo, leaving the elector of Bavaria to command the army, which towards the end of September retired into winter quarters. In other quarters nothing very decisive had taken place. Marshal de Lorges had once more crossed the Rhine, and once more menaced the unfortunate Heidelberg; but the prince of Baden, joined by some of the Confederates, approached De Lorges' camp at Bruchsal, and he made a hasty retreat across the Rhine again. In the east the sultan died, and was succeeded by his nephew Mustapha, and the new sultan crossed the Danube, took Lippa and Titul by storm, attacked, defeated, and killed general Veterani at Logos, and then retreated to Orsowa. In Piedmont the duke of Savoy took Casale; and in Catalonia, by the presence of Russell on the coast, the French were compelled to evacuate Ostalric and Castle-Follit, and might have been driven entirely out, but, as usual, the viceroy and his Spaniards engaging to unite with Russell in reducing Palamos, fell back and left Russell to bombard the town alone. Russell complained that the Spaniards had made no preparations whatever for the campaign, and failed altogether in their engagements to supply the British with tents and provisions. On the 27th of August Russell sailed for the coast of Provence, but was compelled by stress of weather to return to Cadiz, where he left Sir David Mitchel with a division of the fleet, and returned to England with the rest.

Lord Berkeley had meantime been engaged, with the Dutch admiral Allemonde, in harassing the French coast. On the 4th of July they attempted to bombard St. Malo, but received more injury than they did the town. On the 6th they assaulted Granville. A similar attack was made on Dunkirk by the Dutch engineer Meesters, but with little effect. Another English squadron, under captain Wilmot and colonel Lilingston, was sent to seize the towns of the French in Hispaniola, in conjunction with the Spaniards; but Wilmot, one of the commanders, behaved very ill, seeking plunder for his own benefit instead of conquest for his country. Lilingston strongly remonstrated, and there was nothing but dissension amongst the officers, and the remains of the expedition returned to England, having failed to do any real service. The marquis of Caermarthen also disgraced himself. He was stationed off the Scilly Isles to look out for French privateers, which swarmed in both channels; but, seeing a number of merchantmen together, he mistook them for the Brest fleet, and made away with all haste to Milford Haven. The sea being left open in consequence, the French committed great depredations on our traders, taking a considerable number of ships homeward bound from Barbadoes. The merchants complained bitterly of the mismanagement



Presentation of an Address to William III. at Oxford.



THE HOTEL DE VILLE, GHENT.

which thus victimised them, but to little purpose; for the Jacobite traitors in the government were not only careless to defend their country from the French, but they were still active to give the enemy the earliest notice of all the English movements, by which they were able to do them such constant injury.

William arrived in London from Holland on the 20th of October. He was received with acclamations, illuminations, and ringing of bells. His progress through London and to Kensington was like that of a conqueror. As if he was destined to take no rest, that very day the council was assembled, and it was concluded to dissolve parliament. William, however, had been enjoying relaxation at Loo, and no doubt this question of the dissolution of parliament had been discussed and arranged prior to his arrival. It was deemed much better to take the nation at this moment when it was in a good humour, than to defer it till the 25th of next March, when, by the Triennial Act, it must expire, and the public mind might possibly be different. There was another motive which was said to operate with William—the impeachment of Leeds. We have seen that William had a great reluctance to bring great delinquents to justice; but in the case of Leeds there were causes for this reluctance which we must respect It was to Leeds, as Lord Danby, that William owed his match with Mary, and Mary had always had the greatest regard for Leeds, and he had, on his part, served her assiduously during William's absences. A new parliament would not be likely to take up again his impeachment, and accordingly, the old one was dissolved, and the new one called for the 22nd of November.

This announcement threw into full activity the newly acquired liberty of the press. Since the revolution, spite of the restrictions of the censorship, the press had been extremely busy, and when it was obliged to work in secret, it had been all the more venomous. The Jacobites had employed it to spread sedition and lies, it now came strongly forward in favour of the king and the constitution. There were abundance of tracts on the subject of the election, and besides the old news-letters, there were regular newspapers which advocated their own views, but with a decency and moderation which surprised all parties. Probably they were so delighted with their new liberty as to be anxious not to risk any withdrawal of it. Amongst the pamphlets was one, the last literary effort of Halifax, called, "Some Cautions Offered to those who are to Choose Members," which gave some good advice, especially not to choose lawyers, because they were in the habit of pleading on both sides, and were sure to look after their own advancement more than after that of the country; nor officers in the army, who, he thought, were out of place in parliament, and attempting to do what no man can ever do—serve two masters. He also warned them against pensioners and dependents on the crown, who do not make good representatives of the people; and against those who, for reasons best known to themselves, had opposed the Triennial Bill. Finally, he bade them seek honest Englishmen, but warned them that they were not very easy to find.

If the people were alert to secure good representatives, William, for once, shook off his reserve and made a progress amongst his subjects to win popularity. There were six weeks till the meeting of the new parliament, and he resolved to see something of his subjects, and let them see something of him, in the meantime. Before leaving town, too, he paid a visit to the princess of Denmark, and there a very agreeable bit of flattery was prepared for him. Anne's son, the duke of Gloucester, a child only six years of age, presented himself with a little musket on his shoulder, and said he was learning his drill to help his uncle to beat the French. William was delighted by the circumstance, and before leaving London invested the little hero with the garter.

William first directed his course to Newmarket, a place much more frequented by Charles and James than by himself. There he was waited on by a deputation of heads of houses and learned doctors from Cambridge, who made him a very complimentary address on his splendid campaign and safe return, but gave him no invitation to honour the university by a visit. Thence he went to Althorpe, the seat of Sunderland, who, no doubt, was only too happy to receive such a mark of royal favour after his disgraces, rebuffs, and zealous endeavours to climb again to power. He entertained the king with all the splendour and profusion of a brother prince, and the nobility and gentry of the country round flocked hither to kiss his hand. Thence he travelled on to "Burleigh House by Stamford town," the seat of the earl of Exeter, thence to Lincoln, and so to Welbeck Abbey, the seat of the duke of Newcastle, since fallen by heritage, as if by the wish of William himself, to the descendants of his friend, the earl of Portland. From Welbeck, William directed his course to the earl of Stamford's at Bradgate Park, near Leicester, the old seat of the Greys of Groby, and where Ascham represented lady Jane Grey as reading Plato whilst the rest of the family were hunting; so on to lord Brook's at Warwick Castle, to the duke of Shrewsbury at Eyefort, into Gloucestershire, back by Woodstock to Oxford, at which place he was met by the duke of Ormond as chancellor of the university, the vice-chancellor, and the doctors and magistrates in full costume. A Latin oration was addressed to him, of which we may fairly predicate that William would not understand many words, our English pronunciation of Latin being so different to that of all the world besides. He was presented with the usual compliments of a Bible, a prayer-book, a pair of gold-fringed gloves, &c., and was about to sit down to a superb banquet in the theatre, when an anonymous letter found in the street, warning him not to eat in Oxford or he would be poisoned, cut short the festivity, and he made an early departure for Windsor. He was welcomed back to London by a grand display of fireworks in St. James's Square, given by Sydney, now earl of Romney.

On his journey the gentry had flocked to his stopping places from all quarters, and William had done his best to make himself agreeable; and what with the well-chosen time for the election, and this popular conduct, the new parliament returned proved to be greatly in favour of the government. Some of the members of the late parliament most opposed to government were not returned—as Sir John Knight, for Bristol, who had been so furious against William's favourite Dutchmen, and Seymour, for Exeter. Neither could John Hampden, who had saved his neck in the Rye House Plot by the loss of character, and had since shown as much insolence in parliament as he did meanness then, get returned, and in his mortification he committed suicide,—to such degeneracy had fallen the grandson of the illustrious patriot.

When parliament met on the 22nd, they again chose Foley as speaker of the commons. The king, in his speech, again demanded large supplies for the continuance of the war, and informed them that the funds granted the last session had fallen far short of the expenses. This was by no means agreeable news, and William well knew that there was a large party in the country which complained loudly of this system of foreign warfare, which, like a bottomless gulf, swallowed up all the resources of the country. But he took care to flatter the national vanity by praising the valour of the English soldiers, and by expressing his confidence that England would never consent to the French king making himself master of Europe, and that nothing but the power and bravery of England could prevent it. He complained that his civil list was fixed so low that he could not live upon it; and, passing from his own affairs, he strongly recommended to their consideration the deplorable state of the coinage.

When the address came to be considered, there were some strong speeches made against the enormous demands made by the king for this continual war, which really concerned his own country, yet ours had to pay for it. Musgrave and Howe represented the nation as actually bleeding to death under the effects of this Dutch vampyrism; but William had touched the right chord in the national character, and an address of thanks and zealously promised support was carried. The commons likewise voted again above five millions for the services of the year.

The first business which occupied the attention of the commons was the state of the currency. The old silver coin had become so clipped and sweated that, on an average, it now possessed little more than half its proper weight. The consequence was, all transactions in the country were in a state of confusion, and the most oppressive frauds were practised, especially on the poor. They were paid in this nominal coin, but, when they offered it for the purchase of the articles of life, the vendors refused to receive it at more than its intrinsic worth, by which means the price of everything was nearly doubled. The old hammered money was easily imitated, and whilst the clippers went on diminishing the weight of the coin, the forgers were as busy producing spurious imitations of it. The most terrible examples were made of such coiners, till juries refused to send such numbers of them to be hanged. All money-dealers took the advantage to receive the coin only at its value by weight, but paid it out by tale, and thus made enormous fortunes. The house of Duncombe, earls of Feversham, is said to have thus raised itself from insignificance to a coronet.

The house of lords, therefore, took up the subject of a recoinage, and invited the commons to unite with them in it; but the commons, considering it a matter more properly belonging to them, went into a committee of the whole house on the subject. The debate continued for several days. There was a strong party opposed to a recoinage, on the ground that, if the silver coin were called in, there would be no money to pay the soldiers abroad, nor for merchants to take up their bills of exchange with; that the consequence would be universal stagnation and misery. But at this rate the old coin must have staid out so long that literally there would none of it be left. It was resolved to have a new coinage; but Lowndes, the secretary of the treasury, proposed that the standard should be lowered—in fact, that a nominal instead of a real value should be impressed upon it; that ninepence should be called a shilling—as if thereby any greater value could be given to it. This mode of raising the price of everything by lowering the value of the coinage, which would now be laughed at by the merest tyro in political economy, had then its partisans; but John Locke exploded the whole delusion in a little tract written at the desire of Somers, which showed all the inconveniences and injustice which would flow from a lowered standard. There were, however, other difficulties to be met, and these were, whether the government or the public should bear the loss of the clipped coin, and by what means it could best be called in. If the government bore the loss, and ordered all persons to bring in their clipped coin and receive full-weighted coin instead, that would be a direct premium on clipping, and all the coin would be clipped before it was paid in. Somers proposed as a remedy to proclaim that all the hammered coins should henceforth be taken by government only by weight; but that, after having been weighed within three days, every one should take it back with a note authorising him to receive the difference between the deficiency of weight and the full weight at a future time. By this means government would have suffered the loss.

Locke, on the contrary, proposed that government should receive all clipped coin up to a day to be announced, at full value; after that day only at its value by weight; and something of this kind was carried by Montague after a debate in the house. It was ordered that, after a certain day, no clipped money should pass, except in payment of taxes, or as loans to government. After another fixed day, no clipped money should pass in any payment whatsoever; and that, on a third day, all persons should bring in all their clipped money to be recoined, making just what it would, and after that time clipped money should not be a legal tender at any value, or be received at the mint.

By this plan the holders of clipped money suffered part of the loss where they could not be in time; but the public eventually bore the greatest part of it, for a bill was brought in to indemnify government for its share of the loss, by a duty on glass windows, which was calculated to raise twelve hundred thousand pounds. This was the origin of that window-tax which under William Pitt's government grew to such a nuisance.

In order to meet the demand for milled and unclipped coin to be given in exchange for the clipped coin to be brought in, premiums were offered of five per cent. on good milled money, and of threepence per pound on all plate that should be brought in to melt into the new coins. The 4th of May, 1696, was fixed as the last day for receiving the clipped money in payment of taxes; and early in February furnaces were at work melting down the old coin into ingots, which were sent to the Tower in readiness, and the coining began. Ten of these furnaces were erected in a garden behind the Treasury; yet, in spite of every endeavour to prevent inconvenience to the public, the Jacobites managed to excite great alarm in the minds of the people. There was a widespread panic that there would be great personal losses and wrongs, and that all receipts of money would be stopped, and that there would be general distress. The malcontents attacked Montague and the other ministers in the house; the merchants demanded indemnification for the rise which guineas had taken, namely, from twenty shillings and sixpence to thirty shillings, in consequence of the scarcity of the silver coinage; for a guinea now, instead of purchasing twenty shillings' worth of their goods, would purchase one-third more; so that their stocks were reduced one-third in value till the silver coinage was again plentiful. Parliament, to remove this cause of complaint, inserted a clause in the bill, offering a premium on plate, fixing the price of a guinea at two-and-twenty shillings. Still, however, people imagined that guineas would be scarce, and so gold would rise, and hoarded them up, which made them scarce. But government worked manfully at the recoining. Mints were set up at York, Bristol, Exeter, and Chester as well as in London, and in less than twelve months the coinage was produced with such success that the English currency, which had been the worst, was now the best in Europe.

The bill for regulating the trials for high treason was again brought in, and having now been steadily refused by the lords unless with their clause for granting them the privilege of trying any of their order by the whole house of peers instead of by the court of the lord high steward, the commons now gave way, allowed the clause, and the bill passed. It was ordered to take effect on the 25th of March next, 1696.

A subject of strong national interest was now forced on parliament by William's inordinate desire to advance his Dutch favourites. He had made Ginckel, who had not been very disinterested in his Irish management, earl of Athlone, and Schomberg duke of Leinster; but Portland was his especial friend, and he sought to endow him right royally. Historians, excusing William for his excessive liberality, contend that these men were the most faithful friends that ever man had, which is, no doubt, a very good reason for his rewarding them; but it would have been more becoming had he done it, Dutchmen as they were, out of his own Dutch estates, and not out of the estates of the crown of England, especially when he was already annually complaining of the scantiness of his own allowance from the nation. Now, however, he went a step too far, for he gave to Portland the three lordships of Denbigh, Bamfield, and Yale, in Wales, which belonged to the crown, and which had once been given by queen Elizabeth to *her* favourite, Leicester, but which the high-spirited Welsh had forced her to recall. A deputation of Welshmen, headed by Sir William Williams, obtained an audience at the Treasury, and represented that these lands were part of the demesnes of the prince of Wales, and that royal honours were attached to them which could not be paid to any subject except the prince of Wales; that the revenue of them went to support the government of Wales, to pay the salaries of the judges and other officers.

These representations produced no effect on the determined mind of the Dutch king, but the warm blood of the Welsh soon made a more lively impression on his cold blood. They sent up a plain-spoken petition, which was presented to the commons by Mr. Price, a Welsh member, who declaimed in a style on this royal job which spared neither the Dutch nor their prince. He declared that these lands, by which the people of Wales were bound to do service to their owner as to a prince, could go to no subject, much less to a foreigner; that the king, of course, could not be expected to know these circumstances, being a foreigner, any more than the English knew his counsels, which he wished they did; that the ministers who sanctioned these grants were traitors to the laws and liberties of England for not having informed the king that it was contrary to the coronation oath of the kings of England to alienate the patrimony of the crown without the consent of parliament, but that ministers and courtiers who surrounded the throne were always nibbling at its estates, and encouraging these alienations for their own benefit; that the Dutch were undermining us in all ways. These lands were worth at least one hundred thousand pounds, and, besides the three lordships, they included other property worth three thousand pounds a year. They were filching away our crown property and our trade; they had joined with the Scotch to ruin our English commerce, and he attributed to them the destruction of our coinage. We saw foreigners thrust into all places of honour and profit, to the exclusion of Englishmen. They were made great barons, they were in the king's council, in the army, and they had become naturalised, and had grasped the best of our trade in the city. How, he asked, was England likely to flourish when we had these men both in the English and the Dutch councils? How was a prince of Wales to be supported when his estates were given to the Dutch? and when he came to the throne he would appear there like another John Lackland. In short, we were on the highway to become a Dutch colony.

Roused by this speech, the commons went in a body to Kensington, and presented a strong remonstrance on the subject William received them coldly; told them that he was not aware that there were constitutional objections to this particular grant, and, therefore, would recall it; but that he had a kindness for lord Portland, who had deserved well of him, and, therefore, he would find some other way of showing his favour to him. Accordingly, he very soon conferred on him the manors of Grantham, Drakelow, Pevensey, East Greenwich, &c., in the counties of Lincoln, Cheshire, Sussex, and Kent, together with the honours of Penrith, in Cumberland, and other manors in Norfolk, York, and Lancashire. The extraordinary profuseness of these grants appeared as if intended to show the parliament that he would only give away the more for their remonstrance, and the murmuring at this lavish heaping of favours on a foreigner was universal. Portland, no more than his master, had taken any pains to ingratiate himself with the English; he was, like him, cold and retiring. William's popularity sunk rapidly, and even the house of lords took up the subject of the encroachment of the Dutch and Scotch on the commerce of the country. They requested a conference with the commons on the subject. It was insinuated that Portland had favoured the granting of the late charter to the Scotch for trading to India and Africa, and that it was done to promote a union of the Dutch and Scotch for the infringement of the English commerce. They joined in an address to the king representing that the late act of the Scottish parliament granting to the company the right to trade to the East and West Indies, and freeing them from all taxation, would enable them to undersell the English merchants, and make Scotland the mart for all the commodities of the East and West Indies; that it was impossible for the English merchants to bear up under such disadvantages, for the Scotch would clandestinely introduce their importations into England, and thus completely undermine them.

The king admitted that he had been imposed on by the Scotch ministers, and soon after removed the marquis of Tweeddale, and the two secretaries of state. But the committee of both houses did not let the matter rest. The East India Company, at the bottom of the movement, sent in a petition, affirming that the Scotch company were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour in taking an oath *de fidele* in this kingdom, and demanding their impeachment. But Roderick Mackenzie, who was to prove this fact, escaped, and the inquiry failed. It served, however, to render William extremely unpopular in Scotland. "When," says Burnet, "it was understood in Scotland that the king had disowned that act from which it was expected that great riches should flow into that kingdom, it is not easy to conceive how great and how general an indignation spread over the whole kingdom." Nor was the ferment less here. The English merchants complained so loudly both of the injury done by these means and by the war itself, that a motion was made in the commons for establishing a council of trade for watching over and protecting the commerce of England; that the commissioners constituting the council should be nominated by parliament, but that none of them should be members of parliament.

William took great offence at this proposal; he declared it an attempt to usurp his prerogative, and he and his immediate advisers suspected that if this council were once established, it would soon enlarge its powers, if nominated by parliament, proceed in a while to appoint convoys and cruisers on pretence of protecting trade, which would only require another step to include the affairs and the payment of the navy. What greatly piqued William was, that Sunderland, who had lately been received into his favour, was one of the most zealous advocates of this rival power in the executive. But from this danger the king was rescued by another, which at first appeared formidable, but which eventually served to restore his popularity.

This was no other than a great Jacobite plot for his assassination, with which the year 1696 opened. James had tried the effect of declarations proposing to protect the liberties of the subject and the rights of the established church, and nobody believed him, and with good reason. Even Bossuet, the celebrated bishop of Meaux, had been induced, at the command of Louis, to give his opinion, that James might fairly promise all this with a secret determination to break his word the moment that he was firmly restored. The infamous Melfort had written to cardinal Janson, inclosing Bossuet's opinion, to get him to procure the pope's sanction to this Jesuitical *ruse*, but, from some cause, the packet never went, and has been discovered in the archives of Versailles. And this letter of Melfort's was written at the same time that James signed the declaration declaring that he intended to come to England "to vindicate his own right, and to establish the liberties of his people," and praying God to give him success in his enterprise, as he "sincerely intended to keep his word." His prayer was, in fact, heard; for, as he never meant to keep his word, so he had never any chance of breaking it. Seeing, therefore, that empty pretences availed nothing, he thought seriously of invasion, and of something worse, of preparing his way by the assassination of William. During the winter of 1695-6 Louis fell into his schemes. In 1694 two emissaries, Crosley and Parker, had been sent over from St. Germains to London to excite the Jacobites to insurrection; but they had been discovered and imprisoned. Parker contrived to escape out of the Tower, but Crosley was examined; but, nothing being positively proved against him, he was liberated on bail. It was now resolved to send over fresh and more important agents—one of these no less a person than the duke of Berwick, James's son, and Sir George Barclay.

The fact was that there were two parts of the scheme. As in the conspiracy of Grey and Raleigh in the time of James I., there was "the main plot" and "the bye plot," so there was here a general scheme for an invasion, and a particular scheme for the assassination of the king. This assassination was to come off first, and an army and transports were to be ready on the French coast, to take advantage of the consternation occasioned by the murder. The management of the general plot was confided to Berwick, and of the murder plot to Barclay. Berwick must be supposed to be well aware of the assassination scheme from the first, for both James and Louis undoubtedly were, and the whole movements of the army and navy were made dependent on it. But if Berwick did not know of it at first, he was made acquainted with it in London, as we shall see; but it was the policy of both Louis, James, and Berwick, to avoid all appearance of a cognisance, which would have covered them with infamy;—that was to fall on the lesser tools of their diabolical scheme, and they were to reap the benefit of it.

A mode of communication betwixt the court of St. Germains and the Jacobites in England had long been established through a man named Hunt, who was a noted smuggler. This man had a house about half a mile from the Sussex coast, on Romney Marsh. The whole country round was a boggy and dreary waste, therefore having scarcely an inhabitant, was admirably adapted to both the smuggling in of French goods and French plots. There Barclay landed in January and proceeded to London. He was followed in a few days by the duke of Berwick, and very soon by about twenty coadjutors, some of whom were troopers of James's guard, amongst them one named Cassels, another brigadier Ambrose Rookwood, one of a family which had been in almost every plot since the gunpowder plot, and a major John Bernardi, a man of Italian origin.

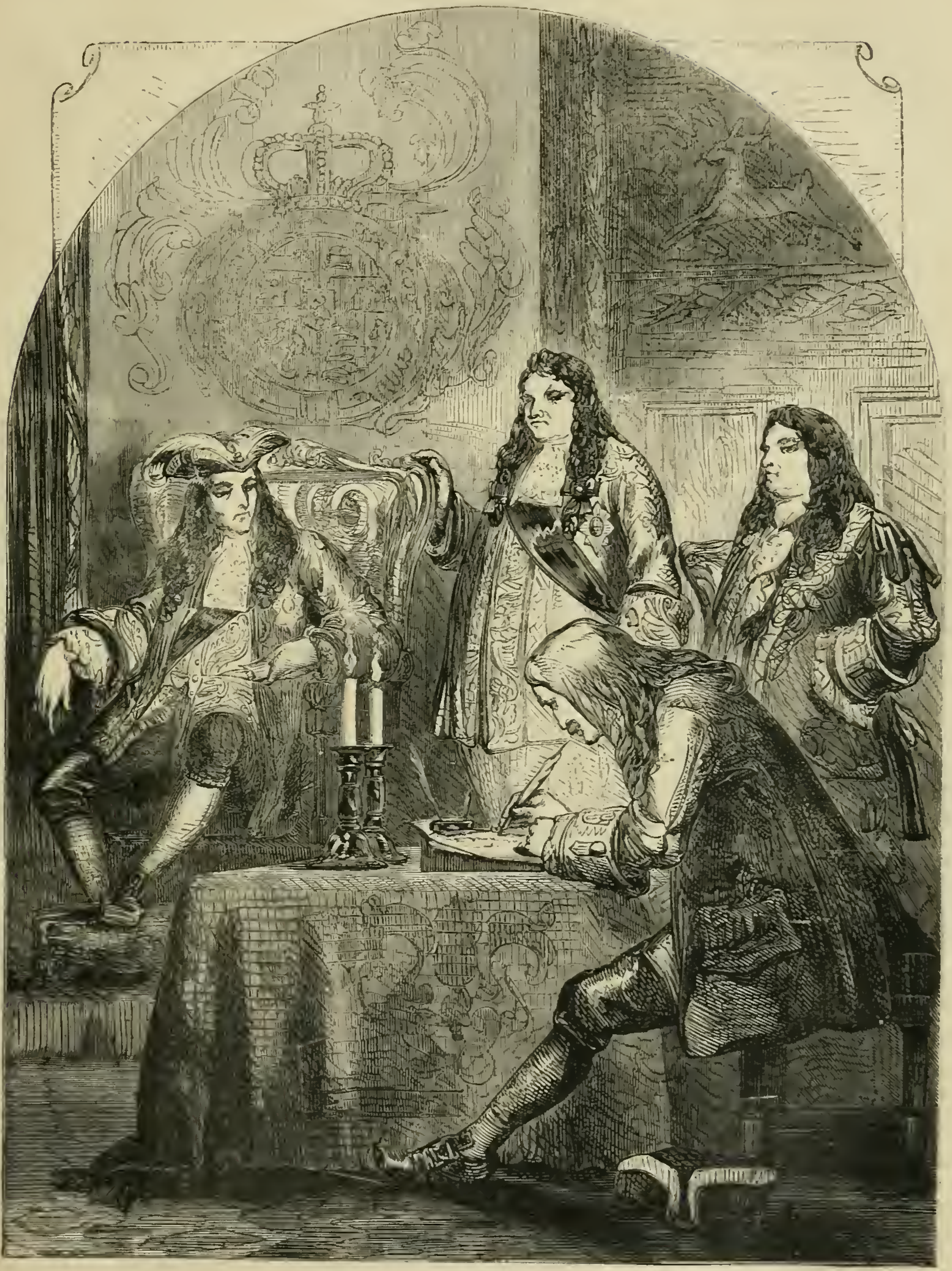
James saw and instructed many of these men himself before their leaving St. Germains, and furnished them with funds. He had given Barclay eight hundred pounds to pay expenses and engage coadjutors, which Barclay complained of as a miserable and insufficient sum. These men were now informed that they must put themselves under the orders of Barclay, and they would easily discover him at evening walking in the piazza of Covent Garden, and might recognise him by his white handkerchief hanging from his pocket. Meantime, Barclay had begun to open communication with the most determined Jacobites. The first of these were Charnock, who had originally been a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, but had apostatised, become a violent papistical agitator, and finally an officer in James's army; and Sir William Parkyns, a lawyer and officer of the court of chancery, for whilst plotting against the king, he had sworn fidelity to him, and was receiving his pay. These men most gladly united with Barclay, for they had been engaged in the very same design for some time. They assured him that there was no chance of effecting an invasion without preceding it by dispatching William. But to do this they wanted first an authority from the king, James, and to know that it would be followed up. Hereupon Barclay showed them his commission from James. This commission, according to the Jacobite Memoir of James itself, ran thus:—"James R.—Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby fully authorise, strictly require, and expressly command our loving subjects to rise in arms and make war upon the prince of Orange, the usurper of our throne, and all his adherents, and to seize for our use all such forts, towns, strongholds, within our dominion of England, as may serve to further our interest, and *to do*, from time to time, *such other acts of hostility against the prince of Orange* and his adherents, as may conduce most for our service, we judging this the properest, justest, and most effectual means of procuring our restoration and their deliverance; and we do hereby indemnify them for what they shall act in pursuance of this our royal command. Given at our court of St. Germains en Liege, the 27th of December, 1695."

Louis, James, and the Jacobites contended, when the conspiracy was discovered, that this commission gave no warrant, and was intended to give none, to assassination, but only to general warfare; but it spoke as plainly as the royal authors of such a scheme could venture to speak; it was immediately understood by those to whom it was shown to mean killing William by any "act of hostility" that should best serve; and that this was more fully explained by private instructions, there can be no doubt. The whole proceeding turned on this proposed murder. The army and fleet at Calais waited for it; James and Louis waited for it before putting these in motion, and when the attempt at assassination failed, James abandoned the intended invasion in despair, thus showing that the whole hope of success depended on the assassination.

As Barclay's myrmidons arrived from France his hopes grew high; he called them his Janissaries, and said he trusted they would win a star and garter for him. He wanted forty for his purposes, and these men made up at once half the number. One of the earliest persons to whom the plot was confided, was Sir John Friend, a great brewer, who was a flaming Jacobite, and had received a colonel's commission from James; but Friend, though ready to promote an invasion, would have nothing to do with assassination, but promised to keep the secret. Charnock, however, promised to bring in eight or ten stout conspirators, and amongst these was George Porter, a low, debauched fellow, given up to all kinds of filthy dissipations, and supposed to be both a clipper of coin and a highwayman. Barclay endeavoured to decline such an ally, whose character was too notorious to be concealed, but Charnock and his friends declared that their lives were as dear to them as Barclay's was to him, and that they would not have trusted Porter if they knew him to be a drunkard and a blab. Porter was accordingly admitted, and expressed the utmost zeal in the undertaking. But he had a servant, Thomas Keyes, who had been a trumpeter in the Blues, and had been out in Monmouth's insurrection. He was declared by Porter to be a most desirable coadjutor, for he had still acquaintance amongst the Blues, who were inclined, unlike other household troops, to disaffection, and could bring them accurate news of the king's movements. After Keyes, came in Lowick, who had been a major in James's Irish army, and captain Knightley, who told Barclay that himself, one Durance, and others had for some time had a design to kill the king as he went to hunt in Richmond Park; that they had surveyed the ground several times and found it admirable. He introduced Durance, and the three went to the place, and found it a hunting-house kept by one Latten.

Barclay did not approve of the place, but proposed another, and they were joined by one captain Fisher, who lived in King Street, Westminster, and who proposed to kill one of the coach-horses with his own hand. Knightley now introduced King, and King a Frenchman named De la Rue, a blustering, gambling fellow.

It was evident that the number of conspirators was getting far too numerous, and far too indiscriminate in character for safety. It was necessary to use dispatch, and Barclay tells us that he was constantly studying how and where best to accomplish their object. He set Durance and another to haunt the neighbourhood of the palace, and to learn through Keyes the king's motions; that he went to Kensington and to every place which William frequented, to find out the best spot and opportunity. A major Holmes was his chief companion on these occasions. At last they fixed on Turnham Green as the best for their purpose. They learned that when William returned from hunting he crossed the river there by the ferry-boat, not getting out of his carriage, and that he did not wait for his guards, but drove on from the water-side till they overtook him. It was a low, swampy place, hidden amongst bushes at the western end of the green. The conspirators were now thirty-five, while the king had rarely more than twenty-five guards with him. The day fixed was Saturday, the 15th of February, for it was on Saturdays that William made these hunting excursions. As soon as they knew that the king went, the conspirators were to follow in different bodies, and from different directions, so as to avoid observation. They were to remain at small public-houses near the crossing-place, and as soon as their scouts gave them notice of the king's party approaching the Surrey side of the river, they were to put themselves in side lanes, to be ready to intercept him. They were to divide into four sets, one headed by Porter, one by Charnock, a third by Rookwood, and the fourth by Barclay himself. Two parties were



EXAMINATION OF PENDERGRAST.

simultaneously to rush upon the coach as it passed a cross road, one from each side; Rookwood was to come from his hiding-place in the rear, and Barclay to appear in front, and to him the death of the king was assigned. Horses and arms were purchased by Barclay for the occasion, and the horses were kept in different stables, so as to excite no suspicion.

All was now in readiness. The duke of Berwick had remained in London till matters were in this position. He had been equally busy in endeavouring to induce the Jacobite leaders to rise in arms. He told them that his father, with ten thousand soldiers, was lying at Calais ready to cross when this movement was made, but that the king of France would not consent to the army crossing till the English had given proof of their being in earnest to receive king James in arms. Nor could they think this unreasonable; he had twice sent expeditions to co-operate with them, once in 1690, when De Tourville landed in Devonshire, and again in 1692, when his fleet had come up to our very shores in expectation of being joined by the English fleet, but, on the contrary, had been attacked by that fleet, and the losses at La Hogue suffered in consequence. They could not expect Louis to venture his ships and troops again till he saw a real demonstration for James in England; then his army would cross at once. But these representations were all lost on the Jacobites; they continued to say, Only let James land with an army, and they were ready to join him. Berwick returned to France, and hastened to inform James, whom he met on the way to Calais to join the invading army, that there was no chance of a rising in England till a French army landed, but that he had a confident hope that the conspirators would succeed in dispatching William, and then would be the time to cross over. James went on to Calais to the army which Boufflers was called from Flanders to command, and Berwick went on to Versailles to communicate to Louis the state of affairs, and all parties waited for the falling of the blow in England.

Such was now the position of these two monarchs and the duke of Berwick, whom the Jacobite writers have so confidently endeavoured to clear of the crime of participating in this base scheme of assassination. True, Berwick whilst in England would have nothing to do with the conspiracy itself, because, he declared, it was—not criminal, no, that was not his objection—but it was too dangerous, and would probably cause all engaged in it to be hanged. On the safe side of the water, therefore, whilst the humbler ruffians were risking their necks for them, these three arch-assassins waited for the signal that the deed was done—a fire which was to be lit on one of the Kentish hills

Meantime the conspiracy was suffering, as might have been expected, from the admission of too many colleagues. As the time approached. Fisher, who had boasted that he would himself kill one of the king's coach-horses, went and informed Portland that there was a design of taking the king's life. Portland at first paid little attention to this information, but it was soon confirmed in a manner which left him no alternative but to apprise the king of it. On the evening of the 14th a Mr. Pendergrast, a catholic gentleman of Hampshire, waited on Portland and assured him that if the king went on the morrow to hunt he was certain to be assassinated. Pendergrast said the king was the enemy of his religion, but that his religion would not permit him to see such a thing done without giving him a warning, and he entreated Portland to induce the king not to go out on any account. When pressed to name his accomplices, he declined, saying they were his friends, and one of them his benefactor; he would not betray them.

The fact was, that Porter had sent for Pendergrast up from the country to take part in the assassination; but, though he was under great obligations to Porter, he refused. He would have been ready to unite in an invasion, but not in a murder.

The king was with difficulty prevented by Portland from going, but he did stay; and when it was announced to the conspirators that the king had given up hunting for that day, they were a good deal startled; but, as the weather was assigned as the cause, they imagined they were still unbetrayed, and waited for the next Saturday, one of them, Chambers, a great ruffian, who had been severely wounded at the battle of the Boyne, and had a savage malice against William, vowing to have his life yet or lose his own.

Betwixt this day and the next Saturday, however, De la Rue had grown afraid, and went and gave a warning similar to Pendergrast's. On the Friday Pendergrast was sent for to the king's closet, where William was alone with Portland and lord Cutts, who had fought so bravely at Namur. William was very courteous to Pendergrast, and thanked him for his information, complimented him as a man of honour, but desired him to name the conspirators. Pendergrast persisted in his refusal, except he had the king's assurance that his information should not operate the destruction of these men, but only be used to prevent the commission of the crime. This assurance being solemnly given, he named them. It does not, however, appear that this solemn assurance was kept, for undoubtedly Pendergrast's information was used for the arrest of the conspirators, and though he himself was not brought openly forward in court against them, they were condemned and executed through that means, so that not using his evidence openly was a mere quibble: and even this was laid aside as soon as, at Pendergrast's demand, they had engaged to use Porter's evidence on condition of his safety.

Ignorant of the mine ready charged under their feet, the conspirators anxiously awaited Saturday the 22nd. This time all outwardly bade fair for success; all the usual preparations were made at the palace for the hunting. There had been during the week no sign of any agitation or bustle, or word slipped out which could give the slightest suspicion that their design was known. The guards were sent off to go round by Kingston Bridge to Richmond, as there was then no bridge nearer. The king's coach came out to take him away, and the conspirators were breakfasting at Porter's lodgings in high glee, when Keyes came hurrying in to say that the coach had been sent back to the stables, and the guards had come galloping back, saying that a discovery of something terrible had been made. If the men had not been infatuated by their zeal for the assassination, as is very general in such cases, they would now have made the best of their way into some place of security. The return of the guards in such hurry, and with such rash words, was not very skilful in the government if they meant to take the conspirators; and, as the arrests were delayed till night, there was ample time for them to have all got off. But they still flattered themselves that, though some whisper of the design had reached the palace, the actual conspirators were unknown, and they were only the more bent on seizing some instant mode of accomplishing their object. One earlier scheme had been to attack the royal coach as it crossed Piccadilly from Hyde Park to the Green Park, close to where Apsley House now stands. This was again proposed, and the conspirators drank healths to king James, the queen, the prince of Wales, and Louis of France, and destruction to the usurper. Porter squeezed out an orange, and they drank "the squeezing of the rotten Orange."

That night the king's officers were upon them, and Charnock, Rookwood, and Bernardi were taken in their beds. The next day seventeen more were arrested, and three of the Blues also. Barclay had had more cunning than the rest; he had absconded and got safe to France. The lord mayor was sent for to Whitehall, and desired to put the city into a perfect state of readiness for action. A council was held; it was agreed to send for some regiments from Flanders in consequence of the preparations at Calais; the earl of Dorset was sent down to his lieutenancy of Sussex; Sidney, lord Romney, warden of the Cinque Ports, was also dispatched for the guard of the coast of Kent; and Russell hastened to assume the command of the fleet. On Monday, the 24th, the king went to the house of lords, sent for the commons, and announced to the assembled parliament the discovery of the plot and the arrest of a number of the traitors. The sensation was intense. The two houses united in an address of congratulation for the king's safety, with which they went in a body to Kensington, and the same day the commons passed two bills, one suspending the *habeas corpus*, and the other declaring that parliament should not be dissolved by the king's death in case any such conspiracy should succeed. Sir Rowland Gwyn moved that the house should enroll itself as an association for the defence of the king and country. The idea was instantly seized by Montague, who saw how immensely it would strengthen the whigs, and the deed was immediately drawn, and ordered to be ready for signature the next morning. In this the house bound itself to defend the king with their own lives against James and his adherents, and to avenge him on his murderers in case of such an assassination, and to maintain the order of succession as fixed by the bill of rights.

The next morning the members hurried in to sign the form of association; and, as some were not present, it was ordered that all who had not signed it within sixteen days, should be called upon to do so or formally to refuse. They resolved that any one who declared the association illegal should be held to be a promoter of the wicked designs of the late king James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of the country. They prayed the king to banish by proclamation all papists to a distance of ten miles from the cities of London and Westminster, and to order the judges to put the laws in force throughout the country against Roman catholics and non-jurors.

The form of the association and the address of the two houses were immediately printed and published, along with a proclamation offering one thousand pounds reward for the discovery and apprehension of each and every of the conspirators, and one thousand pounds, with a free pardon, to each of the accomplices who should deliver himself up and reveal what he knew. The names of conspirators inserted in the proclamation were—the duke of Berwick, Sir George Barclay, major Lowick, captain Porter, captain Stowe, captain Walbank, captain Courtney, lieutenant Sherburne, Price, Blair, Denant, Chambers, Boise, George Higgins and his two brothers, Davis, Cardell, Goodman, Cranburn, Keyes, Pendergrast, Burley, Trevor, Sir George Maxwell, Durance, Knightley, Holmes, Sir William Parkyns, and Rookwood.

The effect of these documents was instantaneous and universal. All causes of complaint of William or his beloved Dutchmen, of the enormous expense of the war and consequent heavy taxation, were at once forgotten in the resentment against the dastardly crime of assassination and the idea of a French invasion. William was raised by one impulse to the height of popularity; James was sunk to the lowest depths of execration. The militia was called out over the whole country, and seamen came out in troops to man the navy. The rewards, too, for the apprehension of the murderous villains operated most effectually. The gates of London and of other towns to which it was suspected that they might have fled, were closed, and a diligent search was instituted; nor was there much ceremony or much resistance to the entrance of houses, and exploration of rooms, and cellars, and closets. Every means was taken for preventing the conspirators escaping by post-horses or by any public conveyance in disguise. One after another the miscreants were dragged from their hiding-places, or gave themselves up as king's evidence for the thousand pounds and free pardon. Harris, one of those who had been sent from Paris to support Barclay, was the first to surrender and make full confession, and several others followed his example. Amongst these was Porter, who had fled with Keyes in the direction of Epsom, was stopped by the country people at Leatherhead, and declared himself king's evidence. This privilege was not claimed or not allowed to Keyes. Knightley was discovered in the disguise of a fine lady, properly painted and patched; Sir John Friend, Ferguson—the old Monmouth rebel—Roger Lestrange, and others, were soon captured. Sir William Parkyns was sought at his house at Warwickshire, but instead of him a large depôt of arms and accoutrements for cavalry were found, and the people, in their rage and disappointment at missing him, pulled down the house stick and stone, and destroyed out-buildings and gardens. He was afterwards taken in a garret in the Temple. Two hackney-coachmen who had conveyed each a conspirator to his hiding-place, secured them, and obtained each his thousand pounds.

The confession and depositions of Porter before the council give a very vivid idea of the whole prosecution of the plot, and agrees remarkably with the narrative afterwards published by Barclay. He said that Charnock told him that Barclay held a commission from king James, which Sir William Parkyns had read, and it was entirely in James's own hand; that it was for levying war upon the person of the king; that twenty-two persons were come from France who had been officers, and were to be concerned in the design; that consultations were repeatedly held at his, Porter's, lodgings in Norfolk Street, others at the Globe tavern, in Hatton Garden, at the Sun tavern, in the Strand, and at the Nag's Head, in Covent Garden; that he and others had surveyed different spots for carrying out the attack on the king, at Richmond, near the lodge, by ambuscade; at Turnham Green, Brentford, and Kew Ferry, near where Kew Bridge now stands; that Durant—or Durance—had taken a list of the stables and inns near those places; that two of the party were constantly on duty at Kensington, watching all the king's movements. He gave the same account of the arrangements for surrounding the king's carriage at the crossing at Turnham Green which we have already given, and said that it was contended that to kill the king in this manner was just as fair war as attacking him in his camp in Flanders, or surprising him as he passed from one town to another during the campaign.

Porter said that, before going to survey the ground at Turnham Green, he dined with Barclay, Parkyns, Friend, Holmes, and Ferguson; that Friend, observing Barclay, Parkyns, and himself speaking together privately, remarked he was as zealous for the return of king James as any one, but that he saw that there was something behind the curtain by their whispering, and did not think they dealt fairly by him. Porter said that Parkyns and Charnock told him that Friend had a commission from James, and declared that he would be in readiness; but we know that Friend refused to become an assassin. He added that Friend had advanced one hundred pounds to assist colonel Parker's escape out of the Tower, and that Parkyns assured him that Mr. Lewis, gentleman of the horse to lord Feversham, would furnish three horses if wanted. He deposed that Mr. Tempest, of Durham, had a commission to raise a regiment of horse for king James; that he himself was to command the first troop of James's own regiment, of which Parker was the colonel; that Goodman, too, had a commission, and was already provided with arms and accoutrements.

Bertram, Blair, Harris, Hunt, and others made similar confessions. Blair declared that he had been engaged by father Harrington expressly from king James, this Harrington having been the ex-king's secret agent in this country ever since the defeat at La Hogue; and Harris deposed that James himself had sent for him and one Hare into the queen's bed-chamber, and engaged and advanced them money to come over and put themselves under Barclay's command, and promised that they should never want after they had done him this service. Goodman deposed that Sir John Fenwick, lord Montgomery, lord Aylesbury, colonel Fountain, and others, were engaged in a scheme to seize the king and carry him off to France.

On the 11th of March, Charnock, King, and Keyes were placed at the bar of the Old Bailey before lord chief justice Holt and the other chief judges. The prisoners demanded that their trials should be postponed till after the 25th of the month, when the new act for trials for treason came into force, and which allowed counsel to the accused; but the counsel for the crown would not consent to it—a circumstance which certainly does no honour to William and his ministers, for from them the order to proceed must now have been given. Nothing was gained by it, for the guilt of all the parties was sufficiently obvious. They would have been condemned in spite of what the most ingenious counsel could say, and to refuse the prisoners this indulgence only showed an unworthy animus against them in the royal mind. All the accused denied that king James knew of or had done anything to sanction the attempt to assassinate William; but this assertion neither agrees with the depositions made by the other conspirators admitted as evidence, nor with the facts of the case; and, in fact, Charnock left a paper, still in the Bodleian Library of Oxford, in which he declares that the attempt would not have been justifiable had it not been sanctioned by James; that his majesty's commission did fully justify it, and that it was just as proper to attempt to kill the prince of Orange at the head of his guards, serving as they did the king whose throne he had usurped, and who was at war with him, as if he had been at the head of twenty thousand men. They had their king's commission for it, and their king being at declared war, it was quite legitimate to attack and kill William wherever they could meet with him. Spite of this high assumption, Charnock, after conviction, offered, if they would pardon him, to reveal the whole particulars of the plot and the names of every one concerned in it; but there was evidence enough; his offer was not accepted, and the three were executed at Tyburn on the 18th.

Sir John Friend and Sir John Parkyns were tried next. Friend asked also for counsel, but it was denied him, and yet no man had more need of it. He was a weak and very ignorant man, and utterly unable to make a fair defence in a public court. He declared that to him it was quite a new and unintelligible doctrine that the king's subjects could depose or dethrone him for any cause whatever; that he had nothing whatever to do with schemes of assassination, but abhorred them; that he was a protestant, and that the witnesses against him were papists, who had received dispensations from their priests for perjury—as if any papists would assist in destroying the servants of the papist king. But poor Sir John, by some curious process of reasoning, persuaded himself that he was about to die because he was a good protestant —an honest, non-juring protestant. "For this," said he, "I suffer and for this I die." Surely it would have been much more to the credit of William to have allowed such a poor, tangle-headed man an advocate.

Parkyns, also, and in vain, demanded counsel, but he had been bred to the bar, and to him it was of less consequence. He contended that he had not been personally engaged in the conspiracy to kill the king—but this was a mere quibble; he was not to be there, but he was to furnish his party of bravos ready equipped. There was a delay in their execution from the expectation that they would reveal some higher personages as implicated than were known to the other conspirators; but they stood firm, and were executed at Tyburn on the 3rd of April. On the scaffold with them appeared three non-juring clergymen, Shadrach Cook, William Snatt, and the famous Jeremy Collier. Just before the hangman turned them off, the prisoners knelt, and the three clergymen laid their hands on their heads, and Collier pronounced their absolution in the name of Christ for all their sins, to which the others said, Amen. This very justly occasioned a loud outcry; for it was, in fact, fully approving and justifying the deed. A warrant was issued for their apprehension, and Snatt and Cook were taken and cast into prison, but Collier, who was well accustomed to hiding, was not to be found; but still he was near enough to hear all that was said against him, and to answer the charge that he advocated assassination. This he denied, and probably denied honestly; but certainly his act favoured a directly contrary opinion. There was a multitude of replies to his defence, amongst others one from the two archbishops, and by twelve bishops, the whole number then in London, including even Crewe of Durham and Sprat of Rochester. They very justly remarked that the prisoners had expressed no sorrow or repentance for their great crime against the monarch and the state; that Parkyns had been actively engaged in the business of the assassination if Friend had not, and yet he had expressed no penitence or contrition for the deed; that to absolve such men was directly contrary to the canons and creed of the church, was a gross abuse of the power conferred on his ministers by Christ, and was an apparent proof that the divines who absolved them from all their sins did not number assassination amongst sins. Collier rejoined, endeavouring to defend himself by quotations, the acts of councils, and the writings of the fathers. Not being forthcoming, he was outlawed.

The last prisoners tried were Cranburne, Lowick, Rookwood, and Cook. They were tried under the new act, and had counsel, but were all convicted and condemned. Porter, De la Rue, Fisher, Goodman, Bertram, Harris, and Pendergrast were evidence against them. Lowick protested in strong terms his entire innocence, and there was made much interest in his favour as a mild, good-natured, inoffensive man, but without avail. Cook was the son of Sir Miles Cook. Goodman charged him with having been present at two meetings at the King's Head tavern, Leadenhall Street, with Fenwick, Friend, Parkyns, and the lords Montgomery and Aylesbury; but the landlord contradicted this evidence, and this probably saved his life, for, though condemned, his sentence was mitigated to banishment. The others were executed. All died denying any orders from James for their proceedings, and the writer of James's Memoirs repeats this assertion. He declares that, though applied to several times, he always discouraged any schemes of assassination; but he does not deny that he did authorise the attempt to seize and carry off William, in confirmation of which the minute of a warrant dated 1693 has been found by M. Mazure ordering such an attempt. The reader, however, weighing all the circumstances of the case—the avowal of Charnock, the wording of the commission issued to Barclay, the knowledge of the duke of Berwick of the whole plan of assassination, the waiting of James at Calais, and his return in dejection and despair to St. Germains as soon as the failure of the attempt became known—will have no difficulty in deciding how far the denials of James and his adherents are worthy of credit.

The association into which the commons had entered for the defence of the king had not yet been made law, but they now brought in a bill for that purpose. Out of the five hundred and thirteen members of the commons, four hundred had signed it; but on its reaching the lords exception was made by the tories to the words "rightful and lawful sovereign" as applied to William. Even Nottingham, who had so long and faithfully served William, declared that he could not accept them: that William was king *de facto* he admitted, but not king by rightful succession. He was supported by Rochester, Normanby, and others; but on the duke of Leeds proposing that the words "rightful and lawful" should be altered to "having right by law," and no other person having such right, singularly enough the tories acquiesced in the change, though it would not be easy for minds in general to perceive a distinction betwixt being a rightful and lawful sovereign and a sovereign who had a full and, indeed, exclusive right by law. The commons retained their own form and the lords theirs. The bill of the commons was passed on the 4th of April. It provided that all such persons as refused the oaths to his majesty should be liable to the forfeitures and penalties of papist recusants; that all who questioned William's being "a lawful and rightful sovereign" should be subject to heavy penalties; that no person refusing to sign this association should be capable of holding any office, civil or military; of sitting in parliament, or being admitted into the service of the prince or princess of Denmark. All magistrates, of course, were included in the requirements, and some who refused to sign were dismissed. The lords were to use their own form, and with this understanding it passed their house without delay. The bishops drew up a form for themselves, and, according to Burnet, not above a hundred clergymen all over England refused to sign. The people everywhere signed the bond with almost universal enthusiasm, even in the most papist districts, as Lancashire and Cheshire.

Before this remarkable session closed, a bill was brought in to check the corruption of elections. It was now become common for moneyed men to go down to country boroughs and buy their way into parliament by liberal distribution of their gold. It was, therefore, proposed to introduce a property qualification for members of parliament; that a member for a county should be required to possess five hundred pounds a year in land, and a member for a town three hundred pounds a year in land. It was even proposed to adopt the ballot, but that was rejected. The bill itself was carried through both houses, but William declined to ratify it. The towns abounded with whigs, and had stood stoutly by him, and it appeared to be a sweeping infringement on their privileges to debar them from electing men in whom they had confidence because they were not landed proprietors, though they might otherwise be wealthy as well as duly qualified for such duties. William did not consider the corruption so extensive as to warrant the shutting out all but landowners from parliament.

He ratified, however, another bill intended for the benefit of the landed gentry. This was for the establishment of Hugh Chamberlayne's land-bank. Unsound and delusive as the principles of this scheme were, it had the great attraction to the landowners of offering them extensive accommodation and a fancied accession of wealth, and to William the further advance of a large sum for his wars. The bank of England had only furnished him with one million at eight per cent.; this land-bank was to lend him two millions and a half at seven per cent. It was ratified by William, and the parliament was prorogued the same day, April the 27th.

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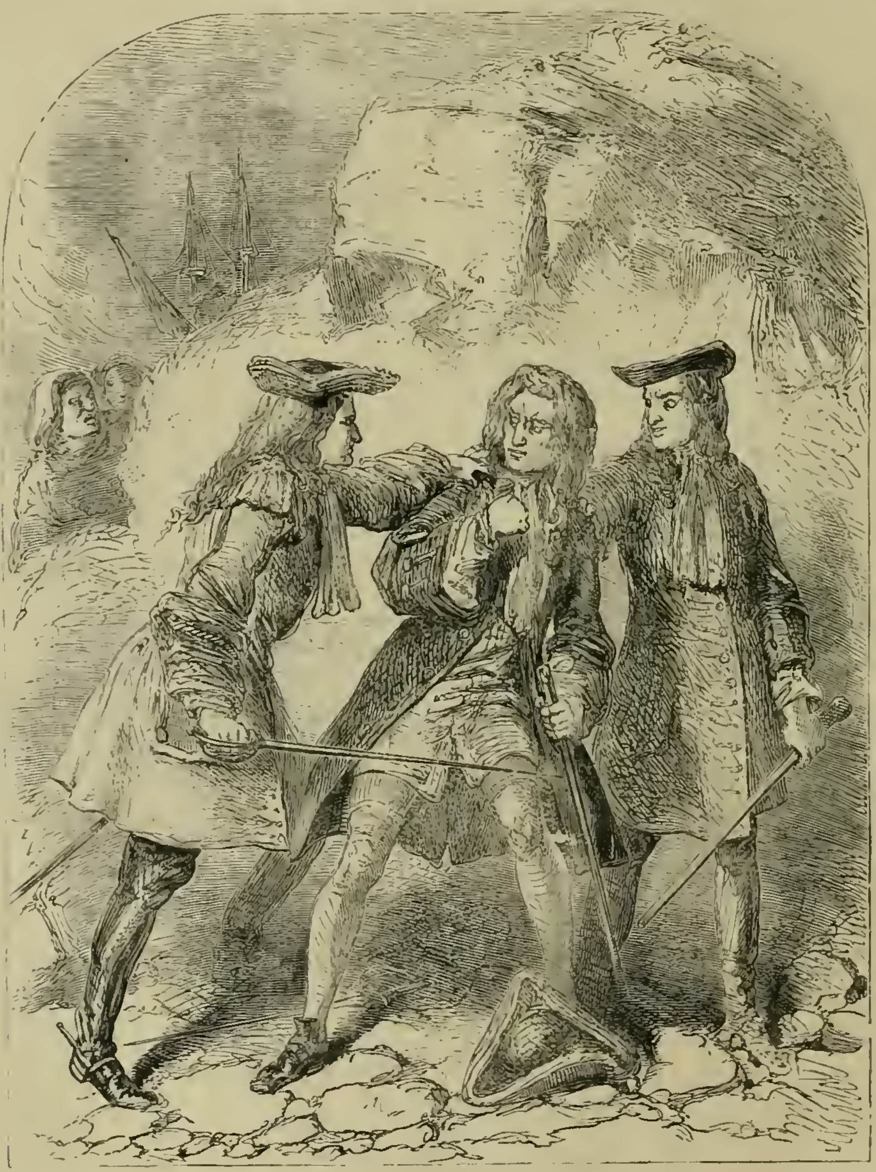
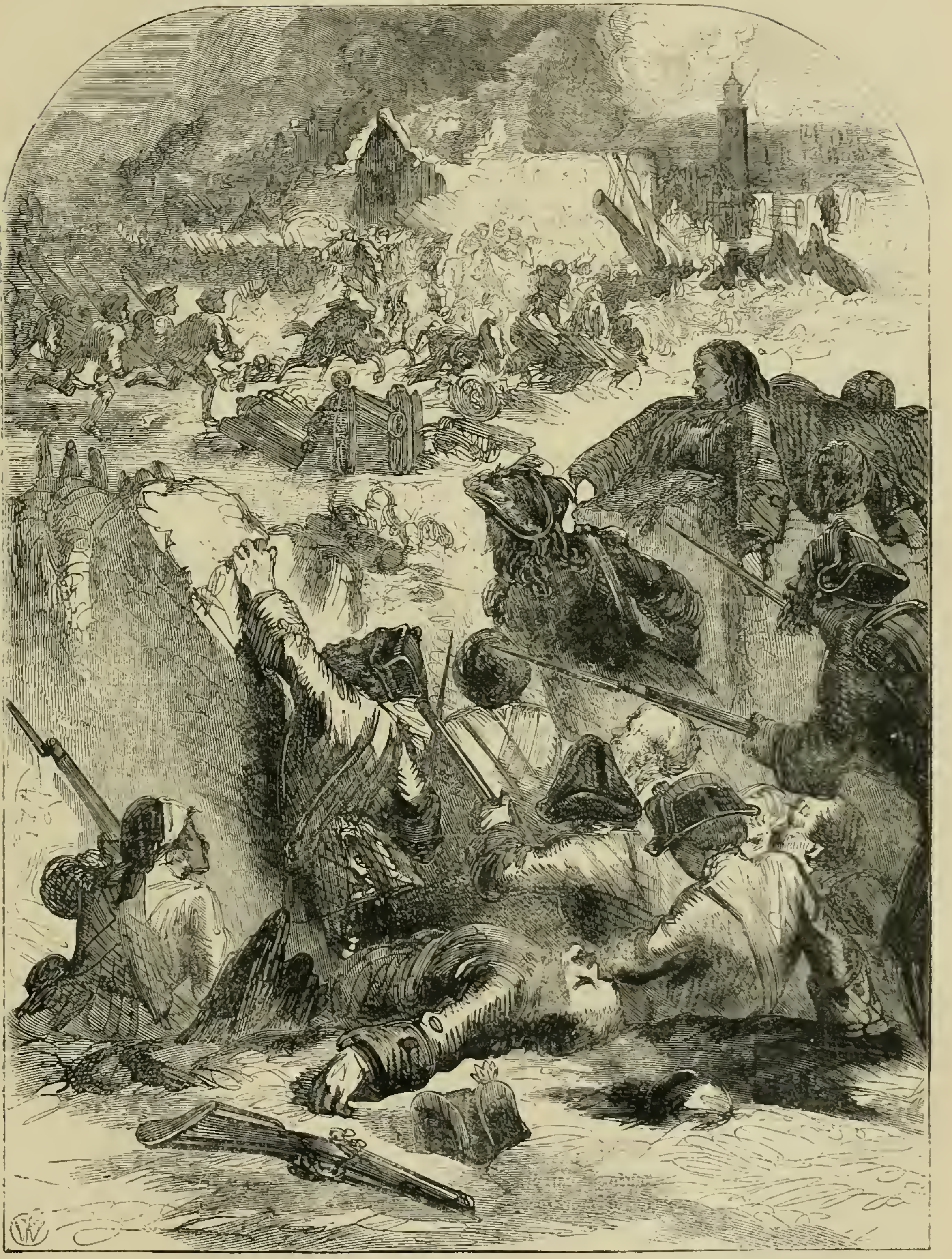
Whilst parliament had been engaged with the measures just noticed, king James, prostrated by the defeat of his schemes of invasion and assassination, had gone to do penance amongst the monks of La Trappe, and was fasting and flagellating himself to bring back, if possible by such means, the favour of heaven. But every hope was really growing further off from him. Louis, sick of the war, was already making secret overtures to William for a peace, and admiral Russell and Sir Cloudesley Shovel were committing fresh devastations on the French ports, which made the French people curse the war and James to boot. Early in March Sir Cloudesley Shovel bombarded Calais and blockaded the coast, and the unfortunate inhabitants ascribed all their miseries to the protection of James, under whose imbecile management they declared no enterprise could ever succeed.



Arrest of Sir John Fenwick.

Whilst our fleet was thus distressing the French coast, our army in Flanders, equally indignant at the attempted murder of the king, determined to show their resentment by some decisive blow. Louis, in expectation that all the energies of England would be required to defend its own coast from the proposed invasion, had calculated on being able to make advantage of it in the Netherlands. He had, therefore, collected vast supplies of arms, ammunition, and provisions at Givet, intending, while the allies were left in feebleness by the absence of the English troops, to make himself master of a good many towns in Flanders. But in the beginning of March the earl of Athlone and Cohorn, the great engineer,



DESTRUCTION OF GIVET.

sent a detachment of horse from Brussels and the neighbouring garrisons to amuse the French in the vicinity of Charleroi, and this *ruse* succeeding, they suddenly marched, with a powerful force, well supplied with cannon, mortars, and ammunition, upon Givet. They commenced a furious cannonade upon the place, and in a few hours destroyed the whole of the stores and ammunition collected there. This was a truly brilliant and effective exploit, conceived and executed more in the spirit of Louis himself than of the allies, and utterly crippling him in that quarter for that campaign.

On the 1st of May Signors Soranzo and Venier arrived from Venice to acknowledge William as rightful king of England, and had gracious audience of him Under these flattering circumstances, William embarked on the 7th at Margate, and landed at Orange-Polder in the evening. But the affair of Givet remained the only important affair in the campaign of 1696. William, indeed, put himself at the head of his army, which lay near Ghent, and Villeroi and Boufflers were already in the field, but neither army had the means of proceeding to active operations. The destruction of the magazines of Givet had swept away the provisions and ammunition of the French army. Three or four millions of rations for the men, and all the provender of the horses, had perished, and France was in no condition to replace them. She was exhausted, and her people famishing. William was equally helpless, but from a different cause. England was never more flourishing, and parliament had voted him most ample supplies; but the order to call in the old money and issue new had completely paralysed the national currency. True, there had been several millions of silver poured into the Treasury to be taken as taxes, or to be exchanged for new milled money; but the new money, notwithstanding all the exertions at the different mints in London, Bristol, York, Exeter, and Norwich, did not produce the new money in anything like the necessary speed to meet the demands of William in payment of his army, and of the English public in discharging its daily liabilities. In Flanders, therefore, both William and the French were compelled to lie still.

At home the confusion and distress were indescribable, and lasted all the year. In the spring and till autumn it was a complete national agony. The last day for the payment of the clipped coin into the Treasury was the 4th of May. There was a violent rush as that day approached to the exchequer to pay in the old coin and get new. But there was very little new ready, and all old coin that was not clipped was compelled to be allowed to remain out some time longer. Notwithstanding this, the deficiency of circulating medium was so great that even men of large estate had to give promissory notes for paying old debts, and take credit for procuring the necessaries of life. The notes of the new Bank of England and of the Lombard Street money-changers gave also considerable relief; but the whole amount of notes and coin did not suffice to carry on the business of the nation. Numbers of work-people of all kinds were turned off because their employers had not money to pay them with. The shopkeepers could not afford to give credit to every one, and, as their trade stagnated in consequence, they were compelled to sacrifice their commodities to raise the necessary sums to satisfy their own creditors. There was a heavy demand on the poor rates, and the magistrates had orders to have sufficient force in readiness to keep down rioting. This distress was aggravated by those who had new milled money, hoarding it up lest they should get no more of it, or in expectation that its scarcity would raise its value enormously, and that they could pay their debts to a great advantage, or purchase what they wanted at still greater advantage.

The Jacobites were delighted with this state of things, and did all they could to inflame the people against the government, which they said had thus needlessly plunged the nation in such extreme suffering. There were numbers of exciting tracts issued for this purpose, and especially by a depraved priest named Grascombe, who urged the people to kill the members of parliament who had advocated the calling in of the silver coin. To make the calamity perfect, the land-bank had proved as complete a bubble as Montague and other men of discernment had declared it would. The landed gentry wanted to borrow from it, not to invest in it; its shares remained untaken; and it found, when the government demanded the two million six hundred thousand pounds which it had pledged itself to advance, that its coffers were empty; and it ceased to exist, or rather to pretend to have any life in it.

The bursting of the land-bank bubble was severely trying to the new Bank of England. The failure of the one alarmed the public as to the stability of the other, and the Jacobites and the Lombard Street rival money-lenders lent their cordial aid to increase the panic. The Lombard Street bankers made a vigorous run upon the bank They collected all its paper that they could lay hands on, and demanded instant payment in hard cash. Immediately after the 4th of May, when the government had taken in the bulk of the money and had issued out very little, they made a dead set against the bank. One goldsmith alone presented thirty thousand pounds in notes. The bank resolved to refuse the payment of the notes thus obviously presented in order to ruin it, and then the Lombard Street bankers exultingly announced everywhere that the boasted new institution was insolvent. But the bank, leaving the Lombard Street goldsmiths to seek a remedy at law, continued to give cash for all notes presented by the fair creditors, and the public continued to support them in this system, and condemned the selfish money-dealers. Montague also contrived to relieve the tightness to a considerable extent by availing himself of a clause in the act of the land-bank, empowering government to issue a new species of promissory notes, bearing interest on security of the annual taxes. These bills, called now and henceforward "exchequer bills," were issued from a hundred pounds to five pounds, and were everywhere received with avidity. They also urged on the mints in the production of the new coinage, and to facilitate this they made Sir Isaac Newton master of the mint, who exerted himself in his important office with extraordinary zeal and patriotism.

In August, William sent Portland over from Flanders to bring him money for the subsistence of his troops by some means. The failure of the land-bank made his demand appear hopeless; but the government applied to the Bank of England, and, notwithstanding its own embarrassments, it advanced to the government two hundred thousand pounds on the 15th of August, and that in hard cash, for it was plainly told that its paper was of no use in Flanders. Yet to such extremities was the bank reduced that at the same time it was obliged to pay its demands by three-fourths the value of its notes in cash, marking that amount as paid on the notes, and returning them into circulation reduced to one-fourth of their original value As the bank, however, so bravely supported the government. the government determined as firmly to support it; and the public confidence, which had never entirely failed it, from this moment grew stronger and stronger. As the year drew towards a close, the rapidly-increasing issue of the new coin began to reduce the intensity of the distress, and the forbearance of creditors of all kinds enabled the nation to bear up wonderfully, much to the chagrin of its enemies both at home and abroad, where the most wonderful stories of English poverty and ruin were circulated.

As there was no fighting to be done, William quitted his camp early, leaving the command to Athlone and the elector of Bavaria, and retired to Loo. There, however, he had no real quiet, for many things were going on in different parts of the continent to create the deepest anxiety. Louis, weary of the war, was trying on all sides to break up the alliance. He sent Caillières to Holland to tamper with the Louvestein faction, which had always been hostile to William, and offered through it certain mercantile advantages to induce Holland to demand a peace. To this the Dutch convention of estates listened favourably, but refused to treat without the concurrence of William and the rest of the allies. To render the allies more prompt to treat, Louis put his arms in motion in Catalonia to do all the damage they could. The duke of Vendôme attacked the Spaniards at Ostalric, and defeated them, but was soon after compelled to retreat. In Germany the duke de Lorges again crossed the Rhine into Baden, but was again forced back. At this crisis Peter the Czar of Muscovy took the town and garrison of Azoph, and the Russians were now brought so much into the eye of Europe that the emperor of Germany entered into an alliance with them. The imperial army encountered the Turks on the river Breque, and defeated them, but with such loss to themselves that they did not pursue their success. These movements, however, tended to weaken the force of the allies in the Netherlands; and now came to light a grand defection of one of the allied powers which occasioned much chagrin and consternation. Savoy had fallen from the league. The duke had been wavering for some time. The French had persuaded him that England would be invaded and James unquestionably restored. He made a pretended pilgrimage to Loretto, and there met the agents of France disguised as monks. Louis engaged to give him four millions of livres in reparation of the damages sustained, and to defend him against all his enemies; that the duke of Burgundy, the son of the dauphin, should marry the princess of Savoy, when at a proper age, and the treaty was guaranteed by the pope and the Venetians, who were anxious to see the Germans driven out of Italy. News of this treaty being in agitation, William and the emperor no sooner heard of it than they sent emissaries to dissuade the duke. The emperor offered him the king of the Romans in marriage with the princess of Savoy, and an increase of his subsidy and the forces to defend him. The duke protested the rumours were totally groundless, till Catinat appeared in the plains of Turin at the head of fifty thousand men, when he threw off the mask, and excused himself by saying he was no longer able to maintain himself against the power of France. He wrote to all the allies except William, giving them his reasons for his change, and pressing them to follow his example. On the 23rd of August he signed in public the treaty he had already signed in private. Prince Eugene, the duke's kinsman, was highly incensed at this conduct, and the young prince de Commerci so much so that he challenged the duke, but the duel was prevented by their friends. One of the conditions of the treaty was that the allies should be compelled to quit Piedmont. The duke had waited till most of the allies had sent in their subsidies; but lord Galway managed to intercept that sent by William, and applied it to the payment of the British troops in the service of the Milanese. The duke then put himself at the head of a French force, and marched into the duchy of Milan and invested Valencia. The courts of Spain and of the emperor, believing themselves unable to resist France under these altered circumstances, joined the neutrality, and William saw himself left almost alone. The distresses of England owing to the change in the coin were mistaken both by friends and enemies abroad for exhaustion of her wealth, and Caillières assumed a higher tone at the Hague. He had been commissioned by Louis to offer to recognise William's right to the throne of England, but he now drew back, and evinced an arrogant indifference to the treaty. In fact, the necessity no longer existing of maintaining a large army in Savoy, and the engaged neutrality of the emperor, so elated Louis, that he again thought himself a match for England.

It was under such gloomy circumstances that William returned home. He landed at Margate on the 6th of October. During his absence little had been done by the fleet. Lord Berkeley had insulted the coast of France, pillaged and burnt several villages on the islands Grouais, Houat, and Heydic, made prize of about twenty vessels, bombarded St. Martin's, on the isle of Rhé, and set fire to the town Olonne. These ravages compelled the French to keep an army of sixty thousand men on those coasts, and to erect above a hundred batteries betwixt Brest and Goulet. Rear-admiral Benbow made an attempt to blockade the famous pirate Du Bart in Dunkirk, but he gave him the slip and attacked the Dutch fleet in the Baltic, and got back safe with fifteen captured vessels.

But, except the trouble arising from the coinage, the great event during William's absence had been the capture of Sir John Fenwick, and his examination, with the view of tracing the further ramifications of the conspiracy in which he had been engaged. Fenwick, if not engaged in the assassination scheme, was charged by Porter and the other king's evidence with being fully privy to it, and deep in the plot for the invasion. He was a man of high birth, high connections, being married to a sister of the earl of Carlisle, had held high office in the state, and was a most indefatigable and zealous traitor. During the king's absence, and when the Jacobites were in high spirits, hoping to drive out William, he had shown the most marked and unmanly disrespect to the queen.

It was not, therefore, likely that he would escape the just punishment of his treason if he were caught. For a long time he managed to conceal himself, and during his concealment he and his friends were hard at work to remove the only witnesses that he dreaded. These were Porter and Goodman. The earl of Aylesbury, who was also in the Tower on a similar charge, was equally anxious to have these two men out of the way, and the friends of both of them united to get rid of them by bribery. For this purpose, besides the active personal exertions of lady Fenwick, they employed two Irishmen of their party—one Clancey, a barber, and Donelagh, a disbanded captain.

Clancey met Porter at a tavern, and offered him three hundred guineas down, three hundred more as soon as he landed in France, and an annuity of one hundred pounds a year. Porter was greatly tempted by the offer. and at length consented to accept it. A day was fixed for the payment of the first three hundred guineas at the tavern, but, on reflection in the interval, he did not like the prospect of having to face at St. Germains the king whose agents he had betrayed to death, and the friends and associates of those agents. He saw that nothing could obtain their forgiveness, or prevent them taking mortal revenge on him. He therefore posted to the secretary of state, and revealed the whole affair. The necessary measures were taken, and Porter attended punctually at the meeting with Clancey. He received the three hundred guineas, and then, giving a concerted signal, the officers of government rushed in and secured Clancey, who was tried for subornation, convicted, and set in the pillory.

This discovery, through the double treachery of Porter, alarmed Fenwick for his personal safety. He no longer deemed himself secure in the kingdom, for he had taken such part in the attempt to bring over Porter—writing a letter for him to take with him to St. Germains to secure his good reception there—that it was too obvious that he was not far off. Porter was indemnified for his loss of the promised annuity by a much better one from William's government—no less than two hundred and fifty pounds a year—and would undoubtedly, if possible, hunt out Fenwick. Sir John, therefore, made prompt arrangements for his own escape to France. There was no time to be lost; he was indicted at the next sessions in the city for treason. Porter and Goodman gave evidence before the grand jury, who returned a true bill. Sir John managed to escape to near Romney Marsh, where a vessel was to take him off, but, unfortunately, on the way met an officer, who had been apprehending two smugglers. The man knew him, and offered the smugglers a pardon and reward to assist in seizing him. Sir John fled, and they pursued; and he is said to have been taken in the end near Slyfield Mill, betwixt Stoke Dabernon and Bookham, in Surrey.

Sir John had contrived, after being taken, to write a letter to his wife, by one Webber who was with him, in which he declared that all was now over unless she could get her relatives the Howards to intercede for him. They might promise for him that he would spend his life abroad, and would pledge himself never to draw a sword against the present government. If that could not be done, the only chance left was to bribe a juryman to *starve out the jury*—a practice which, it seems, was pretty well known then, and which has arrived at so frightful a height in our time, that the alteration of our jury law to that long possessed by Scotland, making valid the verdict of a majority instead of an *unanimous* verdict, can alone protect our lives and properties.

This letter was intercepted, and when Sir John was brought before the lords-justices at Whitehall, and he appeared very high, and denied the charges against him indignantly, it was laid before him to his sudden terror and confusion He saw how completely he had committed himself by his confession, and he turned pale, and seemed half inclined to admit his guilt. In the silence of his prison he revolved another scheme, and on the 10th of August, two months after his apprehension, he presented a memorial to the duke of Devonshire, offering to disclose to the king all that he knew of the plots, with every one concerned in them, and throwing himself on the mercy of the king. Having so fully betrayed his own guilt, this seemed the only chance of obtaining a lenient judgment. Devonshire sent over the memorial to William in Holland, and was desired by him to receive Fenwick's confession.

This was in due time written down and delivered, and, had it been a real revelation of the plots and their agents, would have probably obtained considerable indulgence for him. But it revealed nothing that was not already well known to William. Passing over all the other parties who were secretly engaged in labouring for the overthrow of William's government and the restoration of James—persons whose names and doings would have been of the utmost value to the government—he merely accused Marlborough, Russell, Godolphin, and Shrewsbury. The intrigues of all these were far more familiar to William and his intimate friends than they were to Fenwick. William and Devonshire were disappointed. The whole thing had the air of a *ruse* to hide the still undiscovered delinquents, and make a merit of a stale and useless piece of information. Devonshire, on forwarding the list, observed that, whatever these noblemen had been, they were, to all appearance, very firm to the king now. William, on reading Fenwick's paper, was incensed. "I am astonished," he wrote to Shrewsbury, "at the fellow's effrontery. Observe this honest man's sincerity: he has nothing to say, except against my friends. Not a word about the plans of his brother Jacobites." He ordered the prisoner to be brought to trial without delay.

Fenwick, in fact, had only insured his own doom. He probably thought William was not aware of the double-dealing of his own ministers, and that he should be able to throw a bombshell into the whig camp, whilst he screened his own fellow-seditionists; but he found that he had to deal with a man much more sagacious than himself, and his stratagem recoiled on his own head. William ordered the confession of Sir John to be laid before the lords-justices, and himself acquainted some of the accused of what it contained, and expressed his contempt of it. Marlborough and Russell, if they had not made up their minds before, seem from this moment to have done so, to avoid any further tampering with St. Germains. It was clear their secret was not only well known to William, but the agents, pretty generally, of James. Marlborough, however, took it calmly; Russell made a great pretence of innocence, and demanded inquiry. Shrewsbury alone seemed dismayed and overcome by it. He wrote to William, admitting that lord Middleton, James's secretary, had been over several times, and had visited him, but that he attributed to their nearness of kinship. He said—"One night at supper, when he was pretty well in drink, he told me he intended to go beyond seas, and asked me if I could command him no service. I then told him, by the course he was taking, it would never be in his power to do himself or his friends service; and if the time should come that he expected, I looked upon myself as an offender not to be forgiven." Shrewsbury added that perhaps these accusations "might render him incapable of serving William"—meaning that he might not think him fit to retain the seals under such a suspicion by the public, but that, if he could not answer for the generality of the world, yet the noble and frank manner in which his majesty had used him on that occasion would ever be acknowledged by him with all the gratitude in his power.

Fenwick, perceiving the fatal blunder that he had made, sent in a second confession; but this appeared rather to absolve James and his adherents from any knowledge of the baser plan of assassination, and from having sanctioned Crosley's scheme of seizing William's person, than to throw any new light on the real workers in the treason. Things were in this position when William returned on the 6th of October. The courtiers flocked to Kensington to pay their respects to his majesty, and amongst them the noblemen who had been so deeply accused by Fenwick, with the single exception of Shrewsbury. William received them all most graciously, and asked where Shrewsbury was. He was informed that he was ill, and the next day the duke himself wrote to say that he had had a fall from his horse, had received considerable injury, and was incapable of travelling. Both the king and the other ministers well knew that the real cause was his extreme sensitiveness, which made him ashamed to face his sovereign after his knowledge of his delinquency; and both they and William wrote to urge his appearance at court as soon as possible. William said—"You are much wanted here. I am impatient to embrace you, and to assure you that my esteem for you is undiminished." Somers wrote him that unless he appeared in his place at court it would convince the public that he felt the justice of Fenwick's charge.

But Shrewsbury, whose mind so readily preyed on itself, could not bring himself to face the king, and sent to request leave to resign the seals. With a magnanimity wonderfully different to that of Henry VIII., who would have had all these nobles' heads off in a few days, William would not hear of his resignation, telling the duke that it would bring the worst suspicions on him; and, more on Shrewsbury's account than his own, he insisted on his keeping the seals. At length he consented, but still dared not go to town, but remained in the seclusion of his home amongst the wilds of Gloucestershire.

On the 20th of October William opened the session of parliament with a speech in which he took a bold review of the troubles and difficulties of the past year. He admitted the distress which the endeavours to restore the coinage to a healthy state had occasioned; the pressure which yet remained from the coinage being only partly effected. He avowed that the liberal funds voted in the last session had fallen far short, and that the civil list could not be maintained without further aid; but, notwithstanding these drawbacks, he contended that they had many causes of congratulation. Abroad the enemy had obtained no advantage, and at home the fortitude and temper with which the nation had struggled through the hardships attending the re-coinage, and the fears or selfishness of those who had added to them by hoarding their money, were admirable. A little time must bear them through this, and he had to inform them that he had received overtures of peace from France. He should be prepared to accept proper terms, but that the way to obtain them was to treat sword in hand. He therefore recommended them to be at once liberal and prompt in their voting the supplies. He recommended to their sympathy the French protestants, who were in a most miserable condition, and he trusted to their taking efficient measures for the maintenance of the public credit.

The commons, on retiring to their house, at the instance of Montague, the chancellor of the exchequer, passed three resolutions, which demonstrated the confidence of the country in the government, and constituted in themselves the most absolute defeat of all the grumblers and malcontents possible. Montague had advocated the bank of England; that had succeeded. He had denounced the scheme of the land-bank; that had proved, as he declared it to be, a delusion, and had brought ruin on its projectors. He had carried the plans of government for the restoration of the coinage stoutly through the most unexampled crises. When the paper of the bank of England was fluctuating in value, the enemies of government casting suspicion on it, so that it would occasionally sink one-fourth of its value in the course of a single day; when both the allies and the enemies of England fancied that her credit was gone and her resources exhausted, Montague knew better, and by his spirit and eloquence kept the machine of government going, and now he reached a point of unquestionable triumph. The credit of the country was no longer falling, but rising; the coinage was fast assuming a position which it had never enjoyed for ages, and the confidence of parliament displayed itself in its votes. The three resolutions, which confounded all the adversaries of William's government, and which have often been referred to as motives for encouragement in periods of governmental distress, were these:—First, that the commons would support the king against all foreign and domestic enemies. Secondly, that the standard of gold and silver should not be altered. Thirdly, that they would make good all parliamentary funds established since the king's succession.

An address was passed on the basis of these resolutions, which was followed by another from the lords, and the commons proceeded in the same spirit to vote six millions for the current expenses of the year. They noticed that this was the eighth year in which they had granted his majesty unexampled supplies to carry on the war, but that they regarded all the cost of blood and treasure which the war had occasioned as well spent for the civil and religious liberty which they had obtained, and they proceeded to vote taxes for the raising of the supplies which would have astonished the Stuarts, and which showed that the best way to a nation's purse is sincerely to study its public advantage.

They immediately laid on several of those particular imposts to which the public had always shown themselves most averse, amongst them an income-tax, a poll-tax, and a tax even on servants' wages—the most grievous of all income-taxes. All persons were to pay according to the value of their real and personal estates, on their land and stock-in-trade, as well as on their income from professions, offices, and pensions. Every person not actually receiving alms was to pay a penny a week for one year. Every servant was to pay a farthing in the pound per week on their wages above four pounds per annum up to eight pounds per annum; and a halfpenny in the pound per week from eight pounds to sixteen pounds per annum. Besides these imposts, an aid of three shillings in the pound was demanded on all lands, tenements, and hereditaments. Not a person, from the highest to the lowest, was exempt who could possibly pay anything at all. The treasury was authorised to borrow a million and a half at eight per cent., and to issue exchequer bills for as much more. To cancel these debts the three-shilling aid was appropriated. They voted a hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds to make good the deficiency of the hammered money and the premium of plate brought into the mint. They authorised the bank of England to raise fresh capital by a new subscription, and passed many regulations in its favour. It was to be the sole bank; it was to be exempt from all taxation; penalties were enacted against the counterfeiting or altering of its notes; and measures were taken to prevent the officers of the exchequer delaying or impeding the payments due to it. The different revenues from the tonnage and poundage on wine, vinegar, and tobacco, and an additional duty on salt for two years and three-quarters, were charged with the liquidation of the government debts, and this was called "the general mortgage." Besides the six millions for the year, there was now a debt of five millions, and the facility thus granted of borrowing money on the exchequer tallies soon raised it to such a degree as astonished the whole world.

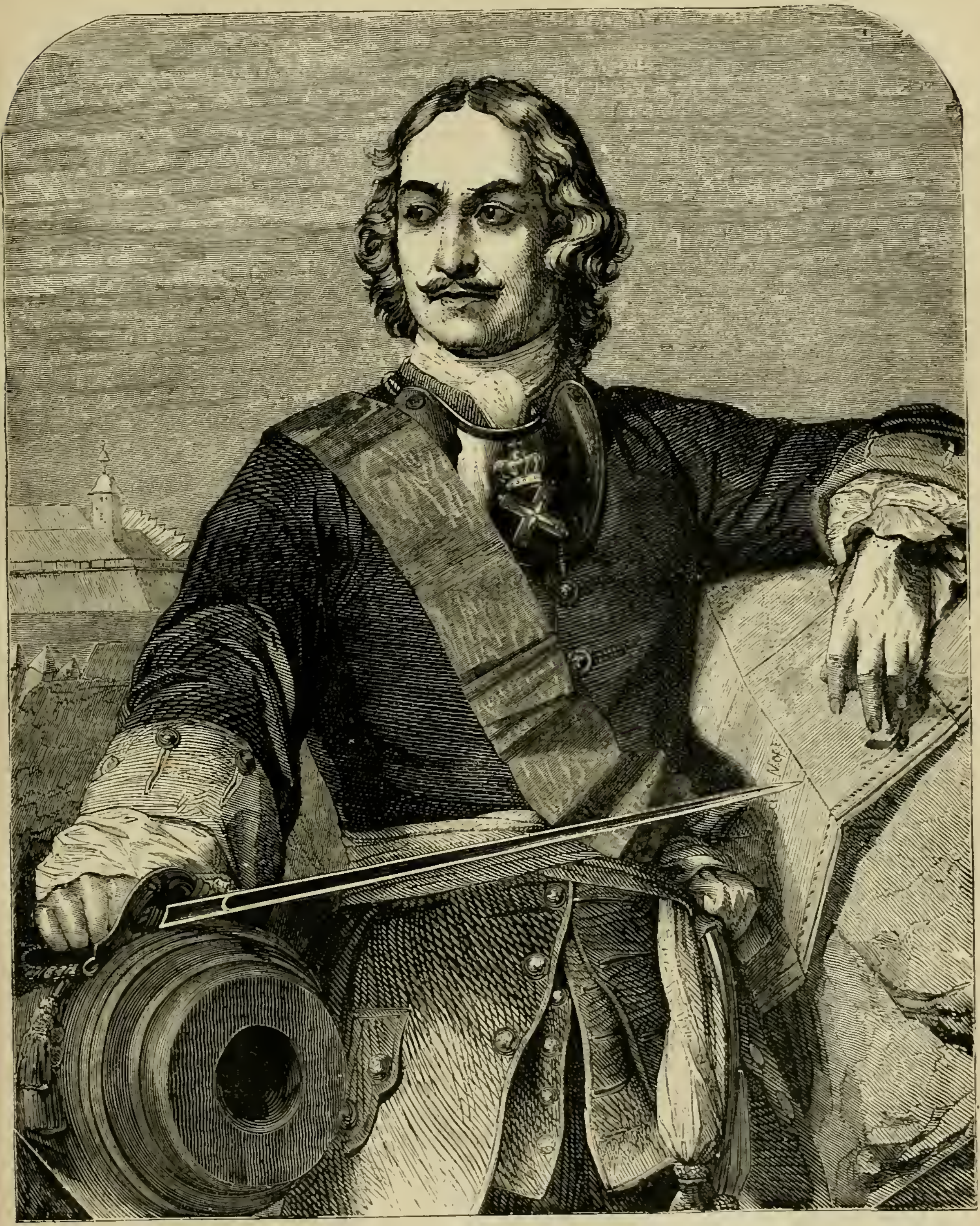
Bolingbroke in his time expressed his opinion that this new system of borrowing on the credit of posterity would prove fatal to the liberties of the country. He observed that "the notion of attaching men to the new government by tempting them to embark their fortunes in the same bottom was a reason of state to some; the notion of creating a new, that is, a monied interest, in opposition to the landed interest, or as a balance to it, was a reason of party to others; and the opportunity of amassing immense estates by the management of funds, by trafficking in paper, and by all the arts of jobbing, was a reason of private interest to those who supported and improved this scheme, if not to those who devised it."

We in our time know to what a monstrous result this fatal facility of borrowing, thus contrived by Montague, has led; the wars it has encouraged, the debt it has left, the destruction of political and mercantile morals which it has engendered. Out of this political abyss have issued forth the periodical ruin which sweeps through the mercantile world, the direct offspring of the speculative mania thus created, the rage for the sudden acquisition of enormous wealth by artful shuffling to and fro of paper; hence the rotten condition of our governmental executive, of our commissariat departments, of bloated and men-destroying contractors, and the perpetual monster apparitions of Sadleirs, colonel Waughs, Redpaths, Sir John Dean Pauls, not even exempting from its hideous plague-spot the long unblurred names of Gurneys and Overends.

This flowing fountain once opened, it flowed unceasingly. What the commons had already done in a few short weeks was still far from all. The king, in reply to their address, reminded them that there were other deficiencies yet unprovided for, and they immediately enacted a new tax on leather to make up the eight hundred thousand pounds which had been looked for from the land-bank. He reverted to his never-failing topic, the deficiency of the civil list, and they voted five hundred and fifteen thousand pounds for that purpose, to be raised by a malt tax, and by additional duties upon mum, sweets, cider, and perry. They ordered one million four hundred thousand pounds to be raised by a lottery. The treasury was empowered to issue an additional number of exchequer bills, amounting to one million two hundred thousand pounds, to liquidate the transport debt; and they obliged hawkers and pedlars to take out licenses at certain fixed rates.

Well might James behold with wonder this astonishing liberality to his rival Never under the Stuarts had all their strained efforts been able to extract a half of these taxes. To have endeavoured to impose one of them would have cost any of them their heads or their thrones. But the wretched refugee king might have discovered, had he had the wit, how easy it is to lead a nation to tax itself; how impossible to tax it by compulsion. Smollett justly observes, that "one cannot without astonishment reflect upon the prodigious efforts that were made on this occasion, or consider without indignation the enormous fortunes that were raised by usurers and extortioners from the distresses of their country. The nation did not seem to know its own strength until it was put to this extraordinary trial; and the experiment of mortgaging funds succeeded so well that later ministers have proceeded in the same system, imposing burthen upon burthen, as if they thought the sinews of the nation could never be overstrained." This extraordinary liberality and spirit of the commons, however, had one grand effect: it convinced Louis XIV. that the hope of ever driving William from the throne of England was gone for ever. Caillières at the Hague received instructions to assure the Dutch ministers that, whenever the treaty of peace could be entertained, he was fully prepared to acknowledge William's right to the English throne without restriction, condition, or reserve. The information was imparted to Lilienroth, the Swedish minister, whose master was employed by Louis to act as mediator betwixt himself and the allies, and Dykvelt speedily sent the news to England, where it at once diffused joy and public confidence, and the whigs, who had carried on the war with such spirit, received a fresh addition of strength from this triumph.

The great topic of the remainder of the session was the inquiry into the guilt of Sir John Fenwick. In denouncing the noblemen named in his confession, he had made them and all their adherents his mortal enemies. The whigs were deeply incensed through the accusation of Russell and Shrewsbury, and the whigs were now more influential than



PETER THE GREAT, CZAR OF MUSCOVY.

ever. Instead of damaging them and embarrassing William, he had fatally damaged himself. As for Godolphin, who was the only tory in the ministry, they contrived to get him to offer his resignation, which, unlike that of Shrewsbury, was accepted, so that the whigs had now a ministry wholly of their party. Russell was loud in his demands of vengeance, and William, at the suggestion of the whigs, sent for Fenwick, and insisted that he should give him some further information as to the real conspirators, whom he had evidently and purposely screened. Fenwick declined, and William gave him to understand that he had nothing more to expect from him.

The stubbornness of Fenwick soon received an explanation. His wife had managed to corrupt Goodman, the second witness against him. An annuity of five hundred pounds a year had been offered him to abscond, accompanied by the menace of certain assassination if he refused. He consented to flee, and was accompanied by an agent named O'Brien to St. Germains. Fenwick now believed himself safe, as no man could be condemned on a charge of high treason upon one single witness. But the vengeance of his enemies was not thus to be defeated. Sir John might have recollected how often the end in such cases had been obtained by a bill of attainder. Fenwick himself had been a zealous advocate for such a bill against Monmouth. When it became known that Goodman was spirited away, the exasperation of the commons was extreme. On the 6th of November Russell vehemently demanded of the house that it should examine and decide whether the accused parties were guilty or not. Before proceeding to extremities the commons, however, called Sir John before them, and offered to intercede with the king on his behalf if he made a full and immediate confession. But he would not consent to become the informer against his own party, and was remanded. It was then resolved, by a hundred and seventy-nine votes to sixty-one, that a bill of attainder should be brought in. The two parties put forth all their strength, and the bill was not carried till the 26th. For twenty days all the eloquence and influence of the house was in violent agitation. The tories were seen now contending for the liberty of the subject, which they had so often overridden by such bills, and the whigs as vehemently pressed on the measure as they had formerly denounced similar ones when directed against those of their own party.

During the debates the depositions of Goodman made before the grand jury, fully implicating Sir John in the conspiracy, were laid before the house in support of the evidence of Porter; Goodman's absence was proved, to the satisfaction of the house, to be owing to the inducements and exertions of Fenwick's friends; and two of the grand jurymen were examined, and detailed the evidence received by them from Goodman on his examination, fully agreeing with that sent in in writing. Some petty jurymen, also, who had decided the case of another conspirator, confirmed this evidence. The commons had proof enough of his guilt, though it it might want the legal formality of two direct witnesses.

In the lords the earl of Monmouth made an adroit movement in favour of Sir John. He defended him warmly, at the same time that he sent to him in prison, through the duchess of Norfolk, his cousin, a scheme for defeating his enemies. He advised him to assert positively the truth of his confession; to declare that he derived his information from high quarters, and to pray the king to demand of the earls of Portland and Romney whether the information in their possession against these noblemen did not correspond with his own; that the king should be prayed to lay before parliament the evidence on which he had suddenly dismissed Marlborough, and any letters intercepted on their way from St. Germains to these parties. This would have been a thunderbolt to the government and the accused, and Monmouth awaited in exultation its effect. But Sir John disappointed him. He feared to exasperate further the king and his judges the lords, to whom the accused belonged, and did not take the hint. Monmouth, incensed, then turned against him himself. Marlborough exerted himself with all his power to condemn him, even getting the prince of Denmark to go and vote against him. The bishops remained, and voted eight of them against the passing of the bill. Burnet and Tennison, however, both spoke and voted for it, with little regard to the practice that the prelates should take no part in advocating measures of blood. The lords Godolphin and Bath, though both amongst those accused by Fenwick, voted in his favour, and Shrewsbury absented himself from the debate. The duke of Devonshire, too, to whom he had carried his confession, voted against the bill. Sir John offered to make a full disclosure on condition of receiving a full pardon, but this was not accorded him, and he refused further confession on any other terms. At length, on the 27th of December, the bill was carried, but only by a majority of seven—sixty-eight votes to sixty-one. Forty-one lords, including eight bishops, entered a protest on the journal against the decision.

Unfortunately for Monmouth, the friends of Sir John were so incensed at his turning round against him, that the earl of Carlisle, lady Fenwick's brother, produced to the house the papers which he had sent to Sir John in prison, and stated the censures on the king with which he had accompanied them. A tempest suddenly burst over his head of indescribable fury. The whigs were exasperated at his endeavouring to sacrifice Russell and Shrewsbury to save Fenwick, and the tories at his endeavouring to sacrifice Marlborough and Godolphin, and at his treacherously deserting Sir John for not following his advice. He was committed to the Tower, deprived of all his places, and his name erased from the list of privy councillors.

Parliament, having passed this act, adjourned for the Christmas holidays, and every exertion was made to obtain a pardon for the condemned. His wife threw herself at the feet of William, but he only replied that he must consult his ministers before he could give an answer. On the 11th of January he put his signature to the bill. When parliament met again she presented a petition to the house of lords, praying them to intercede with the king to commute the sentence to perpetual banishment, but without success. On the 28th of January he was conducted to execution on Tower Hill. On the scaffold he delivered to the sheriff a sealed paper, in which he complained of the irregularity of the proceeding against him, denied any participation in the plan of assassination, but confessed his attachment to king

James, and his belief in the right of the prince of Wales after him.

After an abortive attempt to pass a bill establishing a property qualification for the commons, another to put the press again under the licensing system, and another to abolish those dens of protected crime, the Savoy and Whitefriars, parliament was prorogued on the 16th of April.

Whilst this desperate conflict had been going on betwixt whig and tory in England, in Scotland a most useful measure had passed the Scottish parliament, namely, an act establishing a school and schoolmaster in every parish. To this admirable act Scotland owes the superior intelligence of its working classes; and it is a singular fact that England to this hour has not been able to achieve the same privilege. At the same time the rigid bigotry of the clergy perpetrated one of the most revolting acts in history. A youth of eighteen, named Thomas Aikenhead, had picked up some of the sceptical notions of Hobbes and Tindal, and was arrested, tried, and hanged for blasphemy betwixt Leith and Edinburgh. It was in vain that he expressed the utmost repentance for his errors, the ministers were as impatient for his death as the Jews were for the death of our Saviour, and he died accordingly, to the disgrace of the presbyterian church and the whole country.

William embarked for Holland on the 26th of April, having before his departure made several promotions. To the disgust of many, Sunderland was appointed one of the lords-justices and lord chamberlain. The protestants wondered that a man who had apostatised when there was a popish king, should find such favour with a presbyterian one; and the honourable-minded that a man who had stooped to so many dirty acts and arts should be thus exalted by a prince of sober morals. But William's only excuse was that all his ministers were so bad that there was little to choose in their principles, and that he employed them not for their virtues but their abilities. Russell was rewarded for running down Fenwick with the title of earl of Orford; the lord-keeper Somers was elevated to the full dignity of lord chancellor, and created baron Somers of Evesham. Montague was made first lord of the treasury, in place of Godolphin; lord Wharton, in addition to his post of comptroller of the household, was appointed chief justice in Eyre, south of the Trent, and his brother, Godwin Wharton, became a lord of the admiralty.

The campaign in Flanders was commenced by the French with an activity apparently intended to impress upon the allies their ample ability to carry on the war, although, in fact, never had France more need of peace. Its finances were exhausted, its people were miserable; but far more than the sufferings of his subjects to Louis were the ambitious projects which he was now particularly cherishing. John Sobieski, the brave deliverer of Vienna from the Turks, the king of Poland, was dead, and Louis was anxious to place the prince of Conti on the throne of that kingdom. There had been, as usual, various competitors for the crown—the duke of Lorraine, the prince of Baden, Don Livio Odeschalchi, nephew to the pope; but the chief candidates were Conti and Augustus, elector of Saxony. French money so far prevailed that Conti was elected, and proclaimed king by the primate of Poland, who had *Te Deum* sung in the cathedral of Warsaw on the occasion. But the emperor of Germany, alarmed at having a French power thus erected in his immediate neighbourhood, brought forward the elector of Saxony, who changed his religion to obtain the crown, and agreed to distribute eight millions of florins amongst the Poles, to confirm their privileges, and to defend their country from attack with his Saxon army. His claims were powerfully supported by Peter, the czar of Muscovy, who had, in return for assistance to John Sobieski against the Turks, obtained from him a great part of the Ukraine, and was quite as unwilling as the emperor to see a French kingdom so near him and his now soaring designs. Augustus was chosen by this party. Peter marched an army to the frontiers of Lithuania, to overawe the partisans of Conti. Louis, however, continued to support the claims of Conti, and sent a fleet with him to Dantzic. Conti landed at Dantzic with a great supply of money, but he met no encouragement either there or at Marienburg, to which place he proceeded, and returned to France with his treasure. This repulse had mortified Louis at the time of the opening of the present campaign; but as the prince of Conti had still a strong party in Poland, and the condition of that country was uncertain, he still cherished his ambitious design of restoring Conti and the French power there, which he might much better effect if relieved from the pressure of this general war.

He had, however, a still more weighty motive for peace. The king of Spain, the sickly and imbecile Charles II., was fast hastening to the tomb. The emperor of Germany, as head of the house of Austria, had claims of direct descent on the throne of Spain. Charles II. was childless; no provision was made by the Spanish government for filling the throne, and Louis of France was equally watching for the death of Charles, who was the son of Louis's niece, whilst Louis himself was married to the aunt of the Spanish king; for a man like Louis, ample pretensions to the Spanish crown. Now, if the throne of Spain fell vacant during the alliance, the allies, and William amongst them, would out of policy support the emperor's claims. It was, therefore, equally to the interest of the emperor to prolong the war, and of Louis to be rid of it.

Spain and Germany, therefore, were averse to peace. William and Louis were the only parties, each for his own purposes, really anxious for it. Louis, early in the spring, had made overtures to Dykvelt through Caillières, which were really surprising. They were no less than to relinquish all the conquests made by him during the war, to restore Lorraine to its duke, Luxembourg to Spain, Strasburg to the empire, and to acknowledge William's title to the crown of England without condition or reserve. Such terms the allies never could have expected. They were a complete renunciation by the ambitious Louis of all that he had been fighting for so many years—of all that he had drained his kingdom of its life and wealth to accomplish. That he contemplated maintaining the peace any longer than till he had secured Spain and Poland is not to be supposed. If he obtained peace now, these objects were more feasible, and William, his most formidable enemy, he knew would have disbanded his army, and must create a new one and a new alliance before he could take the field again to oppose him.

These undoubtedly were Louis's notions, and it was plausibly urged by Spain and Austria that it was better now to press him as he was sinking till he was perfectly prostrate, and then bind him effectually. But, on the other hand, William felt that England and Holland had to bear the brunt of the war: that it was all very well for Spain and Germany to cry Keep on, but the fact was, they did little or nothing towards keeping on. The Germans had no union, and, therefore, no strength. They sent excuses instead of their contingents, and instead of money to pay their share of the cost of the war. When they did rouse, they were nearly always behind their time and divided in their counsels. As for Spain, it literally did nothing to defend its own territories. The whole of Flanders would have been lost but for William and his Dutch and English troops. Catalonia would have been lost but for Russell and his fleet, and it had, without consulting the allies, joined in a treaty with Savoy and France to save its Milanese territory, and to their extreme prejudice, by releasing the French armies from Italy to increase the force in Flanders. William was greatly incensed by the endeavours of these powers to continue the war . and Louis, as the best spur to their backwardness, determined to seize Brussels, and show a mien as if bent on active aggression.

Catinat, relieved from his command in Savoy, had now joined Villeroi and Boufflers in Flanders, and these generals determined to surprise Brussels. They first advanced on the little town of Aeth, and William, who was but just recovering from an attack of illness, uniting his forces with those of the elector of Bavaria, endeavoured to prevent them. He was, however, too late; but he marched hastily towards Brussels to defend it against the attack of Villeroi and Boufflers. He passed over the very ground since the site of the battle of Waterloo, and posted himself on the height whence Villeroi had bombarded the city two years before. Neither side, however, were anxious to engage and incur all the losses and miseries of a great battle, with the prospect of a near peace. They therefore entrenched themselves and continued to lie there for the rest of the summer, awaiting the course of events. Louis, however, attacked the king of Spain in another quarter—Catalonia. There Vendôme attacked the viceroy and defeated him, and invested Barcelona, which, though bravely defended by the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, was obliged to capitulate. At the same time came the news of another blow. Louis had sent out a squadron under admiral Pointes to attack the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, and he had sacked and plundered the town of Carthagena, and carried home an immense treasure. These disasters made Spain as eager for peace as she had before been averse, and the emperor of Germany was obliged to cease talking of returning to the position of the peace of Westphalia—a state of things totally out of the power of the allies to restore.

The plenipotentiaries of the different powers now at last were ordered to meet; the only question was, Where? The emperor proposed Aix-la-Chapelle or Frankfort, but Louis objected to any German town, but was willing that the place should be the Hague. It was at length settled to be the Hague. The ambassadors of the allies were to occupy the Hague itself; and the French, Delft, about five miles distant. Midway betwixt these towns lies the village of Ryswick, and close to it a palace belonging then to William, called Neubourg House. There it was determined that the plenipotentiaries should meet for business. The palace was admirably adapted, by its different entrances and alleys, for the approach of the different bodies of diplomatists without any confusion, and there was a fine, large, central hall for their deliberations. There appeared for England the earl of Pembroke, the viscount Villiers, Sir Joseph Williamson, and Matthew Prior, the poet, as their secretary. For the emperor, the gruff Kaunitz, the celebrated imperial minister, was at the head of the German referees. For France came Harlay, Crecy, and Caillières. Don Quiros was the minister of Spain, and there were whole throngs of the representatives of the lesser powers. The minister of Sweden, count Lilienroth, was appointed mediator, and after various arrangements regarding precedence, on the 9th of May the plenipotentiaries met; but it seemed only to entangle themselves in a multitude of absurd difficulties regarding their respective ranks and titles. The ambassadors of Spain and of the emperor were the most ridiculous in their assumptions and their punctilios. Then came the news of the death of the king of Sweden, and the waiting of the mediator for a renewal of his powers, and for putting himself into mourning, and it was the middle of June before any real business had been transacted. William grew out of patience, and determined to take a shorter cut to the object in view. He empowered Portland to arrange with Boufflers, with whom he had become acquainted at the time of Boufflers' arrest at Namur, the preliminaries of a peace betwixt France, England, and Holland. Portland and Boufflers met at a country house near Hal, about ten miles from Brussels on the road to Mons, and within sight of the hostile armies. The questions to be settled betwixt these two plain and straightforward negotiators were these:—William demanded that Louis should bind himself not to assist James, directly or indirectly, in any attempt on the throne of England, and that James should no longer be permitted to reside in France. These demands being sent by express to Paris, Louis at once agreed to the first requisition, that he should engage never to assist James in any attempt on England; but, as to the second, he replied that he could not, from honour and hospitality, banish James from France, but he would undertake to induce him to remove to Avignon, if he did not voluntarily prefer going to Italy. William accepted this modified acquiescence. On the other hand Louis demanded from William that he should give an amnesty to all the Jacobites, and should allow Mary of Modena her jointure of fifty thousand pounds a year.

William peremptorily refused to grant the amnesty—that was an interference with the prerogative of his crown which he could permit to no foreign power. The jointure he was willing to pay, on condition that the money should not be employed in designs against his crown or life, and that James, his queen, and court, should remove to Avignon and continue to reside there. Neither the residence of the exiled family nor the matter of the jointure were to be mentioned in the treaty, but William authorised his plenipotentiaries at the congress to say that Mary of Modena should have everything which on examination should be found to be lawfully her due. This, indeed, may be considered an ambiguous phrase, for Mary, as well as James, being deposed, all her legal rights connected with the crown had lapsed. William was afterwards much blamed for the non-payment of this jointure; but those who charged him with breach of faith knew very well that the jointure was only conditionally offered, and that those conditions were altogether disregarded.

The ceremonious and do-nothing plenipotentiaries were greatly startled by the news that Portland and Boufflers were continually meeting, and were supposed to be actually making a treaty without them. A thing so irregular, so undiplomatic, so contrary to all forms and usages, put them into an agony; but William was a man of business, and, spite of forms and ceremonies, pushed on the treaty and concluded it. Spain, which had concluded a separate treaty in Savoy, was especially scandalised. But still more was king James alarmed and incensed. He addressed two memorials to the princes of the confederacy, one to the catholic princes, entreating them to unite with him against England for his rights, reminding them that his case was theirs, and that the English revolution was setting a fatal precedent for them; another was to the princes at large, warning them against infringing his inalienable rights by entering into any agreement with the usurper to transfer his crown and dignity to him. These producing no effect, he issued a third, protesting against any engagements they might enter into to his prejudice, or the prejudice of his son; and declaring that he should himself never feel bound by any of them.

If Louis was not moved by his entreaties and remonstrances, it was not likely that the princes who had for eight years been fighting in alliance with his rival would. Perhaps, however, James felt it only his duty to put in his disclaimer. The negotiations went on. Besides the terms offered by France to William and his allies being accepted by all except the emperor, it was agreed that commissioners should meet in London from France to settle the respective pretensions of France and England to the territories of Hudson's Bay. The Dutch made a separate treaty of commerce with France. Spain got back Gironne, Roser, Barcelona, Luxembourg, Charleroi, Mons, Courtrai, and all the towns, territories, and fortresses taken by the French in Luxembourg, Namur, Brabant, Hainault, and Flanders, except eighty towns and villages, which the French claimed from longer possession, and the right to which was to be determined by commissioners, with a power of appeal to the States-General. A demand of toleration was made on behalf of the French protestants, but was refused on the same ground as William refused the amnesty to the Jacobites—interference with the prerogative of Louis. On the 10th of July the representatives of the emperor were asked by the French to sign, but, on declining, the 21st of August was fixed as the last day on which France would be bound by its offer. William and the rest of the allies were greatly exasperated at this refusal of the emperor. The 21st arrived, and the commissioners not signing, the representatives of France declared his most Christian Majesty had now withdrawn Strasbourg from his offer, and would annex it for ever to his realm; and moreover, if the treaty was not signed on or before the 10th of September, he should not hold himself bound by the rest of his engagements.

On the 10th the rest of the allies signed the treaty, but the emperor still held out, and a further time was allowed him, namely, till the 1st of November. On the 11th of September an event occurred which made the resistance of the emperor the more obstinate for a time. Prince Eugene fought a great battle at Zeuta against the Sultan in person, completely routed the Turks, and killed or caused to be drowned in the Theysse the grand vizier, the aga of the janissaries, and thirty thousand of the enemy. There were six thousand more wounded or taken prisoners, with all their artillery, baggage, tents, ammunition, and provisions. The grand seignior himself escaped with difficulty, whilst the imperialists lost only about one thousand men in the action. The emperor hoped that such a brilliant victory would induce the allies to prolong the war; but, as it produced no such effect, he was obliged to comply. The petty princes, who had done nothing during the war but to create delays and embarrassments, stood out to the very last on the demand that the Lutheran religion should be restored in Louis's territories, where it had been put down; but they stood out in vain. The treaty was duly signed and ratified at the time fixed.

The new treaty produced very different sensations in France and England. In France there was much murmuring. For what, it was asked, had the king been fighting all these years? He had given up everything, and could only have done that under defeat. The court of St. Germains and James's adherents were in despair. In England the most riotous joy broke forth. There were all the usual demonstrations of such occasions—bonfires, drinking, and firing of guns. The bells rung out from every steeple, and the bank of England stocks, which were at twenty per cent. below par, rose to par. The Jacobites cursed Louis for a traitor to the cause of James, and fled to hide themselves. The rejoicings were equally enthusiastic all over the kingdom.

When William entered his capital it was a regular triumph. From Greenwich to Whitehall it was one dense crowd of hurrahing people; troops of militia and trainbands, the city authorities attending him in all their paraphernalia, the foot-guards standing under arms at Whitehall, and the windows all the way crowded with handsome or excited faces. The 2nd of December was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving, and the new cathedral of St. Paul's was crowded by its first great assemblage on the occasion. There were deputations bringing zealous addresses to the foot of the throne, and foremost and most loyal in language amongst them was that of the university of Oxford, which had so long distinguished itself by its toryism and devotion to the Stuarts.

There was cause, indeed, for joy; for the country was for a time freed from the most exhausting war in which it had ever been engaged. It had passed through it with credit, though its armies and navies were in a great measure commanded by traitors. Its wealth and credit were higher than ever; and, above all, the tone and temper of the nation were sure guarantees that the return of James or his son were the most impossible of things. Still, had the allies on the continent been true to each other, and to the principles for which they professed to contend, they might have inflicted

DEFEAT OF THE TURKS BY PRINCE EUGENE.

a far more complete punishment on the heartless ambition of Louis, and thus prevented the speedy recurrence of the horrors they now hoped were for a long time at an end.

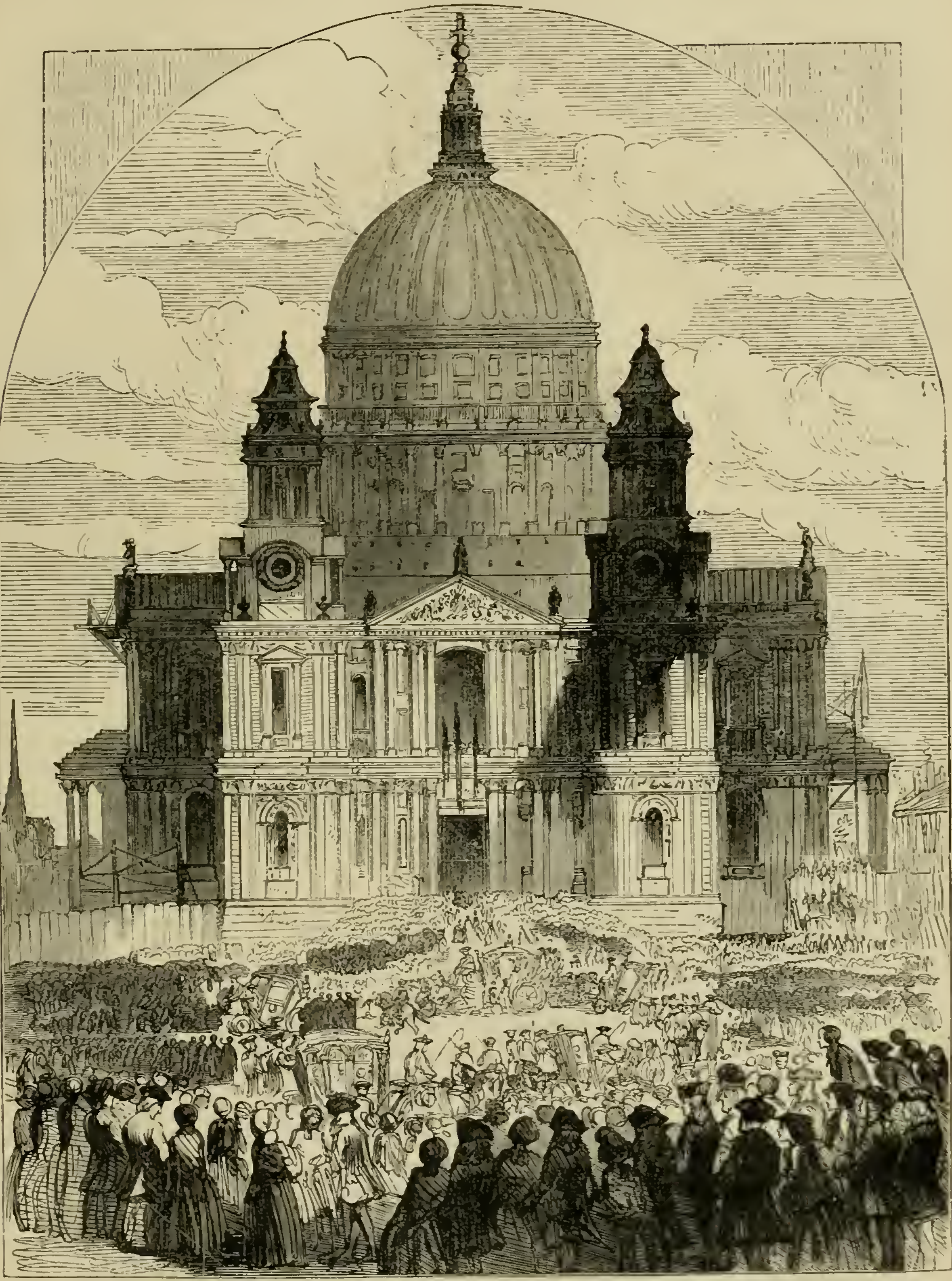
CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III. (Continued).

State of Parties—Standing Army reduced to Ten Thousand—A Revenue for Life granted to the King—Fraudulent Endorsements of Exchequer Bills—Charter granted to the New East India Company—Proceedings against Molyneux' Book in Ireland—Portland resigns—William disowns the Scottish Company—Goes to Holland—First Treaty of Partition—Intrigues of France at Madrid—William obliged to dismiss his Dutch Guards—Expedition to Darien—Spanish Remonstrance against the Treaty of Partition—Inquiries into the Expedition of Captain Kidd, and into the Irish Forfeitures—New Charter of Old East India Company—Dismissal of Somers—Death of the Duke of Gloucester—Expedition to the Baltic—Second Treaty of Partition—Death of the King of Spain—France claims Spain on the Authority of the King's Will—Philip, Duke of Anjou, acknowledged King of Spain by the States-General—Commons and Court not friendly—Succession settled on the Princess Sophia of Hanover—William acknowledges the Duke of Anjou King of Spain—Impeachment of Portland, Oxford, Somers, and Halifax—Progress of Prince Eugene in Italy—Treaty of Alliance between the Emperor and the Maritime Powers—Death of King James—Louis acknowledges the Prince of Wales as King of England—Harmony restored betwixt the King and Parliament—Bill of Abjuration—Affairs of Ireland—Proposed Union of Scotland and England—Death of King William.

WILLIAM met his parliament on the 3rd of December. He congratulated it on the achievement of a peace, in which the confederates had accomplished all they had fought for—the repression of the ambitious attempts of France to bring under its yoke the rest of the kingdoms of the continent. She had been compelled to yield up everything which she had seized from the commencement of the war. But he reminded them that this had not been accomplished except at a heavy cost. They had supported him nobly in furnishing that cost, and he trusted they would not now be less prompt to discharge the remaining unpaid claims, and in taking measures to liquidate by degrees the debts incurred. He expressed his hope that they would provide him for life with a sufficient civil list to maintain the necessary dignity of the crown. Though the war was over, he reminded them that there were many reasons why the army and navy should yet be maintained on a respectable footing.

The commons voted him an address, in which they united in the congratulations on the restoration of peace, but passed over the subject of the army. William noticed the omission, and felt it deeply. Nobody was more aware than himself that, though they had bound France by the treaty of Ryswick, no bonds of that kind ever held Louis XIV. any longer than it suited his necessities or his schemes of aggrandisement. He observed that Louis still kept on foot his large armies, that he still retained the ex-king and his court at St. Germains in open violation of the treaty; and the circumstances of Spain, whose king was gradually dying childless, with Louis intently watching to pounce on his



THANKSGIVING AT ST. PAUL'S.

dominions, filled him, as every far-seeing man, with deep anxiety. Though no king ever less sought to infringe the liberties of his subjects, yet William, naturally fond of an army and of military affairs, was especially anxious at this crisis for the retention of a respectable force. He knew that Europe, though freed from actual war, was, through the restless ambition of Louis, still living only in an armed peace.

The commons did not leave him long in suspense. In a few days they went into the subject of the proposal to keep up the army. The spirit of the house was high against a standing army. All the old arguments were produced—That a standing army was totally inconsistent with the liberties of the people; that the moment you put the sword into the hands of mercenaries, the king became the master of the rights of the nation, and a despot. They asked, if a standing army were to be maintained, what should they have gained by the revolution? The tories, who were anxious to damage the whigs, and the Jacobites, who were anxious to damage William's government altogether, were particularly eloquent on these topics. The true patriots, and they were few, were eloquent from principle.

It was in vain that the friends of William represented that it was a very different thing to maintain an army under particular circumstances, which depended on the will of parliament, to maintaining one at the sole pleasure of the king. The opponents of a standing army contended that a militia was the natural force for internal defence, which could be brought to nearly as much perfection as regular troops, and could be called out when wanted, and that the navy was our proper army, and that, if kept in due efficiency, it was able not only to protect us and our trade, but to render all such assistance to other nations as became a generous and Christian nation. By a division of a hundred and eighty-five votes against a hundred and forty-eight, the house resolved that all the forces raised since 1680 should be disbanded. This fell with an appalling shock on William. By this, at one blow, all his army of gallant mercenaries, his Dutch guards, his Huguenot cavalry, must be sent away. He would, it was found, be left only with about eight thousand regular troops. Never was there such a stripping of a martial monarch, who had figured at the head of upwards of a hundred thousand men against the greatest military power of Europe. He made little remark publicly, but he poured out his grief to his great correspondent, the Dutch grand pensionary, Heinsius, and to Burnet. To him he said that it would make his alliance of so little value, his state so contemptible, that he did not see how he was to carry on the government; that he never could have imagined, after what he had done for the nation, that they would treat him thus; and that, had he imagined it, he would never have meddled with the affairs of England; that he was weary of governing a country which had rather lay itself open to its enemies than trust him, who had acted all his life so faithfully for them.

But it was useless complaining; the country was resolved on having no standing army, and every attempt of ministers to modify or enlarge the resolution was disregarded. They proposed that the bill should be committed, because it would leave the king in the hands of the old tory regiments; and again, that five hundred thousand pounds per annum should be granted for the maintenance of guards and garrisons. Both motions were negatived. There was a strong feeling excited against Sunderland, on the supposition that he had strengthened the king in his desire for a large army, because he warmly argued for it, and that minister, equally odious to both parties, felt it safest to retire. He therefore resigned his post of lord chamberlain, though William did all he could to dissuade him from it, and sought the seclusion of his princely abode of Althorp.

If the commons sternly refused the king a large army, they at all events granted him a large income. They raised the civil list from £600,000 to £700,000 a year; they voted £2,700,000 to take up the exchequer bills; they granted £2,348,102 to pay off arrears, subsistence, general officers, guards, and garrisons, and £1,400,000 to make up other deficiencies. Here was a total of £7,148,000 to pay the expenditure of the year—a sum never voted before, and voted now with a liberal, ungrudging spirit, considering what was yet behind. Besides the floating, funded debt of £5,000,000, they now found a debt owing for the navy, £1,392,742; for the ordnance, £204,157; for the transport debt contracted by the reduction of Ireland and other services, £464,493; and there was £49,929 for quartering and clothing the army, raised by one act of parliament in 1677 and disbanded by another in 1679. There were again upwards of two millions of war debt to deal with, and to meet its liquidation the land tax was continued, and new additions of tonnage and poundage in addition to the old, and to the hereditary excise, and other imposts to maintain the civil list. The £50,000 for Mary of Modena's jointure was admitted in these sums, and a pension for the establishment of the young duke of Gloucester. William, however, to the great wrath of the Jacobites, refused to pay the jointure-money so long as James and his queen continued, in defiance of the treaty, at St. Germains; and he would not allow more than £15,000 a year for the use of the duke of Gloucester, who was but in his ninth year, and he appointed Burnet his tutor.

Well might the house of commons be anxious to be rid of so expensive an army, and their desire to free themselves from it blinded them to the fact, so clear to William, that Louis would immediately presume on the reduced force of England. Whilst discussing these measures, however, the house had come upon several gross frauds in the government officers, which heightened their severity. They found that Charles Duncombe, receiver-general of the excise, Burton, a man who had a post at the same board, Knight, treasurer of the customs, and Marriot, deputy-teller of the exchequer, had colleagued in a system of fraudulently endorsing exchequer bills, in which they made a great trade. The house sent Duncombe and Knight, both of whom were members of it, to the Tower, and the other delinquents to Newgate. It brought in and passed bills of pains and penalties against them, but the lords threw them out, partly through the aristocratic connections of Duncombe, and partly through his free application of his money, for he was very rich. The lords discharged Duncombe from the Tower, but the commons recommitted him, and he was kept there for the remainder of the session.

A motion was then made to reclaim all the improper grants of crown property, and apply the proceeds to the public service; but as this would have touched both whigs and tories, and the grants under the Stuarts as well as under William, it was successfully opposed. It was brought to light in the debate that Montague had received a grant from William, which was held in trust by one Railton for him; but the commons themselves voted that they held the chancellor of the exchequer well deserving, by his public services, of this mark of his majesty's favour.

These were the last transactions of the English government in 1697; but there was at this moment a person residing in this country, who was destined to produce greater changes in the face of Europe and in its relations than any who had gone before him. This was Peter, the czar of Muscovy, who was at this time residing at Sayes Court, a house of the celebrated John Evelyn, at Deptford, and studying the fleet and ship-building of England, in order to create a naval power for himself. He was only a youth of five-and-twenty, and was the monarch of a country then sunk in barbarism, which was unrepresented at all the courts of Europe, was little heard of by the rest of the continent, and whose merchants were forbidden, on pain of death, to trade with other countries. Yet already Peter had raised a regular army, and something of a navy, putting them under the management of Scotch and French officers. By means of these, in 1696, he had besieged and taken Azoph. He had put himself through all the ranks of the army, beginning as a common soldier, and he had then determined to see personally the chief maritime nations, Holland and England, and learn all that he could of the arts that made them so powerful. He set out with only twelve attendants, amongst whom were his two chief princes, Menzikoff, who had been originally a pieman, and Galitzin. These were to act as his ambassadors to the courts of Holland and England, he himself remaining *incognito*. He first settled at Saardam, in Holland, where he lived in a small lodging, dressed and worked with his attendants as ship-carpenters, learning to forge the iron-work of ships as well as to prepare their woodwork. He had a yacht on the Zuyder Zee, and practised its management, and studied rope-making and sail-making. He found himself too much crowded about and stared at on his removal to London, where he spent his time chiefly in the dockyards of Deptford, Woolwich, and Chatham. William used to go and see him at Sayes Court, and sent the marquis of Caermarthen to attend upon him, where they are said to have drunk brandy and pepper together during the long winter evenings. In the ensuing April disturbances at home called him away, but not before he had destroyed Evelyn's fine holly hedges by driving over them in the deep snows in his sledge, to Evelyn's great mortification. From this singular guest and his vast plans have sprung the present power and status of Russia, the bugbear and incubus of Europe.

At the opening of the year 1698, all appeared peace in Europe, but it was the quiet only which lies in the bosom of a volcano. Enormous expenditure of blood and treasure had been made to repel the unprincipled schemes of Louis XIV. Europe seemed to have triumphed over him. He had suddenly surrendered all that he had striven for, as if he perceived the impossibility of his aspirations. Nothing was less the fact. Never was he so boundless and daring in his plans of aggrandisement as at this moment. Why should he continue to drain his kingdom of its population and its substance to grasp merely at Flanders, when, by exerting the arts of diplomacy, he might possess himself not only of Flanders, but of all Spain, the north of Italy, the Sicilies, the South American and Indian dependencies? That was an ambition worthy of the Grand Monarque, and that Louis had now resolved to compass. The imbecile Charles II. of Spain was fast sinking to the tomb. He had no children, and his dominions were bequeathed by his father, Philip IV., to the emperor of Germany, the Austrian house, nearest to the succession. No matter; Louis XIV. had married the infanta, Maria Theresa, the sister of Philip IV., and aunt of Charles, and had children by her. On marrying her he had sworn to renounce all claims to the Spanish throne through her; but that weighed nothing with Louis. He resolved that a son of the dauphin, that is, his grandson through Maria Theresa, had the best right, and should have the throne. To secure a succession, he had before married his niece, the beautiful Louisa of Orleans, eighteen years ago; but there was no issue, and Charles was now married to a princess of the Austrian house, Maria Ann, sister of the emperor's late wife. Notwithstanding, Louis determined that the house of Austria should be set aside, and his own issue occupy the Spanish throne, from which moment France, in fact, stretching from the straits of Gibraltar to Flanders, and including a large share of Italy, would be able to give law to the continent, and swallow up Flanders and Holland, if not Germany too.

This was the mighty danger which filled the mental vision and wrought on the anxious heart of William at this moment; and we shall see that, through the terror of it, and with a fond hope of avoiding it, he was ere long drawn by the crafty Louis to sink his hitherto fair fame as a far-seeing and honest diplomatist, and to play into the very hands of this grand master of Macchiavelianism. Before entering on these affairs, which laid the foundation of fresh and long wars, we must touch on domestic matters of themselves sufficiently embarrassing.

Montague, in the height of his popularity, undertook and carried a measure which eventually, however, did the whigs infinite mischief. Ministers had applied to the East India Company for a loan. The company offered to lend them seven hundred thousand pounds, to be repaid out of the supplies at the convenience of government. The new company, which had so long been striving after a charter, hearing of the proposal, immediately outbade the old company, offering to lend the government two million pounds at eight per cent. The bait was too tempting to resist; a bill was brought into the commons, and passed its first reading by a large majority. The old company, alarmed, petitioned the house, stating the claims it had, from having been encouraged by so many royal charters to invest its capital and to create a great trade with India. It begged the house to consider that a thousand families depended on the stock, and that the great property of the company in India, producing an annual revenue of forty-four thousand pounds, would all be destroyed or reduced to trifling value. They deposed that they had expended a million of money in fortifications alone; that during the war they had lost twelve ships and cargoes worth fifteen hundred thousand pounds; that since the last subscription they had paid two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds for customs, and above eighty-five thousand pounds in taxes. They had furnished ten thousand barrels of gunpowder when the government was greatly pressed for it, and taken eighty thousand pounds'-worth of exchequer bills. The house weighed the proposal, but was persuaded by Montague to give the preference to the new company. On this the old company offered, notwithstanding their great losses, to advance two millions to government, on condition that the charter to the new company was not granted. The offer came too late; the bill for the new company was passed and carried also in the lords, but with considerable opposition, and a protest from one-and-twenty peers. This act was, notwithstanding, deemed a very unjust and arbitrary measure; and the arguments of the whigs for a standing army, their wholesale embezzlements in the government offices, and by most flagrant contracts, sunk greatly their popularity. In fact, a more greedy and corrupt set of men never existed than the whigs of this period.

Before closing the session, the house of commons received a petition from colonel Michelbourne, who, with Dr. Walker, had made the splendid defence of Londonderry, praying that the arrears due to himself and officers might be considered. It appeared that not only had these meritorious officers been left neglected and unpaid all this time, notwithstanding their extraordinary services, but the townspeople, in another petition, complained of the poverty and ruin they had been suffered to remain in from the destructive attack on their city, and they prayed the attention of the house to their sufferings. The house, on examination, found the representations wholly borne out, and prayed his majesty to take measures for doing justice to these most deserving citizens, that their case might not remain a reproach to the country and a discouragement to all good subjects. William promised that their demands should be granted; and certainly it was a disgrace to him that, whilst he had taken care to see his Dutch subjects amply remunerated for their share in his wars, and even for bringing him over, he should so long have left these brave men in utter neglect.

But though the Irish in this case obtained a degree of regard from the commons, they were more sharply and unjustly treated in other respects. One William Molyneux, a gentleman of Dublin, had written a book to prove the kingdom of Ireland independent of the parliament of England; in fact, he wanted to ignore Poyning's celebrated statute, which made it necessary that every measure submitted to the Irish parliament should first have the consent of the English privy council. The house appointed a committee to inquire into the circumstances connected with the publication of this book, and as it at that time was issued anonymously, to pray the king to take measures for discovering and punishing the author. They pointed out that an act of parliament had been passed during the last session in Dublin, pretending to be only a re-enactment of an English act, for the better security of his majesty's person and government, but, in reality, a new act, thus setting at defiance Poyning's statute. They attributed both to the book and to this act of parliament an attempt to render Ireland independent of England, and prayed his majesty to punish the authors of these measures, and to prevent such offences in future.

The narrow and tyrannical spirit exercised towards Ireland was strikingly manifested by another prayer of the commons to his majesty. It appeared that the Irish had introduced the woollen manufacture into their country, and that it was beginning to flourish. Instead of rejoicing that Ireland showed symptoms of rising from her destitution, and employing her people in useful labours instead of leaving them to idleness and sedition, the commons immediately prayed his majesty to put a stop to this manufacture. They looked on Ireland, not as an integral part of the realm, the prosperity of which must add to the general prosperity, but as a foreign country, and, with a most pitiful jealousy, demanded that this woollen manufacture should be put an end to. It is curious to perceive in the commons' address the idea which it entertained of the utter subjection of Ireland to England, and that it was to be suffered to possess no mercantile enterprise except at the will of this country—not even to make coats for its own people's backs. It says, "Being very sensible that the wealth and power of this kingdom do, in a great measure, depend on the preserving the woollen manufacture as much as possible entire to this realm, they thought it became them, like their ancestors, to be jealous of the establishment and increase thereof elsewhere, and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent it; that they could not without trouble observe that Ireland, which is dependent on and protected by England in the enjoyment of all they have, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which would be so enriching to themselves, and as profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both nations; that the consequence whereof would necessitate his majesty's parliament of England to interpose to prevent this mischief, unless his majesty, by his authority and great wisdom, should find means to secure the trade of England by making the subjects of Ireland procure the joint interests of both kingdoms. Wherefore, they implored his majesty's protection and favour in this matter, and that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employs in Ireland to use their utmost diligence to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland—except to be imported hither—and for discouraging the woollen manufactures, and encouraging the linen manufactures in Ireland; to which the commons of England should always be ready to give their utmost assistance."

William promised to do as they desired, and thus was Ireland, till a recent period, always repressed in every attempt to raise herself and extend her industry, lest it should interfere with the industry of England. Well might its parliament be anxious to get from under Poyning's statute.

Whilst William was oppressed with the difficulties growing up abroad, he had no great peace at home. Of late he had given much evidence of growing favour to Van Keppel, one of his countrymen, who had been originally one of his pages, and since then his private secretary. The earl of Portland beheld this new attachment with uneasiness, as well as the renewed marks of favour which the king lavished on his mistress, Mrs. Villiers. To be rid of Portland's jealousy, he sent him to Paris as ambassador, but at the same time removed Sir William Trumball, Portland's friend and secretary, from his office, and gave it to Vernon, who had been under-secretary to Shrewsbury. Portland had set out for Paris in January, into which he made so magnificent an entrance as astonished the French. He was well received by Louis, but found himself wholly unable to effect any mitigation of the persecution of the protestants, or the removal of James and his court to Avignon, according to the private agreement attached to the treaty of Ryswick. On his return to England he found Keppel created earl of Albemarle, and retired from all his employments in the palace with disgust. He is supposed, however, to have received private overtures of great importance from Louis to convey to William, and we shall soon find him engaged to carry out these plans by what was called "the treaty of partition."

Whilst Portland was vainly endeavouring to carry his mission in Paris, the French ambassador in London was zealously labouring to restore those commercial connections betwixt the countries which the war had destroyed; but he, too, was disappointed in his object. Formerly England had taken from France large quantities of linen, silks, hats, paper, stuffs, wines, &c.; but all these commodities had, during the war, been obtained from other countries—wines from Spain and Portugal, linen from Holland, and many of the other articles were now manufactured by the French refugees whom the bigotry of Louis had driven out with their trades on account of their religion; and the English were not disposed to break with their new connections. On the contrary, parliament showed every disposition to maintain and protect these new connections. So far from admitting freely the French articles, they enforced the laws against smuggling them in. At the instance of the refugee manufacturers of lutestrings and alamodes, who complained of the illicit trade in them, and that this trade during the war had been made a cover for carrying secret intelligence betwixt the court of St. Germains and the malcontents here, they arrested a number of men whose names pointed them out to be French, or of French origin chiefly, for smuggling transactions, fined them heavily, and imprisoned them till the fines were paid. Because the French, too, had seduced some English manufacturers of woollen cloths, and set up a manufactory in Picardy, the commons brought in a bill rendering more rigorous the penalties on the exportation of wools, fullers'-earth, and scouring-clay.

William prorogued parliament on the 5th of July. He had no cause to be in very good humour with it; for besides insisting on the disbanding of the bulk of the army, it reminded him before the close of the session that it expected the dismissal of the troops to take place without delay. It sent to him requesting a list of all that were already disbanded, as well as of those that had to be disbanded, and also of all the officers who were, or were to be put, on half-pay. There was considerable murmuring even at the retention of officers on half-pay, as but another mode of keeping up the means of raising an army at a few days' notice; the officers, it was said, being the main requisite. William, however much chagrined, concealed his feelings. Only two days after the prorogation he dissolved the parliament, and summoned a new one for the 24th of August. He even made preparation for his summer visit to Holland, though there was no war, but before he went he was obliged to appoint proper persons to take charge of the heir apparent, the duke of Gloucester, the son of the princess Anne, who was now in his ninth year. Anne was extremely importunate that her great friend Marlborough should take the charge of him; and William, not being able to persuade Shrewsbury to accept that office, who was still sensitively suffering under the accusations of the late conspirators, gave way, and made Marlborough governor. He at the same time, to do the thing graciously, restored Marlborough to his rank and his place at the council board. This appointment relieved him from the necessity of placing the boy-prince in the hands of Anne's near relative, earl Rochester, who was a violent tory and leader of the high-church party. With Marlborough as governor of the young duke, he associated bishop Burnet as preceptor, confident that his education and morals would be in good keeping, and that no sentiments but those of high respect for his uncle the king would find a way into his mind from the bishop, who was a most faithful friend and servant of William. The commons, however, were highly indignant at the appointment of Burnet, and the tories in both houses, not forgetting that in his pastoral letter in the year 1691 he used the phrase of William and Mary being conquerors. On the present occasion Marlborough defended the choice of the bishop and carried him through, and from that moment the two keepers of the royal youth were great friends, and discharged their duties with much cordiality towards each other.

Towards the end of July William went to Holland, and having addressed the states-general and given audience to a number of ambassadors at the Hague, he betook himself to his favourite seat at Loo, where, in August, he was joined by Portland, the pensionary Heinsius, his great adviser, and the count Tallard, an emissary from Louis XIV. In this retirement they discussed one of the boldest and most unscrupulous projects which could possibly be entertained by statesmen of any claims to moral character. That the scheme was Louis XIV.'s there can be no question, and, daring as it was, served but as the blinding manœuvre which covered still more daring ones. The ultimate object of Louis was the seizure of the crown and territories of Spain, to which we have already alluded, in preparing the way for which he made a most perfect dupe of William, and contrived to drag him through so much dirt as left him very little authority to denounce the audacious robbery at which his Machiavellian rival aimed.

This plan of dividing the empire of Spain amongst such parties as should suit the views of William and Louis had been suggested by France, apparently, very soon after the peace of Ryswick, and had been going on all the spring in England in profound secrecy. One of the motives for sending Portland to Paris in January had been, to learn the full particulars of this scheme, which had been somewhat mysteriously opened to William. In writing to Heinsius on the

3rd of January, when Portland was about to start for France, William expressed his surprise as to the real meaning of "something that was proposed to be done by the Republic, France, and England, towards the maintenance of the peace," and imagined it might relate to their position with the emperor. However, he added, "the earl of Portland will readily be able to get at the bottom of this affair in France, and that is another reason for hastening his departure as much as possible."

Portland was scarcely settled in his diplomatic position in Paris when the scheme was broached to him, but at first cautiously. On the 15th of March he wrote to William that the ministers, Pomponne and De Torcy, had communicated to him, but in the profoundest secresy, that the king their master desired to make him the medium of a most important negotiation with the king of England. That the impending death of the king of Spain was likely to throw the whole of Europe into war again, unless this was prevented by engagements entered into by the kings of France and England to prevent it. That if the emperor were allowed to succeed to Spain with all its dependencies, Flanders, Italy, and the colonies, he would become so powerful that he would be dangerous to all Europe. Portland declared that he could give no opinion, nor could the king his master give an answer, so far as he could see, until he had the full views of the king of France on the subject. That the naval and maritime interests of England and Holland might be greatly affected by any arrangement regarding the succession of the Spanish territories. The French ministers said it would be easy to order matters regarding the low countries to the satisfaction of England and Holland, and that France would guarantee that the crown of Spain should not be annexed to that of France; but as to the Indies, or the security of our trade in the Mediterranean, Portland could draw nothing from them. The views of France were so far not very clear; but Portland added the important piece of information that the count de Tallard was at that very moment setting out for London, ostensibly to congratulate William, but really to prosecute this negotiation.

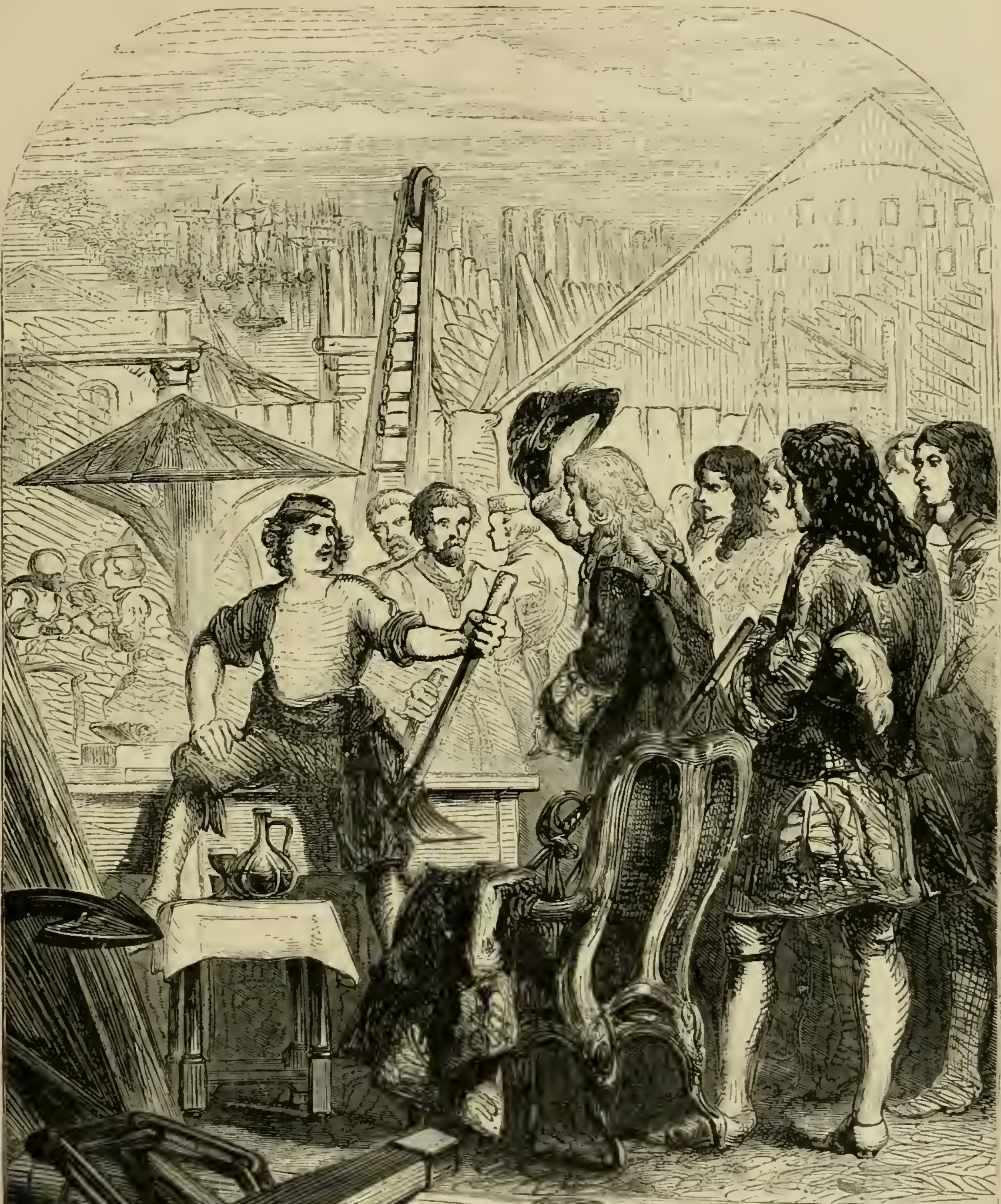
Accordingly, Tallard arrived in London on the 19th of March; and he and William, in strict secresy, admitting no one else to their confidence, discussed this profoundly Machiavellian scheme of Louis. This was no other than that the crown of Spain, with the Spanish Netherlands and colonies, should not be allowed to pass to the emperor. but should be settled on the electoral prince of Bavaria; that Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the province Guipuzcoa on the French side of the Pyrenees, Fontarabia, St. Sebastian, Ferrol, and other towns on the Tuscan coast, then owned by Spain, and called Presidii, should be settled by a mutual treaty betwixt them on the Dauphin, and that Milan should be settled on the archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor.

It is now necessary to ask by what right these two kings, namely, of France and England, undertook to divide and give away the Spanish monarchy? Were they the direct heirs to the crown? Not at all. Their only right was that which had led to all the robberies and partitions of kingdoms since the foundation of the world. The kingdom of Spain was expressly bequeathed, in case the present king had no issue, by Philip IV., the present king's father, to the emperor of Germany, who claimed the throne, both in right of his mother Maria, who was a daughter of Philip III., and as the true male heir of Ferdinand and Isabella, the founders of the monarchy. This was an undoubtedly valid claim; but as the union of two such empires as those of Germany and Spain might well alarm the rest of Europe, the emperor had already pledged himself to renounce his own right and that of his eldest son, in favour of his second son, the archduke Charles. Thus, the bugbear of the union of the crowns of Germany and Spain which Louis had conjured up to alarm William, was a mere phantom: the prospect of any such union did not exist. The monarchs of Europe had therefore nothing to do, to secure the even and due balance of the continent, but to see that this proposal was reduced to a formal international compact. But nothing was farther from Louis's intentions than any such simple and righteous arrangement. He laid claim to the throne of Spain himself in the right of his wife, the infanta Maria Theresa, the aunt of the present king of Spain, and for the dauphin, who was the son of the said Maria Theresa. There were only two circumstances against this claim, but they were fatal ones. The crown of Spain was already confirmed by the will of Philip IV. to the true heir, the emperor; and Louis and the infanta Maria Theresa, at the time of their marriage, had most solemnly, and by the most binding documents, surrendered all right to the throne of Spain, both for themselves and their posterity.

This, in a condition of things in which kings paid any regard to their oaths and engagements, would have been final; but kings in general hold the opinion of Hudibras that

Oaths are but words,
And words are wind;

and Louis XIV. of France especially cared no more for an oath or for justice than he did for any other moral obligation. He was resolved to set up a claim to Spain—aye, the whole of it; but this he did not yet let William know. It was his business at present to drag William into the dirt of diplomatic crime, to leave his character for justice irremediably damaged, and his hands so befouled that he could never again stand up like an honest man to oppose his most villanous designs. To effect this, he set himself first to frighten him by holding before him the position of Holland if the emperor of Germany should become possessor of Spain. Immense power would then fall into his hands, and Holland would lie directly betwixt his territories of Germany and Flanders. Now William knew as well as Louis himself that the emperor was ready to bind himself and his eldest son not to take Spain, but to let it pass to his second son as a distinct kingdom; and his answer, had he been the high-principled man which some modern historians have laboured hard to represent him, should have been that what Louis professed to fear never would take place, since the emperor was ready to bind himself to the contrary. But what really terrified William was, not that the crowns of Germany and Spain should become united, but those of France and Spain. He knew that Louis had been steadily keeping his eye on the Spanish monarchy for the last thirty years, resolving to seize upon it the moment the present king should expire. He saw, therefore, in imagination, Holland, not lying



PETER THE CZAR RECEIVING VISITORS IN THE DOCKYARD.

betwixt Germany and Flanders, and both of those countries in the hands of the same person, but Holland lying on the frontiers of a France stretching from the straits of Gibraltar to the very neighbourhood of Amsterdam.

This was the terror which absorbed all that was heroical in the faculties or principles of William. He knew that neither principles, nor oaths, nor treaties could bind Louis. He expressed this conviction freely in his letters to Heinsius:—"The greatest hardship," he says, "that appears to me on this business is, *that so little reliance is to be made on engagements with France.* Her power," he adds, "will be thereby so much more considerable, that she will be at liberty to pay just as much regard to the treaties as may suit her convenience, of which we have had but too much experience. On the other hand, I do see a possibility of preventing France from putting herself in possession of the monarchy of Spain, in case the king should happen to die soon." Yet, seeing all this, William was weak enough to enter into Louis's pretended scheme of partition of the territories of Spain, in order to free himself of the bugbear of having France and Spain wholly united. He was weak enough to attempt to bind a man like Louis by a secret treaty, who was bound by no treaty, and was at this moment seeking to violate the recent treaty of Ryswick in the most vital part. And yet, even had Louis carried out this proposed secret treaty of partition faithfully, what would be the situation of Holland? It would still be laid on the edge of a France which would have real possession of Flanders and Italy in the name of the dauphin.

The bait by which this master of finesse, Louis, drew William with his eyes thus open to commit the very worst action that a king can commit—that of conspiring in secret to give away and carve up the possessions of his neighbours—was this:—There was a third claimant to the crown of Spain; this was the electoral prince of Bavaria, the son of the elector of Bavaria. This prince was the son of Maria Antonietta, the niece of the present Spanish king, Charles II., by his sister Margaret, late wife of the emperor Leopold I. Maria Antonietta was dead; but at the time of her marriage to the elector of Bavaria, she had, like her aunt, Maria Theresa, renounced all claims on the Spanish crown. The prince's grandfather Leopold, therefore, justly declared the claim of the prince his grandson wholly groundless; yet it was this young man's empty claim which Louis now brought forward against that of the emperor his grandfather. He proposed that this prince should have Spain itself and the colonies, to the prejudice of the archduke Charles, the emperor's second son, as proposed by the emperor; and William was caught by this specious pretence for separating Spain both from France and Austria. He therefore went into this unprincipled scheme with a man in whom he had no faith, and yet fondly hoped that he was averting a war, whilst he was laying the foundations of one of the longest and most bloody wars which ever desolated Europe.

The negotiations were carried on in England in closest secrecy betwixt William and Tallard, William entering into engagements which most momentously affected England as well as all Europe, without taking a particle of advice from his council, much less seeking the advice of parliament, a proceeding utterly unconstitutional and reprehensible. William's excuse for this proceeding was that he could not assume a martial attitude, and was, therefore, compelled to effect what he could by secret treaty. Writing to Heinsius in March, he said, "The invincible difficulties that appear in the thing itself, the unprepared state the allies are in to begin a war, and the bad situation of Spain, make me shudder when I consider the affair; for certainly France is in a condition to take possession of that monarchy before we shall be able to concert measures to oppose it. The constitution here is such that I shall be able to contribute little towards the land forces, but I will do something towards the marine, for the people here will, I believe, be inclinable to it, though we shall have great want of money." He adds that expert ministers must be sent to Madrid, and the nations must do all they could to remain armed, and he wished he could do so too.

The fact was, that William's English subjects were sick of war, especially continental war, where they had to pay for defending nations too inert to defend themselves, under the pretence of defending England, which was sufficiently defended by her navy. At this moment, whilst William was longing to be at the head of armies again, his lord chancellor Somers was writing that the nation never was less disposed for any new war; that they were tired out with taxes, and to a degree that was not fully discovered till the elections which had been going on, when they would support no candidate that would not pledge himself to peace, economy, and a reduction of taxation. And, in reality, it was not fear for England but for Holland that agitated William. In his earlier interviews with Tallard in England, he gave him to understand, he says in a letter to Heinsius, that he foresaw no accommodation unless at least all the Spanish possessions in Italy should be ceded to the emperor, and the Spanish Netherlands to the elector of Bavaria, not in the condition they then were, but with a stronger and greater barrier. He also threw out a plea for a slice of the property for England, "some ports in the Mediterranean and in the West Indies for the security of our commerce." So soon as William had let Somers into the secret of this negotiation, which was about this time, that statesman had told him how much it would endear him to the English if he could procure some advantages to them in the Spanish colonies, and William seems to have made use of the idea. But he must have soon found that Louis had very different views of arrangement, for he did not listen to anything but to the elector having Spain and the dauphin Italy and Flanders, and William gave way. Historians have asked what, indeed, he could do under such circumstances? There was one thing which he could have done—remained dignifiedly and nobly passive on the occasion. If he was not prepared to fight, he could at least have refused to soil his hands with making over the lands and cities of other nations to the ambitious and unprincipled man whose designs of the kind he had spent so much blood and wealth to withstand. It was the part of a weak man or of a dishonourable politician to stoop to the base office of assisting the robbers of kingdoms to take forcible possession of them, and to break all the rightful claims of his contemporary princes. A great man would have reposed his trust on that supreme arbiter of nations who makes a way for right where profound diplomatists see none, and who leaves those who dare not trust in or who willingly desert the solid principles of equity, in a worse condition after their crooked schemes than before. If William had refused to sanction Louis's lawless plans, and given fair notice to the emperor and the other states to be on the watch to defend their rights, it would then have been their own fault if they had not done it. At all events, he would have stood erect in his unsullied fame, and the wily Louis would have borne all the odium alone. If the continent had come, as come it must, to a struggle, it would then have been the honourable part of England to protest against the iniquitous attempts of France; to assist the struggling nations as a great maritime power could and ought to assist them. As it was, Louis succeeded in making William an accomplice to his pretended design of a base partition of a Spanish monarchy; thus destroyed his moral power, and then, deriding his dupe, marched forward towards his real purpose.

When William quitted England after the dissolution of parliament, it was only the more unobservedly to complete this extraordinary business. Tallard followed him to Loo, and they were soon after joined by Portland. It was now about the middle of August, and William wrote to Somers, desiring him to send him full powers under the great seal to complete the negotiation, leaving the names in blanks. He said he had ordered Portland to write to Vernon, the secretary of state, to draw out the commission with his own hand, so that no creature should know anything of it except Somers and one or two of the other most trusted ministers. He told Somers that it was confidently believed that the king of Spain could not outlive the month of October—might die much sooner, and, therefore, not a moment was to be lost.

In consequence of this communication, Somers, who was seeking health at Tunbridge Wells, immediately called into his counsels Russell, now lord Orford, Montague, and Shrewsbury. He informed William that Montague and secretary Vernon had come down to him at Tunbridge; they had seriously discussed this very momentous question, and that it seemed to them that it might be attended with very many ill consequences if the French did not act a sincere part; that the people of England would undoubtedly resent being drawn into any fresh war; and that it required deep consideration what would be the condition of Europe should this proposed partition be carried out. To them it seemed that, if Sicily were in French hands, they would become entire masters of the Levant trade; that if they obtained Ferrol and the other Spanish ports on that coast, Milan would be so entirely shut in from independent intercourse or commerce by sea and land, that it would be utterly powerless; that if France had Guipuzcoa and the other Spanish places on the French side of the Pyrenees, the rest of Spain would be as completely open to French invasion as Catalonia now was; and, finally, if this negotiation was concluded, what security had William for the king of France's faithful execution of it? Were England and Holland to sit still and see France enforce this partition? "If that be so," says Somers, "what security ought we to expect from the French that, while we are neuter, they will confine themselves to the terms of the treaty, and not attempt to take further advantages?"

These considerations, apart from the moral ones, ought to have made William pause. In obedience to the king's orders, Somers sent the carte blanche with the great seal affixed; but he had failed in inducing Vernon to give him a warrant for affixing the seal. The secretary was too well aware of the unconstitutional character of this proceeding to issue such a warrant, and Somers was obliged to content himself with keeping the king's letter as his authority for the act. Undeterred by the plain suggestions of Somers and the other ministers as to the total want of security which William had for Louis's observance of this treaty, and the dangerous power it conferred on France, William was in such haste to conclude the treaty, that the earl of Portland and Sir Joseph Williamson had signed a rough draught before Somers's carte blanche arrived; and on the 11th of October, or about six weeks after its receipt, the formal treaty was signed by Portland, Williamson, Tallard, and Heinsius.

By the eighth article of the treaty, the parties bound themselves, immediately after the ratification of it, to communicate its contents to the emperor and the elector of Bavaria. If they objected to acquiesce in it, their share of the territories were to remain in sequestration till they did; and if they attempted by force to possess themselves of any other than the portions of territory conceded to them the contracting parties bound themselves to oppose this force by all their power: that the elector of Bavaria was to be administrator of Milan till his son was of age; but, in case this was refused, and the state sequestrated, the prince de Vaudemont should be made governor of the state, and in case of his death, the prince Charles de Vaudemont, his son. All princes, kings, and states might become parties to the treaty if they chose.

Here, under the plea of preventing war, was certainly concocted a scheme as pregnant with war as history gives example of. The emperor was certain not to give up his son's right to Spain and all its dependencies in exchange for the insignificant fragment of Milan, and that under the power of France. The moment such a partition was attempted, the emperor and all his adherents would have been in arms. But no such partition was now contemplated by Louis; he was aiming at the whole. All this time that he was amusing William with this treaty, and prostrating his moral character and, therefore, his moral strength, he was busily at work in Spain to induce the dying and imbecile king to bequeath the Spanish monarchy and all its dependencies to him by will. The marquis D'Harcourt, his ambassador at Madrid, was instructed to compass the attainment of the will by all his skill and powers of bribery. He was to obtain the crown for one of the dauphin's sons, or, in any case, to prevent its going to the emperor. To support him in these endeavours, an army of sixty thousand men were advanced to the frontiers of Catalonia and Navarre, and the coasts and ports of Spain were occupied by French men-of-war. Harcourt immediately set about to make a party for this purpose. He represented to this party that Philip IV. had no power to dispose of the crown in the manner in which he had done; that it was contrary to the constitution of the realm; that by the regular order of succession it would go to the children of his daughter, and not to more distant relations; that in case the Spaniards would support the claims of the dauphin in his second son, the duke of Anjou, they might have him to educate and make a thorough Spaniard of him.

The proposal did not find much response from the Spaniards, who knew that the mother of the dauphin had absolutely renounced all claim for herself and issue on the Spanish crown, and who had no desire to become a dependence of France. Harcourt dropped his demand to that of their taking the electoral prince of Bavaria rather than the emperor, or, in fact, if they would choose a king after their own will, he would support him in opposition to the house of Austria.

The queen of Spain, the sister of the emperor's late wife, was a zealous advocate for the succession of the king of the Romans, the emperor's son. She soon perceived the intrigues carried on by the French minister, and took active measures against them. She re-modelled the council, making it more in accordance with her views, appointed the prince de Vaudemont viceroy of Milan, and the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt viceroy of Catalonia. To remove the king from the influence of the creatures of Harcourt, she got him away to Toledo on plea of a better air for him. But Harcourt lost no time in removing to Toledo too, especially as he learnt that the count de Harrach was gone thither, and he suspected that the object was to induce the king to confirm the will of his father in favour of the emperor. Harcourt, on arriving at Toledo, solicited an audience of the king on the pretext that he had an offer of assistance against the Moors from the king his master to make to his majesty; but he was informed that the king's health did not permit him to attend to business, and that all affairs of state were left in the hands of cardinal Corduba at Madrid.

Harcourt was not disconcerted by this rebuff. He returned to Madrid, and exerted all his power to corrupt the ministry there, and at last succeeded in purchasing the important interest of cardinal Portocarrero. At the same time Louis was at work with equal diligence in exciting the jealousy of the northern powers against this very secret treaty; and though the king of Sardinia had been induced to sign it, he now got him to sign a separate treaty with himself, which was completely in antagonism to it.

William, on his part, having ratified this delusion of a treaty, was employed in putting an end to the war which had been raging in Hungary for the last fifteen years. He sent lord Paget and Mr. Colliers as ambassadors from England and Holland to the Turkish camp near Belgrade, and by their mediation the peace of Carlowitz was concluded, though not ratified till the following January. By this peace the emperor retained all his conquests; Camenieck was restored to the Poles; the cardinal primate of Poland, who had supported the pretensions of the prince of Conti, acknowledged Augustus of Saxony as king of Poland; the Morea and several fortresses in Dalmatia were ceded to the Venetians, and Peter of Russia retained Azoph; so that Turkey suffered the loss of a great part of its European territories. Peace for a moment prevailed throughout Christendom.

William returned to England in the beginning of December. He arrived on the 4th, and opened his new parliament on the 6th. It had been obliged to be prorogued owing to his prolonged stay, having been called for August. The ministers in William's absence had not taken much pains to influence the elections, and it soon appeared that a very independent body of gentlemen had been sent up. Not only had the electors put forward men of free principles, but the press had warmly urged the selection of a liberal speaker as essential to the full exercise of parliamentary freedom. There were three candidates for the speakership more particularly in view, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Thomas Littleton, and Harley, the one supported by the tories.

A paper on the choice of a speaker had been actively circulated, which said that the great lord Burleigh declared "that England could never be undone except by a parliament," and that, whenever we were enslaved like our continental neighbours, it would be by the joint influence of a corrupt parliament and a standing army. It cried down Seymour as a man who had constantly been bargaining with the court since the days of the pension parliament of Charles II., and, on the other hand, that men holding office under the crown were most unfit for the office of speaker. This was aimed at Sir Thomas Littleton, which appeared a good omen for the court, but, as it soon appeared, was no sound indication.

In his opening speech William told the commons that, notwithstanding the state of peace, it would be necessary for them to consider well the strength which they ought to maintain both at sea and on land; that the honour and even safety of the nation depended on not denuding it too much of its forces in the eyes of foreign nations. It was necessary, he contended, that Europe should be impressed with the idea that they would not be wanting to themselves. They had acquired a great position amongst the nations, and it was their duty to preserve it. He recommended to them to make some progress in the discharge of the debts incurred in this long and expensive war, for, he added unadvisedly, an English parliament could never, he imagined, neglect the sacred obligations which it had assumed. He also suggested to them some measures for the improvement of trade, for the discouragement of profaneness, and to act with unanimity.

The remarks on the necessity of maintaining more troops than the last parliament had determined on, and on defraying the debts incurred by the war, seemed to rouse an extraordinary spirit of anger and disrespect in the new house. It neglected the ordinary courtesy of an address. Before leaving for Holland in the summer, William left a sealed paper, ordering ministers not to reduce the army in compliance to less than sixteen thousand men. Probably this was become known, and there had got abroad a persuasion that the king meant to resist the will of the parliament in this respect; no other cause appeared sufficient to explain the animus which now manifested itself. The house resounded with speeches against standing armies, and on the waste of the people's substance on foreign wars, and it resolved that all the land forces of England in English pay should not exceed seven thousand, and that these should all be natural-born subjects; that not more than twelve thousand should be maintained in Ireland—these, too, all natural-born subjects, and to be supported by the revenue of Ireland. The ministers had told the king before the meeting of parliament that they thought they could obtain a grant of ten or twelve thousand in England, and William had replied that they might as well leave none as so few. But now that this storm broke out, the ministers, seeing no possibility of carrying the number they had hoped for, sate silent, to the great disgust of the king.

This resolution went to strip William of his Dutch guards that he had brought with him, and who had attended him in so many actions, and of the brave Huguenots, who had done such signal service in Ireland. The spirit of the commons, instead of being merely economical, was in this instance petty and miserable. It was neither grateful nor becoming its dignity, in making so sweeping a reduction of the army, to begrudge the king who had rescued them from the miserable race of the Stuarts, and had so nobly acquiesced in everything which regarded their liberties, the small satisfaction of a few Dutch and Huguenot troops. The Huguenots especially, it might have been expected, would have experienced some sympathy from the parliament, not only in return for their own gallant services, but because their friends and fellow-religionists were at this moment suffering the severest persecution. But a deep dislike of foreigners had seized the nation, and this had been rendered the more intense from the lavish wealth which William heaped on Portland and others, and from his retiring every year to spend the summer months in Holland. They had never been accustomed to have their monarch passing a large portion of his time abroad, and they regarded it as an evidence that he only had any regard for the Dutch. The commons, without any regard to his feelings, introduced a bill founded on their resolution, carried it briskly through the house, and sent it up to the lords, where it also passed.

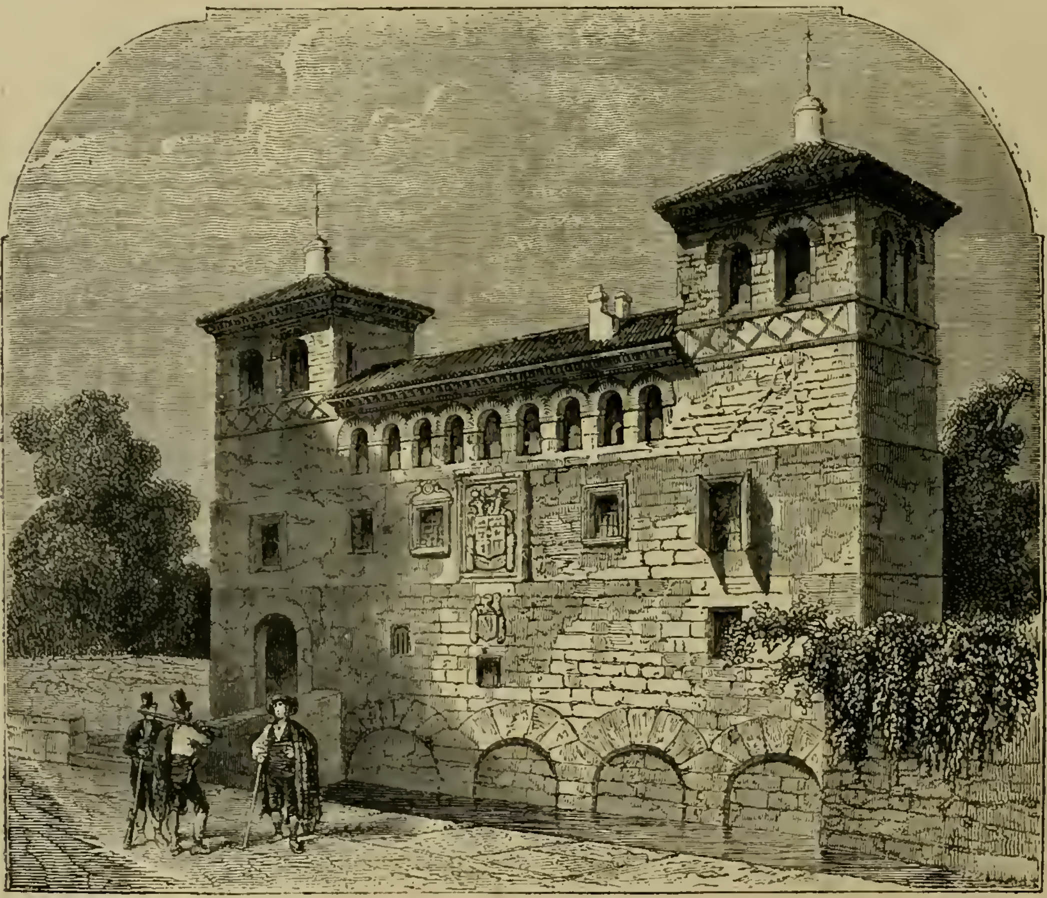
Deeply chagrined, William is said to have walked to and fro on learning that the commons insisted on his dismissing the Dutch guards, and to have muttered, "By God, if I had a son, these guards should not quit me." He wrote to lord Galway, one of his foreign friends, "There is a spirit of ignorance and malice prevails here beyond conception." To Heinsius he wrote in a similar strain, that he was so chagrined at the conduct of the commons, that he was scarcely master of his thoughts, and hinted at coming to extremities, and being in Holland sooner than he had thought. In fact, he was so much excited as to menace again throwing up the government. He sate down and penned a speech which he proposed to address to the two houses; it is still preserved in the British Museum. It ran:—"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I came into this kingdom, at the desire of the nation, to save it from ruin, and to preserve your religion, laws, and liberties; and for this object I have been obliged to sustain a long and burthensome war for this kingdom, which, by the grace of God and the bravery of this nation, is at present terminated by a good peace; in which you may live happily and in repose if you would contribute to your own security, as I recommended at the opening of the session. But seeing, on the contrary, that you have so little regard for my advice, and take so very little care of your own safety, and that you expose yourselves to evident ruin in depriving yourselves of the only means for your defence, it would neither be just nor reasonable for me to be witness of your ruin, not being able on my part to avoid it, being in no condition to defend and protect you, which was the only view I had in coming to this country." And it then went on to desire them to name proper persons to take charge of the government, promising, however, to come again whenever they would put him in his proper place, with proper power to defend them.

This looks more like the petulance of a schoolboy than the resolve of a serious and reflective monarch. It was the second time that William was on the point of menacing such an abandonment of the charge of government. If he had carried it into effect, the probable consequence would have been that the nation would have regarded it as an abdication, and have placed the princess Anne on the throne. If he really contemplated such an act, however, Somers extinguished the idea by solemnly saying that, if such were his majesty's resolve, he humbly desired to resign the great seal. He received it from him as sovereign, and he begged to return it whilst he continued so. This was an intimation that the chancellor believed his proposed speech would be received as an act of abdication, and he said no more of retiring. The rumour, however, got out; and, so far from the courtiers and commons expressing any regret, they made sport of it, Sunderland being said, when told William threatened to throw up the government, to have replied "Does he so? Well, there is Tom Pembroke (the earl), who is as good a block of wood as a king can be cut out of. We will send for him, and make him our king."

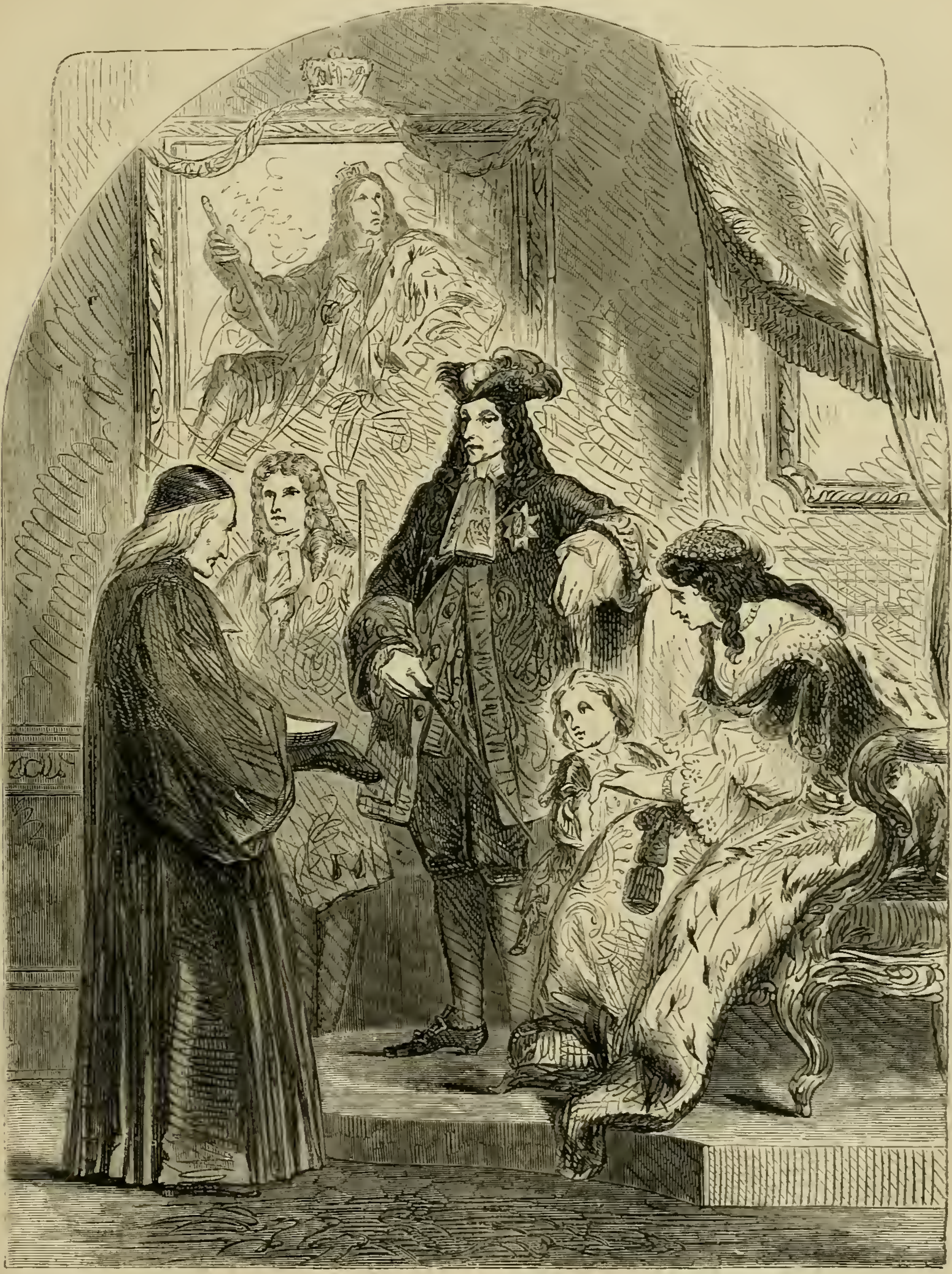
In such a spirit of disunion betwixt king and parliament closed the year 1698. William, however, endeavoured to preserve an air of concession towards the uncompromising commons. When the bill for the disbanding of the troops had passed the lords, he went thither on the 1st of February, 1699, and passed it. He did not hesitate to avow that he took the sweeping reduction, contrary to his earnest advice, as unkind; but he observed that it was his fixed opinion that nothing could be so fatal to the nation as any distrust or jealousy betwixt the king and his people. At the same time he reiterated his conviction that it was an erroneous policy. "I think myself obliged," he said, "in discharge of the trust reposed in me, and for my own justification, that no ill consequences may lie at my door, to tell you plainly my judgment, that the nation is left too much exposed. It is, therefore, incumbent upon you to take this matter into your serious consideration, and effectually to provide such a strength as is necessary for the safety of the kingdom and the preservation of the peace which God has given us." And, as the nation was quite right in opposing a standing army, William was quite right in opposing the too sudden disbandment. It was of consequence, with such a man as Louis XIV., to appear ready for action. He was watching for the disbandment of the armies of the allies, and the rapid dispersion of them no doubt greatly encouraged him in the grand attempt he was contemplating.

The commons thanked William for his address, professed great gratitude to him for so promptly complying with their desire, and declared that they would defend his sacred person and the kingdom from all enemies with their lives and fortunes. Imagining that the commons were at length touched with a degree of compunction, William made one more effort to retain his Dutch guards—a circumstance at which we cannot wonder when we recollect the attempts there had been to assassinate him, and the fidelity with which these his countrymen had served him. He sent lord Ranelagh with a written message to the commons, informing them that he was taking active measures to reduce the army, as they desired, to seven thousand, but would take it as a great personal kindness if they would allow his Dutch guards to remain. But the commons, so far from consenting, seemed to revive all their bitterness. They resolved, by a majority of one hundred and seventy-five to one hundred and fifty-six, that the foreign troops should go, and sent to William a fresh address, expressing "their unspeakable grief that the king should be advised to propose anything to which they could not consent." This was final, and the guards were embarked, and the Huguenots too. A Cromwell would have felt deep sympathy for these brave troops; but though at this moment, Louis having obtained influence again in Savoy, the Waldenses were once more driven from their valleys, not a symptom of pity marked this ungracious parliament. Though they did not care for the persecutions of the papists abroad, they were not, however, quite so indifferent to their prevalence at home. Since the peace of Ryswick the catholic priests had swarmed over, and appeared in all public places in London and Westminster with wonderful assurance. The people began to whisper that there must be some secret article in their favour in the treaty, and the commons requested William to put the laws in force against the papists and non-jurors, and remove them by proclamation from London and its neighbourhood.

The mischief which the whigs had done themselves by granting a charter to the new East India Company, in violation of the existing charter of the old company, merely because the former company had offered them a large money bait, encouraged the tories greatly in their endeavours to regain power. They encouraged the old company to petition that means should be taken to enable it to maintain its trade and property against the new company for the remaining portion of the twenty-one years of its charter; and there were not wanting some in the house who declared that the new charter, granted in violation of an existing one, and from such corrupt motives, should be abolished. Montague, however, who had passed the act for this charter, was able to protect it, but not to prevent fresh onslaughts on the unpopular whigs. They were charged with gross corruption, and with embezzlement of the public revenue, for the purchase of great estates for themselves, and the grievous burthen of the people by taxation. Russell, earl of Orford, was especially singled out by the commons. He was both first lord of the admiralty and treasurer of the navy, as well as admiral, and assumed an authority, forgetful of the humble station from



OLD PALACE AT MADRID.



WILLIAM III. INTRUSTING THE YOUNG DUKE OF GLOUCESTER TO BISHOP BURNETT.

which he had risen. He was charged with keeping in hand large sums of public money for his own private use, instead of paying the officers and seamen when their pay was due. They called for his accounts, and there appeared to be four hundred and sixty thousand pounds in his hands. In his defence he represented that this was actually in course of payment, and that part of the sum was yet in tallies, which must be converted into cash before it could be distributed. But this did not satisfy the commons. They voted an address to the king, complaining of the impropriety of one and the same person being lord high admiral, chief commissioner of the board of admiralty, and treasurer; of gross misapplication of the public money; of many unnecessary changes introduced into the navy; of delays in granting convoys, and favoritism to particular officers. Orford was prudent enough to retire from his offices before the storm which was gathering burst in all its fury upon him. The tories, elated by this success, endeavoured to get Sir George Rooke put into Orford's place; but the whigs were yet strong enough and imprudent enough to get the earl of Bridgewater named first lord of the admiralty—a man almost wholly unacquainted with naval affairs, and lord Haversham, another of the "land-admirals," as the sailors called these unprofessional men, succeeded to Priestman, one of the junior lords, who retired.

Those matters being settled the house voted fifteen thousand pounds for sailors for the year, and that this should include none but sailors, lest the king should include some land forces under the name of marines. They also granted one million four hundred and eighty-four thousand pounds for the service of the year, to be raised by a land and income tax of three shillings in the pound. In this act they also inserted a clause appointing commissioners to take an account of the estates forfeited in Ireland by the last rebellion, in order to their being applied in ease of the subjects of England. This was another sharp reminder of the king's proceedings. It had been promised by him that he would not bestow the forfeited estates without the sanction of the house, but in disregard of this he had given large estates to his favourites. William was deeply mortified by this clause, and some of the lords entered a protest against it, on the ground that the clause was foreign to the contents of the bill, and was contrary to the practice of parliament. The king, however, did not venture to refuse his signature to the act, which he passed on the 4th of May, and at the same time prorogued the parliament.

Before the close of this session, however, in March, that dissipated Lord Mohun was again arraigned before the peers for being concerned in another murder, committed in a midnight brawl, along with the Earl of Warwick. Mohun, with singular good fortune, was again acquitted. Warwick was found guilty of manslaughter.

Before quitting England, William was obliged to almost entirely remodel his ministry. The duke of Leeds retired from the presidency of the council; his influence had expired with the discovery of his bribe from the East India Company. The earl of Pembroke, the Long Tom Pembroke, whom Sunderland was for chopping into a king, was put in his place. Villiers, earl of Jersey, having returned from his embassy to France, was made secretary of state in place of the duke of Shrewsbury, who became lord chamberlain. The earl of Manchester went as ambassador to France in place of Jersey, and lord Lonsdale, another tory, obtained the privy seal. On the 2nd of June, William, having appointed a regency, embarked for Holland, where he retired to Loo, but not to peace of mind, for he saw events marching to an ominous result. The forces of England and of the continent were disbanded, except those of Louis, which were rapidly increased; and not only the Spanish monarchy but all Europe appeared at his mercy. But before following these movements, we must trace some nearer home.

Ireland was quiet. The parliament of that kingdom had voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the maintenance of the twelve thousand troops ordered by the English parliament to be quartered in that country, and the duke of Bolton and the earls of Berkeley and Galway were appointed lords-justices. In Scotland far different was the state of things. There a spirit of the warmest excitement raged against the ministry of England, and not the less against the king, who disowned their company, organised to carry out the act granted for trading to Africa and the Indies. The charter for this company was granted by the Scottish parliament and ratified by William in 1695. Its professed object was to trade with the East and West Indies and Africa; but there was a plan for carrying out these objects, which does not seem to have been made known to the government or public generally till after the acquisition of the charter. This was to seize on the isthmus of Darien, to establish a strong colony there, and not only to grow rich through possession of the gold mines, but to found ports both on the Atlantic and on the Pacific, so that a great carrying trade might be prosecuted betwixt Europe and China and the East Indies by that route.

William Paterson, the projector of this scheme, was the same man who had projected and carried into being, through the influence of Montague, the Bank of England. He has been generally represented as a visionary speculator and schemer, and has not unfrequently been confounded with John Law of Lauriston, the author of the famous South Sea Bubble and Mississippi Scheme, which spread such ruin through both France and England. Paterson, however, was a very different man. Undoubtedly he was a most speculative genius, but in his speculations there was something grand, substantial, and based for the most part on the purest moral principles. The Bank of England is the proud memorial of his real sagacity and acute talents. It was well devised, and immediately rose to entire success. Through some disagreement in the mode of management Paterson sold out his stock, and proposed the erection of an Orphan Bank connected with the Orphan Fund established by the corporation of London already mentioned. This was not entertained, and he then projected his grand scheme for the Scotch company to trade to the Indies. This scheme, so far from being visionary, had all the elements of a great and far-seeing reality. It was a perception by Paterson of the advantages of that route to the Pacific and the East which is now more than ever acknowledged, but which to this hour is encumbered by the antagonist jealousies of different powers. Though England and the United States have agreed to a free passage across the isthmus of Panama, and have by the

Clayton-Bulwer treaty guaranteed the neutrality of this very region—Central America, the ambition of America to annex this important territory at this very moment is impeding and endangering that great scheme of transit from the Atlantic to the Pacific which Paterson was the first to propose.

The very same obstacles existed in Paterson's days, though in the hands of other powers, and this it was which defeated his magnificent object. The unsound portion of Paterson's project was the not sufficiently taking into account these political obstacles. Spain possessed, or rather claimed to possess, the isthmus of Darien. Louis of France was contemplating the seizure of Spain and all its American territories. William was under treaty of peace to both Spain and Louis. It was impossible, therefore, to obtain possession of the isthmus of Darien without producing a fresh European war. To attempt it by treaty was useless, for Spain would never consent to permit England, of which she was in the highest degree jealous, thus to establish a great mercantile colony in the midst of her most valuable Transatlantic colonies, from which she was annually drawing her cargoes of gold and other valuable products. Louis of France, who was resolved to succeed to the Spanish empire, was as little likely to permit such a thing. To obtain possession of Darien, then, could only be done by invasion, and that invasion must produce immediate war, for which William was not prepared.

But the scheme was got up ostensibly to trade to the East and West Indies. There was no mention of Panama; and its prospects were so fair and unobjectionable that they immediately seized on the imaginations of both the English and Scotch public. Paterson was a London merchant, in high repute for his origination of the Bank of England. He had spent ten years in the West Indies, and, as it is supposed, in Panama. At all events he had the reputation of being intimately acquainted with those regions and their resources. His proposals of the company were eagerly accepted both in London and Edinburgh. Though it was originally proposed to raise only three hundred and sixty thousand pounds as the original stock for both countries, three hundred thousand pounds were subscribed in London alone in a few days. But this remarkable success raised all the vindictive feelings of companies whose interests this new league appeared likely to affect. The East India Companies, new and old, immediately were on the alert, and raised such a feeling in the house of commons, that it resolved to impeach Paterson, and the bankers Coutts and Cohen, for the commission of an illegal act in daring to levy money in England without the sanction of the English legislature. In the meantime a subscription list had been opened at Hamburg, and by this the Dutch East India Company was equally alarmed, and both the influence of the Dutch and of the English companies was made to bear on the king. William, who had been too much absorbed by his warfare with Louis to perceive the hostile feelings which he was exciting by passing the Scottish act, now made haste to condemn his own precipitancy. He complained that he had been deceived by the Scottish government, and at once gave orders to prohibit the scheme, and sent similar orders to his consul at Hamburg to forbid the subscription there. The senate of the city of Hamburg was induced to prohibit the canvassing of the company's agents; and the English subscribers, alarmed at the menaces of the king and commons, immediately withdrew their names. Nor were these all the enemies of this scheme—enemies, the numbers, importance, and virulence of which of themselves testified sufficiently the real substance and weight of it. There were Scottish traders united for commerce with India by the ordinary route, and these joined vehemently in the cry. One of these, a Mr. Robert Douglas, attacked the scheme in a very able letter. In this letter we are first let into the secret that the real destination is not so much the West Indies as Darien, on the mainland. It is not, however, from Paterson having mentioned expressly Darien that Douglas declares it to be that place, but he infers it from the fact that the locality darkly hinted at by Paterson is at once near the Carribee isles, and at the same time so situated " that it will alter the whole method of trade in Europe, and effectually ruin both the English and Dutch East Indian Companies, because it opens a shorter, safer, and more convenient way to the East Indies by the Pacific from England and Holland."

Douglas then points out that it is not nearer or more convenient than the old way to the western or Bombay coast of the Indian peninsula; that it was then a very dangerous route, because our merchant vessels on that track would have to pass the Dutch, Batavian, and Spice Island settlements, who would show the utmost hostility to such a traffic; but still more, that it was impossible, because this isthmus of Panama was the track by which Spain conveyed all her treasure from Peru to Portobello; that as to the rightful possession of the country by Spain, the city of Darien, called Santa Maria, was one of the first cities built by them on the mainland of America, as the province was the first province possessed by them.

These were sound reasons why the king would not consent to any such invasion of the territory of Spain, and why Spain was not likely to concede it by treaty. These reasons should have made Paterson and the Scotch pause. There could be no successful settlement there whilst these difficulties existed. Had the scheme been started afterwards, when Louis had seized the Spanish crown and William was again at war with him, he might have undertaken the expedition, and the most magnificent results have followed. In fact, after he had completely crushed the enterprise by his discountenance, and was again in hostility with Louis, he actually sent for Paterson and entertained the plan cordially; but it was too late; William was then hastening to his end.

Unwarned by the great outcry, the firm opposition, and insurmountable obstacles, Paterson and the Scotch went on. The Scottish people, who conceived the idea of achieving enormous wealth in the golden regions of Central America, regarded themselves as victims to the jealousy of William's favourite Dutch, to the haughty, monopolising spirit of the English, and the whole country was in a ferment. They considered themselves insulted and most perfidiously treated by the king, who had freely sanctioned the company, and now as unceremoniously disowned and trampled on it. They went on with the subscriptions, and speedily the amount rose to four hundred thousand pounds. The highest and most intelligent of the Scottish nobility, as well as the people at large, were sanguine contributors. Their younger sons saw a new highway to opulence and distinction suddenly opened. Many lords mortgaged all that they could to secure an ample share of the expected benefits. Their tenantry and servants were enthusiastic in their adhesion to it; and the officers, whom the peace had left at large, prepared for fresh campaigns and adventures in the golden regions.

The company had a number of stout ships built in Holland to convey over the emigrants and their stores. On the 26th of July, 1698, five of these ships, the St. Andrew, the Unicorn, the Caledonia, the Snow, and the Endeavour Pink, containing one thousand two hundred men, set sail from Leith. Such was the excitement, that all Edinburgh seemed to have poured out to see the departure of the colonists, and hundreds of soldiers and sailors who could not be engaged clamoured to be taken on board. Many contrived to get into the vessels and endeavour to conceal themselves in the hold, and when discovered they clung to the timbers and riggings, offering service without pay.

When the vessels had sailed the Scottish parliament unanimously addressed the king on behalf of the company, and the validity of the charter. The lord-president, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, the brother of lord Stair, and Sir James Stuart, the lord-advocate, also presented memorials defending the rights of the company. Paterson committed the error of sailing in the fleet as a private individual. He had incurred the resentment of the company by having remitted twenty thousand pounds to Hamburg for stores, part of which, without any fault of his own, was embezzled by the agent. The company, therefore, refused to give him the command of the colony, but appointed a council of seven members without a head. This was certain to insure want of unity of purpose and consequent failure. Paterson was the only man qualified by his abilities, his experience, and his knowledge of the country to take the command. He is said to have seen and conversed with the celebrated buccaneer Dampier and his surgeon, Lionel Wafer, on the statistics of Darien; and, if the expedition was sent at all, it should have been under his entire control. Nothing, under the political circumstances, could have insured the establishment of the colony, but Paterson's guidance would have prevented the dire calamities which ensued. He was certain that the vessels were not properly furnished with provisions and stores before setting out, and he in vain urged an examination. When out at sea a few days, he was enabled to get an examination, when there was discovered to be a serious deficiency, but then it was too late. They next sailed for Madeira, where their sealed orders were opened, and they then bore away for the West Indies. They put into St. Thomas's, and there might have obtained plenty of provisions from a ship-captain, but for the perverseness of the council. The advice of Paterson was uniformly rejected out of jealousy. On the 30th of October they landed in a fine bay on the coast of Darien, capable of holding one thousand ships, and about four miles east of Golden Island.

The incapable council, spite of Paterson's advice, would plant their new town in a bog, but the effects on their health soon forced them to remove to higher ground. They erected a fort and threw up defences at Acta, which they named New St. Andrews, and on a hill opposite made a signal station, where they placed a corps of highlanders to keep a good look-out for the approach of any enemy.

But the miserable management of the council brought speedy misfortune on the infant colony. The people were suffering from want of everything. Paterson soon lost his wife, and numbers sunk under disappointment, insufficient food, and the climate. The natives were friendly to them, but wanted them to go and fight the Spaniards. It was soon found that the mountains and forests offered enormous obstacles to that very transit to the shores of the Pacific which Dampier's representations had promised. The different leaders of the expedition fell to quarrelling, and Paterson endeavoured in vain to reconcile them. They sent out vessels to the West India islands for provisions. One, the Snow, they lost, and the Pink, endeavouring to get to New York, after beating about for a month, was driven back. Amid the rapidly-sinking colonists and the fatal feuds of the leaders, they received on the 18th of May the stunning news that the king had issued a proclamation denouncing the act of the colony having infringed his treaty with Spain by forcibly entering the Spanish territory of Panama, and forbidding any of the English governors of the West India islands to furnish them with provisions or any necessaries.

The moment Louis XIV. heard of their settling in Darien he had offered to the king of Spain to send ships and forces and drive them out for him. The Spanish minister at London, the marquis de Canales, presented a remonstrance against this breach of the peace with his master on the 3rd of May. Dalrymple, who has left much information on this expedition in his "Memoirs," says the Dutch and English opponents were at the bottom of this remonstrance; that Spain had let the affair go on a long time without noticing it; and that the rights of the company had been debated before king William, in presence of the Spanish ambassador, before the colony sailed. All this may be true, for the real destination of the expedition was kept secret till the fleet arrived at Madeira, and Spain protested as soon as she discovered whither it was gone. William, who was just now making treaties with Louis, and anxious to be on good terms with Spain, strictly enforced the orders to deprive the suffering colony of all means of remaining. These measures of the king produced the most fatal consequences in the colony. Every one, says Paterson, was in haste to be gone from it. In vain he tried to persuade them to stay for more positive orders. Captain Pennicook, the captain of the fleet, was reported to be intending to steal away with his ship, on the supposition that they were all proclaimed pirates and would be hanged. The poor colonists continued to die off rapidly, and news now came that the Spaniards were marching against them with a strong force.

Famine, sickness, and the fear of being massacred in their weakness by the enemy, compelled the colonists to evacuate the place. On the 18th of June, 1699, the Unicorn, St. Andrew, and Caledonia sailed from Golden Island for New York. On the voyage they met the sloop which they had sent to Jamaica for provisions. It had got none, owing to the royal proclamation, and they all proceeded on their route. They lost one hundred and fifty out of two hundred and fifty of their number on the voyage, and arrived at New

York in October, more like skeletons than living men. On the 13th of November Paterson and his companions reached England in the Caledonia. The indignation of the Scotch at their treatment was beyond bounds, and the more so because, unacquainted with the real facts of the case, they had sent out a second expedition of one thousand three hundred men.

The history of this second expedition was as miserable as that of the first. On arriving, the new adventurers, instead of a flourishing colony, found the place deserted, and only a few miserable Indians to tell them the fate of their predecessors. With this new arrival came four Presbyterian clergymen, who assumed the command and seemed to think of nothing but establishing a presbytery in all its rigour and uncharitableness. Paterson, like Penn in Pennsylvania and lord Baltimore in Baltimore, had proclaimed perfect civil and religious liberty to men of all creeds and nations. This was now reversed: there was nothing but the most harsh and senseless phariseeism. They quarrelled with gentlemen who were not of their creed, and, says Dalrymple, "they exhausted the spirits of the people by requiring their attendance at sermon four or five hours at a stretch, relieving each other by preaching alternately, but allowing no relief to their hearers. Wednesday they divided into three parts—thanksgiving, humiliation, and supplication, in which these ministers followed each other. And as the service of the Church of Scotland consists of a lecture with a comment, sermon, two prayers, three psalms, and a blessing, the work of that day, upon an average of the length of the service of that age, could not take up less than twelve hours, during which space of time the colony was collected and kept close together in the guard room, which was used as a church, in a tropical climate, and in a sickly season. They demanded, besides this, of the council, to set apart a day for a solemn fasting and humiliation, &c." Instead of a comfort, these men proved one of the worst curses of this unfortunate colony, thwarting and damping the exertions of the people, and continually threatening the poor people with hell fire. Two of these ministers perished.

In the midst of these miseries arrived Captain Campbell of Ferrol, with a force of his own men. He attacked and dispersed a body of one thousand Spaniards, sent against him, but this was only a fresh offence against Spain, and, therefore, against king William. They were soon, however, assailed by a more powerful Spanish squadron. Campbell got away to New York, the rest of the colony capitulated, and there was an end of the unhappy expedition to Darien. The Spaniards humanely allowed the remnant of this wretched company to embark in one of their vessels, the Rising Sun; but as the British authorities at all the islands refused them any succour or stores whatever, only eighty of them arrived alive in England.

Scotland was in a frenzy of indignation at this cold-blooded conduct of the king, who, if he had visited the projectors with severity, ought to have had some compassion for the poor deluded sufferers. The exasperated Scots called on the king to withdraw his proclamation against a company which had an undoubted right by charter to trade to the West Indies, if not to the mainland. They demanded that the Scottish parliament should be summoned, but William only sent evasive answers, and the fury of the people rose to that height that nothing was talked of but that the king had forfeited his right to the allegiance of Scotland by his conduct, and of a war with England.

When William returned from Holland, in the autumn of 1699, he found this tempest of indignation raging against him in Scotland. Events on the continent soon caused him to repent of his callous treatment of this scheme of colonisation, and as we have said, when it was too late, he sent for Paterson to discuss the practicability of still carrying it out. Paterson, though he had sunk his fortune in it, was still as zealous for it as ever. His plan for reviving the colony of Darien may be seen in Sir John Dalrymple's "Memoirs." He proposed to give four-fifths of the interest in it to England; and in 1701, when William determined to strike a blow at the fame of Louis in South America, he gave Paterson assurances of his support. It was too late. Mr. Saxe Bannister has recently thrown the true light on the character and aims of Paterson, in a life of his drawn from the public documents in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, in the Bodleian, at Guildhall, and various other sources. In this work he has amply shown that Paterson was far before his time in his perception of the principles of free trade, or sound morality in all mercantile and political schemes; and in his ideas of religious toleration. His scheme of a Council of Trade embraces a wonderful circle of suggestions for the effectual promotion of our commerce, for the management of our poor laws, for the purchasing and warehousing of corn by government to secure it at a reasonable rate for the supply of our poor, for regulating the home and foreign trade, for encouraging the fisheries, for a board of works, including the best maintenance of highways, streets, bridges, harbours, docks, &c., for punishing thieves by making them labour in favour of the parties robbed, for the lenient yet salutary treatment of debtors and bankrupts, for regulating the coinage and equalising all weights and measures, and for reducing all important import duties to one per cent. The plans of Paterson still deserve the serious attention of political reformers. He urged on William the benefits of a union with Scotland, and gave him a plan for effectually preventing embezzlement and neglect in the public offices, as well as for a sinking fund. In 1715 he was granted, by act of parliament, eighteen thousand two hundred and forty-one pounds ten shillings and ten pence, in consideration of his losses by the Darien Company. His last days were spent in resisting the various paper schemes of John Law.

Meantime the partition treaty had become known to the court at Madrid, and William's meddling in it excited great indignation. At the same time the agents of Louis had prevailed on the failing king to nominate the electoral prince of Bavaria his heir to the crown. Scarcely, however, was this done when this young prince died, being only eight years of age. Louis still kept up the farce of disinterestedness, and persuaded William to enter into a second treaty, settling the crown of Spain on the archduke Charles, son of the emperor, but leaving the Italian states to the dauphin. Again were William, Portland, and Tallard, with an agent of the emperor, busy on the new partition at Loo. But whilst they were busy there, the French ambassador was equally busy at Madrid, inflaming the mind of the weak and dying king against William and the emperor, and prevailed on him to leave the whole Spanish monarchy to the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin. The king of Spain was also induced to send a strong remonstrance against the interference of king William in the affairs of the Spanish monarchy to Mr. Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid. Similar remonstrances were presented for form to the ministers of France and Holland. The Spanish minister in London, Canales, was ordered to present a still stronger remonstrance to the lords-justices in London, on which the court of Spain informed them that his Spanish majesty would take the necessary measures himself for the succession of his crown; adding that if these proceedings, these machinations, and projects were not speedily put an end to, there would undoubtedly commence a terrible war, in which the English, who had felt what innovations and the last war had brought upon them, would have the worst of it. Canales, who had a high personal resentment against William, who had forbidden him the court for the insolence of appearing covered, announced haughtily that on the meeting of parliament he should appeal to it against the king's proceedings.

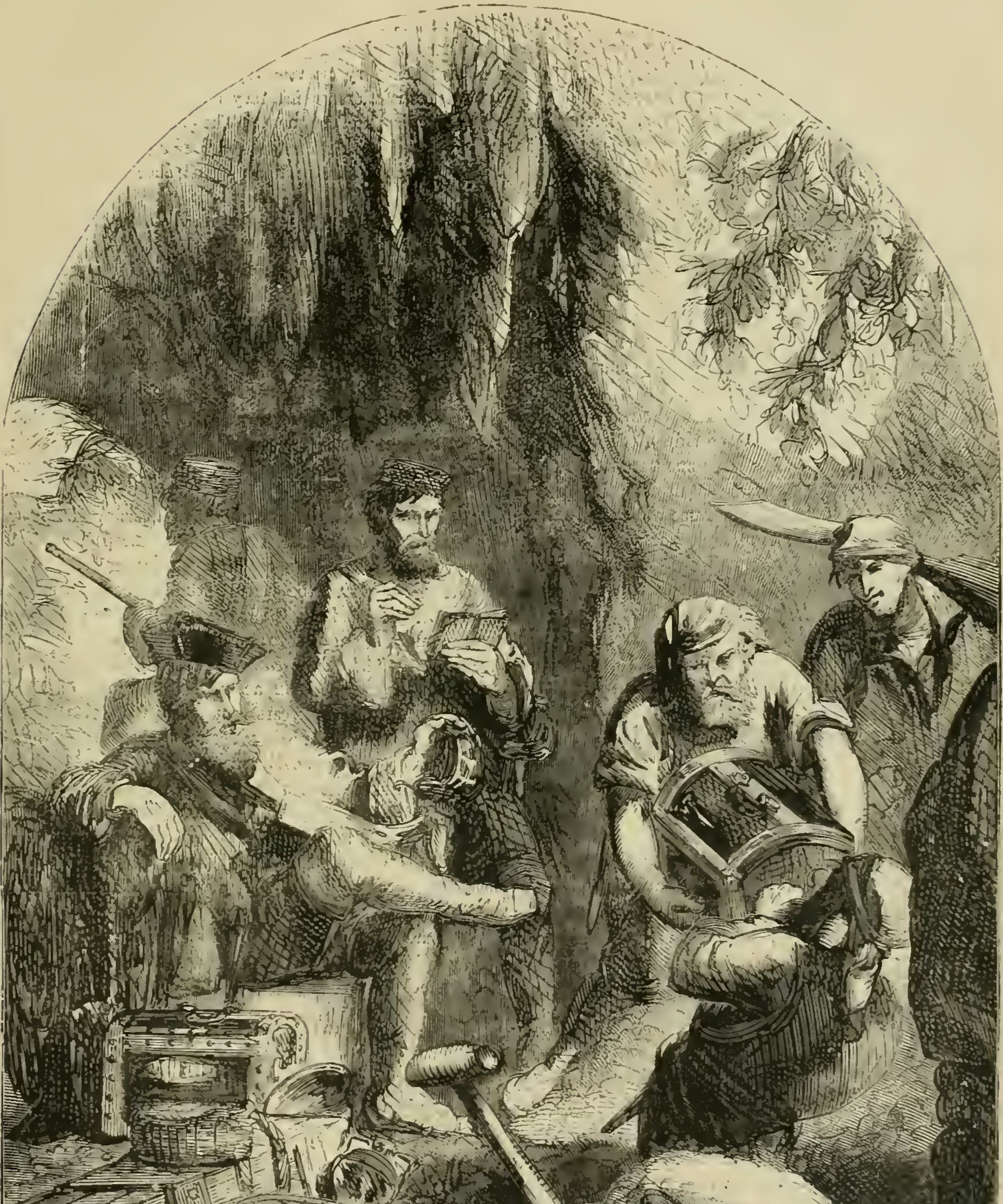
No sooner was this paper transmitted to Loo, than William sent orders to the Spanish ambassador to quit England in eighteen days, and during that period to confine himself to his house. He was informed that no communication whatever would be received from him or any of his servants. Mr. Stanhope was instructed at the court of Madrid to complain of this conduct of Canales as an attempt to excite sedition in the kingdom by appealing to the people and parliament against the king. Mr. Stanhope was then instructed to cease all diplomatic intercourse with the court and to return home. The Spanish court, on its part, justified the act of its minister, and Mr. Stanhope took his leave. The Spanish ambassador at the Hague delivered a similar memorial to that delivered in London, which the States-General refused to read. Under these circumstances William returned to England about the middle of October.

The temper of his people had not improved during his absence. The tories were bent on driving every whig from office. They even now compelled the lately all-powerful Montague to resign his seat at the treasury board as well as the chancellorship of the exchequer. Montague was well aware of the humour of the present house of commons, and anticipated an attack on his two offices by his resignation. Lord Tankerville, formerly lord Grey of Werk, took his place at the treasury, and one Smith, another member of that board, became chancellor. At the same time William gave the office of lord chamberlain to the duke of Shrewsbury, vacant since the retirement of Sunderland. Besides Shrewsbury, there remained no other whig in office except Somers, and the tories were at this moment endeavouring to spring a mine under his feet.

William met his parliament on the 16th of November. He addressed them with much studied care to avoid topics of offence, but he found it impossible. He recommended them to take further measures, both by sea and land, for the safety of the kingdom, to punish unlawful and clandestine trading, and to devise, if possible, measures for the employment of the poor. He expressed his resolution to discourage vice, and declared that he would do anything in his power towards the welfare of the nation. "And to conclude," he said, "since our aims are only for the general good, let us act with confidence in each other; which will not fail, with God's blessing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flourishing people."

The very words, "let us act with confidence," roused up this captious parliament. They sent him a remonstrance instead of an address of thanks, complaining of there being some who endeavoured to sow distrust and dissension betwixt them and the king. It was in vain that William protested that this supposition was totally unfounded, and that if any should presume to bring to him any calumnies against his faithful commons, he would treat them as his worst enemies, they were unappeased. They wanted, in fact, occasion to drive Somers from his councils, and they soon found a plea.

During the war, piracy had grown to a great height upon the coasts of North America, and the colonists were themselves deep in it. Lord Bellamont, the governor of New York, had recommended that a man-of-war should be sent to clear the pirates away; but the admiralty objected that they had not sailors enough to spare for such a service. It was then determined by the lord-chancellor Somers, the duke of Shrewsbury, the earls of Romney, Orford, and Bellamont, with a few private individuals, to send out a vessel at their own expense. This the king approved of, and promised to contribute one-half of the expense, and stipulated for one-tenth of the profits. Besides the usual letters of marque given to privateers, the captain was furnished with a warrant under the great seal, authorising him to make war on the pirates and the French, both in those and other seas. Unfortunately, this commission was given to a man who was himself a notorious pirate—one captain Kydd, whose fame still lives on the American coasts, and is the theme of popular ballads. He is supposed to have been a native of Greenock, in Scotland, but had been long resident in America, and now happened to be in London. He was a capital sailor, and was probably selected on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief. He was put in command of the "Adventure Galley," of thirty guns, which was well manned. Kydd was no sooner in possession of this vessel than he acquainted his men with his design to load it with silver and gold whenever he could lay hands on it, and promised his crew a plentiful share. He sailed from Plymouth in April, 1696, and arrived in New York in July. There he made up his crew to one hundred and fifty-five men, and instead of clearing the coasts, as ordered, sailed away for the East Indies, to lie in wait for the Mocha fleet. On the coast of Malabar he plundered many vessels of various nations, Indians, Moors, and Christians. He practised all the license of the old buccaneers, torturing his prisoners to make them discover their wealth. He landed on the coasts of India, burning the villages and murdering the inhabitants. He was pursued by the Portuguese with two vessels, but he beat them off and escaped. He took the Quedagh merchantman, for the ransom of which the captain offered in vain thirty thousand rupees. For the seizure of this vessel Kydd was tried in 1701 and hanged. At this time, however, he returned to America loaded with wealth, and also with the



CAPTAIN KYDD CONCEALING TREASURE IN A CAVERN.

murder of one of his seamen, William Moore, a circumstance figuring largely in the ballads of the day:—

My name was Captain Kydd;
I murdered William Moore,
And laid him in his gore,
Not many leagues from shore,
When I sailed, when I sailed.

On reaching New York he found governor Fletcher and the other friends of piracy no longer in power, but lord Bellamont, one of the very persons who had sent him out. He therefore buried his treasures in Gardner's Island and other places—one of them called after him, Kydd's Island, one of the Thimble Islands near Sachem's Head, Long Island. In Kydd's Island the pirates are said to have hidden themselves in a cave still remaining. The crew, however, soon dispersed, and Kydd ventured to show himself in New York, where he sent one Emmet to lord Bellamont, to offer to purchase indemnity from him by a large sum. Bellamont inveigled him into a negotiation, seized him, and sent word to the government in England. The admiralty, by order of the lords-justices, dispatched the ship Rochester to fetch him; but after beating about for some time in tempestuous weather, this vessel, which was in ill condition, was compelled to put back. This circumstance was seized on by the tories to damage Somers and his colleagues. It was declared that, as they were the authors of the piratical enterprise, they did not want the Rochester to reach New York. The old East India Company complained bitterly of Kydd's outrages in the Indian seas, declaring that it would bring them into trouble with the Great Mogul. In the beginning of December a motion was made in the commons that "the letters patent granted to the earl of Bellamont and others of pirates' goods were dishonourable to the king, and contrary to the laws of nations and the laws and statutes of the realm, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce." There was a violent debate, in which the tories contended that the lord-chancellor Somers had knowingly affixed the great seal to the commission to enrich himself, his colleagues, and the king out of the plunder of unfortunate merchants. The motion was rejected by a large majority; the character of Somers stood too high for such a charge to reach him. But the opposition did not rest here; it was determined to wound the king and his government in every possible quarter.

There lay a cause in Ireland much more dangerous to the king and his chancellor than the affairs of captain Kydd. William had promised not to bestow any of the confiscated lands there without consent of parliament. In regardlessness of his word he had conferred immense estates on his Dutch favourites, Portland, Albemarle, Athlone, and his French one, lord Galway (Ruvigny), as well as on his mistress, Mrs. Villiers. The commons, therefore, appointed commissioners to inquire into the royal grants there. These commissioners were the earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewster, Sir Richard Leving, Hamilton, Annesley, Trenchard, and Langford. The four last-named commissioners were earnest supporters of the commons' inquiry; but it was soon perceived by them that the earl of Drogheda, Brewster, and Leving were in the interest of the government. When they came to draw up their report, these three commissioners vehemently dissented, and made an appeal to each house of parliament, declaring that the report had not their concurrence, and that it was not borne out by the evidence laid before them. They complained that the other commissioners had endeavoured to overbear them in a most arbitrary manner, trying to influence them by letters and instructions which they alleged they had received from members of the commons. The commons, however, regarding Drogheda, Brewster, and Leving as tools of the court, paid no attention to their remonstrance. They received the report, signed by the other four, who, on their part, complained that, in the prosecution of their inquiry, they had been greatly hindered by the backwardness of the people of Ireland to give information for fear of the vengeance of the grantees, and from reports industriously spread that the inquiry, from the influence of the crown and the new grantees, would come to nothing. The three dissentient commissioners agreed to much of this, but attributed the fear of the people to the grantees at large, and not to those recently favoured by government. They affirmed that John Burke, commonly called lord Bophin, had agreed to pay to my lord Albemarle seven thousand five hundred pounds for procuring from the king letters patent restoring him to his honours and estates. They gave amazing details of the wholesale plunder of cattle, horses, sheep, &c., from the catholics, which had never been accounted for to the crown. The report stated the persons who had been outlawed since the 13th of February, 1689, for participation in the rebellion, amounted in England to fifty-seven, but in Ireland to 3,921, that the lands confiscated in Ireland since that period amounted to 1,060,792 acres, with a rental of £211,623; which, at twenty years' purchase, were of the value of nearly £3,000,000; that some of these lands had been restored to their ancient proprietors, but chiefly by heavy bribes to the persons who had betrayed his majesty's trust in them. They then gave a list of seventy-six grants under the great seal, amongst which stood prominent those to lord Romney, who, as lord Sidney, had been lord-lieutenant of Ireland, consisting of 49,517 acres; two to the king's recent favourite, Keppel of Guilderland, made by William earl of Albemarle, amounting to 106,633 acres; to William Bentinck, lord Woodstock, the son of Portland, 135,820 acres; to Ginckel, earl of Athlone, 26,480 acres; to Ruvigny, the Huguenot, earl of Galway, 36,148 acres; that after all the deductions and allowances, they valued the estates forfeited since the 13th of February, 1689, and not restored, at £1,699,343.

Well might this report rouse the choler of parliament at this astounding bestowal of the national property on his Dutch favourites. It appeared that they could ask nothing from him, however enormous, that he would not grant, and that he paid no regard to his word solemnly pledged to parliament on that head. What, however, excited, perhaps, more indignation, was the discovery that he had granted to his mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, whom he had made countess of Orkney, all the Irish estates of the late king James, amounting to 95,649 acres, valued at £25,995 a year! and this William had done at the same time that he had been continually urging the nation into most extravagant expenditure for the defence of Holland.

The indignant commons seemed as if they could not sufficiently express their resentment at the conduct of the king, and they attempted, not very honourably, to wound him through Burnet. The lords had taken notice of the conduct of Dr. Watson, bishop of St. David's. The archbishop of Canterbury had convicted him of simony in purchasing his bishopric, and then selling the presentations in his gift to repay himself. The deprived bishop appealed to the lords, who ignored his appeal on the ground of his being no longer a member of their house. The commons thought this a favourable opportunity to demand the dismissal of bishop Burnet from his office of preceptor to the duke of Gloucester, on the ground of his being not suitable, as a Scotchman, to instruct an English prince, and also on the old score of his pastoral letter, which had been burned by order of parliament. Burnet little deserved this attack, for he had discharged his trust most conscientiously. He had begged to decline the office, but had not been permitted, and when it was in a manner forced on him, had offered to resign his bishopric, as not feeling it right to devote any of his time to other objects whilst he held it. When this was also declined, he insisted on the prince residing constantly at Windsor, which was in his bishopric, and devoted the whole salary of the tutorship to the charities of his see. The motion was very properly rejected.

The year 1700 opened amid the combined attacks of the commons on the king and his ministers. Montague, though out of the ministry, made a bold effort to turn the tide against the attacking party. He complained that Mr. Arthur Moore, a member of the house, had by letter urged the commissioners to throw the odium on the king, by making a separate and prominent case of the grant to the countess of Orkney, saying that this case "would reflect upon *somebody*." There was a vehement call for Montague to name the parties who gave that information. He at first excused himself on the ground that this would be betraying private confidence, but he was forced to speak out, and named Methuen, Chancellor of Ireland. Methuen, thus unexpectedly brought forward, boldly denied having said anything of the kind; and the house hastened to pass a resolution that the charge as to Arthur's Moore's letter was false and scandalous. But Leving and Brewster demanded that their side should be heard, denouncing the resolution as precipitate and unfair till they had been allowed an opportunity of defending themselves. Leving then declared that his opinion was, and he had asserted it before the commissioners, that the estates granted to the countess of Orkney had no right to be brought under their notice; that their jurisdiction extended only to lands forfeited since the 13th of February, 1689, but the lands of James were forfeited on his abdication, and were conferred on William and Mary with the crown. He charged Trenchard and Annesley with having said that they had received such a letter as that mentioned by Mr. Montague, as well as one from Mr. Harcourt, urging them to reflect upon *somebody*. Brewster confirmed this, and Trenchard not only denied it, but brought Annesley and Langford to deny it. Notwithstanding these stout denials, the letters of Moore and Harcourt were produced and read. There remained no doubt that the commissioners had been urged to reflect on the king; but the commons took no notice of this, but passed a resolution that the charges against the four commissioners, Annesley, Trenchard, Hamilton, and Langford were groundless and malicious, that they had discharged their trust with understanding, courage, and integrity, and that Leving had made false and empty statements against them and should be committed to the Tower, and he was accordingly committed.

The commons then addressed the king, declaring that the procuring and passing of those grants had occasioned heavy debts and taxation to the nation, and reflected severely on the king's honour. William bluntly replied that he had consulted both his inclination and his duty in rewarding those brave officers with forfeited lands who had contributed so much to put down the rebellion in Ireland; and as to the debts occasioned by the war, he conceived that they would best be consulting their own honour in taking measures to discharge them. This answer was received with a tempest of indignation, and the house resolved that whoever had suggested such an answer to his majesty was guilty of endeavouring to create a breach betwixt the king and his people.

They instantly set themselves to frame a bill of resumption of all the grants. They ordered the report of the commissioners, the speeches and promises of the king regarding these forfeited estates, and their former resolutions regarding them, to be printed, that the whole country might judge of this matter for itself. And they resolved that any member of the privy council who should procure or be concerned in procuring grants from the crown for their own purposes, should be deemed guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. As the tories were the means of carrying this resumption bill, the whigs, to avenge themselves, moved by way of amendment, that all grants made since the 6th of February, 1684, should be resumed, and the tories were caught in their own snare, for they could not with a show of consistency oppose a measure of their own originating. Therefore the bill passed, and they were themselves compelled to disgorge all the crown property they had settled on themselves from the accession of James. Ministers proposed to insert a clause to reserve a third part of the forfeited property for the king's own disposal, but the commons would not listen to it, and they resolved not to receive any petition from any person whatever concerning the grants; and that they would consider the services of the commissioners, who had so well discharged their duty in this business. That justice might be done to purchasers and creditors in the act of resumption, they appointed thirteen trustees to hear and determine all claims, to sell to the highest purchasers, and to appropriate the money to pay the arrears of the army. The house of lords introduced some alterations, but the commons unanimously rejected them, and to prevent the bill being lost in the lords they consolidated it with a money-bill for the service of the year. The lords demanded a conference, and the commons, exasperated at their interference in a money-bill, prepared to go greater lengths. They assumed the aspect of the commons in Charles I.'s time. They ordered the doors to be closed, and called for a list of the privy councillors. They then moved that John, lord Somers, should be expelled from the service of the king for ever. The resolution was not carried, but the temper of the house was such as made wise men tremble for an approaching crisis.

The king was disposed to refuse to pass the bill even if the lords did; but when the commons left the bill in the hands of the lords, and that house was warned on all sides that they would have to pass the bill or the consequences might be fatal, he gave way, though with undisguised resentment. The commons were proceeding with a fresh resolution for an address to his majesty, praying that not any foreigner, except prince George of Denmark, should be admitted to his majesty's council in England or Ireland, the resolution being aimed at Portland, Albemarle, and Galway, when the king sent a private message to the peers, desiring them to pass the resumption bill, and on the 11th of April he went down to the house and gave it the royal assent. He then ordered the earl of Bridgewater to prorogue the parliament in the absence of Somers, who was ill, and it was accordingly prorogued to the 23rd of May without any speech.

William vented his chagrin at this just chastisement of the parliament in writing to Ruvigny. "You may judge," he says, "what vexation all these extraordinary proceedings give me; and I assure you, your being deprived of what I gave you with so much pleasure is not the least of my griefs. There have been so many intrigues this last session, that without having been on the spot and well informed of everything, it cannot be conceived. I never had more occasion than at present for persons of your capacity and fidelity. I hope I shall yet find opportunities to give you marks of my esteem and friendship." Had William laid the matter before parliament when the acts of the leaders in the Irish war were fresh, he would readily have procured grants for them in proportion to their services; but no government ought to have passed over these wholesale alienations of hundreds of thousands of acres to individuals, and one of these individuals having only discharged the office of king's mistress.

During this session representations were made by the commons to the king that many men of small fortunes were in the commission of the peace who were very likely to prostitute justice for gain, and prayed that men of inadequate means should neither be put into the commission of the peace, nor such as were in it be kept there, but their places be supplied by gentlemen of fortune and standing, not so much exposed to bribery or undue influences. This had a most fair aspect, and probably had considerable truth in it; but the real gist of the recommendation was to get rid of Somers, who had discharged many disaffected magistrates. William, however, cheerfully agreed with the commons, and promised to issue orders accordingly, which for a moment considerably improved the temper of the house. They proceeded, however, to pass one of the most extraordinary bills which had issued from parliament since James I.'s reign. Complaints were made that in Lancashire the papists were very insolent and mischievous. A committee of inquiry was appointed, and on its report a bill was passed for the more effectual dealing with popish refugees. This bill decreed that no person born after the 25th of the next March being a papist should be capable of inheriting any estate or title of honour in England or Wales, nor of purchasing or holding any lands, tenements, or hereditaments either in his own name or of any other person in trust for him. Fortunately for the catholics, this bill, though passed by both lords and king, was so loosely worded that it became nearly a dead letter.

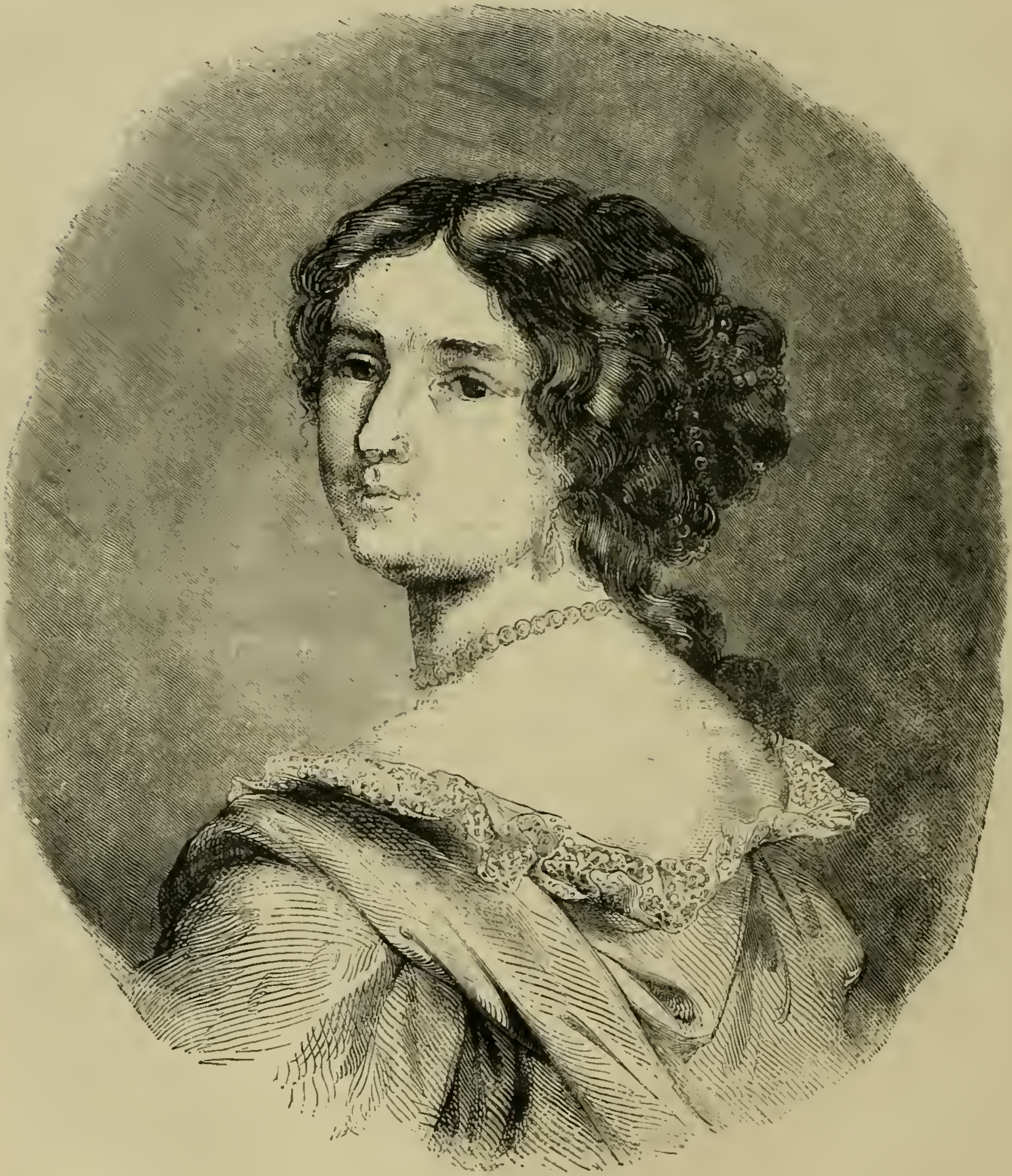
The old East India Company now also took advantage of their powerful enemy Montague being out of office to renew their claims for authority to trade and exercise all their functions during the remainder of their charter; and though the new company opposed it, they carried their object, and thus there were now two chartered East India Companies. They made use of the affair of captain Kydd again to damage Somers. They called for and examined all the documents connected with his commission, his majesty's warrant for a grant of prizes taken from the pirates to Bellamont, Montague, Shrewsbury, and the rest, and the orders of the lords of the treasury to the governor of New York to send over the property seized in Kydd's ship. They desired that Kydd, who was on the way home for trial, should be reserved till next session, in order to investigate more completely the depths of the case; Bellamont being commanded to send over all the papers connected with it there.

The people of Scotland still remained in a state of intense agitation regarding the treatment of their Darien scheme. They issued a detailed statement of their grievances, which they freely ascribed to the king's conduct. This pamphlet was condemned by the English house of commons to be burnt by the common hangman, as a false and traitorous libel. They prayed his majesty to issue an order for the discovery and apprehension of the author, printer, and publisher, which the king complied with. But the Scots, nothing daunted, sent up lord Basil Hamilton to present a memorial regarding some of the adventurers who were detained prisoners at Carthagena. They requested lord Seafield, the Scottish secretary of state, to introduce him, but Seafield replied that his majesty could not receive lord Basil Hamilton because he had not acknowledged his government, but that he was willing to receive their memorial through other hands. At the same time an official note was addressed to the privy council of Scotland, stating that, though the king could not receive lord Basil Hamilton, he would demand of the Spanish government the release of the prisoners at Carthagena. But this did not satisfy the council of the Darien company. They were anxious to force the subject fully on the attention of the king, and they addressed a second letter to lord Seafield, expressing their regret at the king's refusal to see their deputy, lord Basil Hamilton, who had done nothing contrary to the duty of a loyal subject, so far as they knew, and who was perfectly informed on all that they were desirous to have explained. Lord Hamilton had the impudence, notwithstanding the plain declaration of William, to present himself at court with the memorial, and attempt to put it into the king's hand as he went from his apartment to the council-chamber. The king gave him a stern repulse. But as the Darien company continued undauntedly to press their wrongs on the government, the ministers referred the case to parliament. The house of lords introduced and carried by a small majority a motion that the Darien colony was inconsistent with the plantation trade of England, and it addressed the king, approving of his orders sent to the governors of the West Indian and American colonies regarding it. They declared that, if persisted in, it would produce far greater miseries and loss to those engaged in the scheme than it had done already, and would prove mischievous to the trade and quiet of the kingdom. The king recommended both the English and Scottish parliaments to endeavour after a union of the kingdoms as most likely to end these disputes and to reconcile trade interests, and the lords proposed to entertain the question, but the commons refused.

These proceedings only added to the exasperation of the Scots. In March the marquis of Tweeddale presented an address to the king in the name of the whole Scottish nation, and signed by a vast number of persons of all ranks, praying for a speedy session of the Scotch parliament, in order to the settlement of this vital question, on which so much depended to that nation. This was conceded, and the Scottish parliament met on the 21st of May. No sooner was it opened than it was presented with a memorial from the Darien company, and was deluged with petitions from all parts of the country, calling for redress of the national wrongs. Within and without the house the public spirit was in a fever of indignation at the treatment received from both king and parliament in England. A resolution was immediately put and carried that the colony of Darien was a rightful and legal settlement according to the act of 1695, and that the parliament would maintain that right. The duke of Queensberry, the royal commissioner, saw that the Scotch parliament was hastening to an awkward collision with the English one, and he adjourned it for three days. But at the end of that time, finding the spirit of the estates unabated, he adjourned for twenty days more. This arbitrary proceeding only the more exasperated the members. They met in a private house, and the majority signed an address to the king, demanding that this irritating system of adjournment should be put an end to, and that the estates might sit uninterruptedly to transact the national business. Lord Ross presented this address, and William replied that he would let the parliament have his answer in Scotland. The king was in a greater strait than the Scots or the English themselves were aware of. He had entered into the partition treaty, and dared not for his life offend Louis or Spain by the least sanction of the Scotch company. The king's answer when it came was a fresh adjournment by proclamation. The people now lost all restraint; they burst forth in riot and menaces of war. They were drawing up a fresh address in higher terms, when the king thought it necessary to appease them by smooth words. He addressed a letter to the duke of Queensberry and the privy council, in which he excused the last adjournment by his absence; he was now in Holland, but expressed great sorrow for the sufferings of the nation. He said that, if it had been possible for him to have supported the claims of the association on Darien, he would have done it with the greatest pleasure; but that he would consult the interests and advance the prosperity of Scotland by all means in his power, and he begged them not to suffer themselves to be misled by evil-disposed persons. It has been strongly asserted that this letter was accompanied by substantial persuasives to a number of the leading agitators, but this did not allay the storm. It was loudly asserted that the opposition which William gave to their colony resulted neither from regard to the interests of England nor the treaties with Spain, but from favour to the Dutch, who from Curaçoa drove a coasting trade amongst the Spanish plantations with great advantage, which, they said, the Scotch colony, if once settled, would draw from them. Another warm address was voted to the king, but nothing came of it or the promises of the imperturbable Dutch king. Meantime the money which had been judiciously employed amongst the leaders in parliament was left to do its work.

William left England in the beginning of July, but before his departure he endeavoured to persuade Somers to give way to the rancour of the commons, and resign the seals. Somers refused to resign voluntarily, arguing that it would imply a fear of his enemies, or a consciousness of guilt; but William, who felt the necessity of leaving a better feeling behind him if possible, sent lord Jersey to Somers for the seals, and offered them successively to chief justice Holt, and to Treby, the attorney-general; both declined, however, what would have turned the enmity of parliament on them, and William was eventually obliged to bestow them on Nathan Wright, one of the serjeants-at-law, a man of no mark, and very indifferent qualifications for the office. William offered the government of Ireland to Shrewsbury; but he, too, declined the office, and set out for Italy. Every one seemed afraid of engaging in his government, so bitter was the parliament against him. Even his trusty Portland, now absolutely groaning under the weight of riches which William had heaped upon him, retired from his place in his household, and lord Jersey was appointed chamberlain, and lord Romney groom of the stole. William had never left the kingdom under circumstances of so much unpopularity, and scarcely was he gone when the duke of Gloucester, the only child of the princess Anne, now seventeen years old, died. This gave new hopes to the Jacobites. They dispatched a messenger to St. Germains with the news, and began to stir themselves all over the kingdom. In truth, the state of things was very gloomy for the protestant succession. No such successor was as yet appointed. The health and spirits of William were fast sinking. His person and government were extremely unpopular. The house of Brunswick had treated his advances with marked contempt, but they now came forward, urged by the critical state of things, and made their first visit of acknowledgment to the king. The princess Sophia, electress dowager of Hanover, was the person on whom the eyes of the protestants were now turned; but the nation was in a state of much uncertainty. It was rumoured that even Anne had sent a conciliatory letter to her father, and the public mind was disturbed by fears of a disputed succession, and of the reviving chances of a Stuart king.

William was scarcely arrived in Holland when he had the satisfaction of finding that he had rendered essential service by his fleet to his Swedish ally. He had not long before renewed an old treaty betwixt England and Sweden as a means of drawing that power from the intrigues of Louis of France, who was always endeavouring to combine Sweden and Denmark against Holland, the emperor, and England. A stripling king, only eighteen years of age, was now on the throne of Sweden, under the guardianship of his grandmother. The northern powers, Russia, and Peter I., called the Great, Denmark and Frederick IV., and Poland, under Augustus II., also elector of Saxony, thought it a good opportunity to fall upon Sweden, and divide amongst themselves the Swedish possessions on their side of the Baltic. Peter bargained for as much of Finland and Esthonia as he could master; Poland for Livonia; and Denmark for the states which Sweden had formerly conquered from it, and some then swallowed up by Prussia; Prussia, too, was eager for a share, assuming this year the style of a kingdom. But the young king of Sweden, who had till that moment shown no particular talents or taste but for hunting, suddenly started forth in a shape which astonished both his friends and enemies. He threw off the guardianship of his grandmother, was declared by the parliament of age, and demanded to lead his own troops against his united enemies. He called on England to render that aid by sea which was stipulated for by the late treaty. William was never in a condition less able to answer this demand. His parliament this session had continued the army at eight thousand, as before, but had reduced the navy from twelve thousand to seven thousand. William was, moreover, on such bad terms with his parliament, that he did not venture to lay this demand before it, lest, instead of assistance, they should put some new insult on him. The king of Denmark and his allies calculated on William's embarrassments, and had boasted openly that the king of England would not be able to do anything. William was piqued by this remark, and, being well supported by Holland, he sent a powerful fleet to the Baltic under Sir George Rooke. There he was



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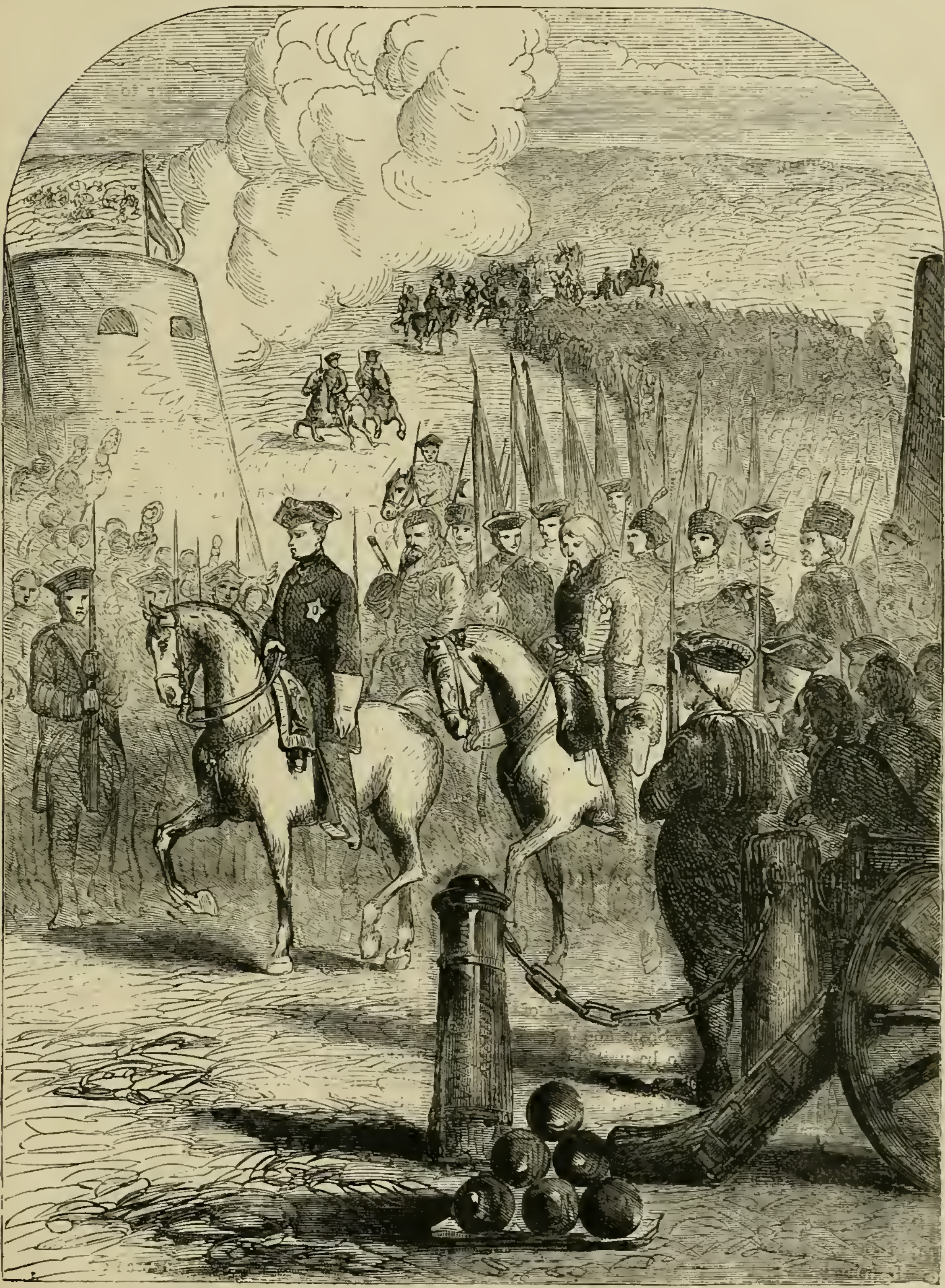


CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN ENTERING COPENHAGEN joined by the Swedish fleet, and the combined fleet now amounting to fifty-two ships of the line, he chased the Danes from the Baltic, and cooped them up in the harbour of Copenhagen. The Danes made their first attack by land on the territories of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the cousin and ally of Charles of Sweden. But the troops of Sweden, under the duke of Lunenburg, crossed the Elbe, and marched to the assistance of Holstein. The Danes were compelled to abandon the siege of Tonnenberg; and the troops of Saxony, which had entered Brunswick, whose elector was the ally of Sweden, were compelled to retire in disorder. Whilst affairs were thus running unexpectedly adverse to Denmark, Charles XII. of Sweden, a name destined speedily to electrify the whole civilised world, crossed the Belt under protection of the combined fleet, and threw himself into Zealand at the head of his army. He forced a landing in the face of powerful batteries only five Swedish miles from Copenhagen itself. As the balls whistled round his head, he asked a Scottish officer in his pay, major-general Stuart, what that noise was. "They are the balls of the enemy," replied Stuart. "Good," said Charles; "they shall henceforth be my music." As he said this, Stuart on one side of him, and a lieutenant on the other, fell dead; but the boy-hero rushed on, and drove the enemy from their batteries. He then marched on Copenhagen, which he attacked from the land, whilst the fleet bombarded it from the sea; and the Danes, thus stormed in their own capital, and their country already traversed by the Swedish armies, were glad to make peace. Meantime Augustus of Poland had besieged Riga; but the brave old octogenarian Swedish general, Dahlberg, compelled him to retire with disgrace; and Charles XII., retiring to Schonen, prepared to direct his arms against Peter the czar, and as autumn came on, the allied fleets retired from the Baltic.

William during this spring had been busy contracting a new treaty of partition. Tallard, Portland, and Jersey had assisted in it. It was signed by them in London on the 21st of February, and by Briord and the plenipotentiaries of the States at the Hague on the 25th of March. It had substituted the archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor, for the deceased electoral prince of Bavaria, as heir to Spain with the Spanish Flanders and colonies; but the dauphin was still to possess Naples and the other Italian states with Lorraine and Bar, and the duke of Lorraine was to have Milan. In case of the archduke dying without issue, some other son of the emperor was to succeed, but not the king of the Romans, for it was stipulated that Spain and the empire, or France and Spain, were never to be united under one crown. The treaty was now made known to the different powers, and excited much astonishment and disapprobation. The emperor of Germany, notwithstanding his son was made successor to the Spanish monarchy, Flanders, America, and the Indies, was by no means conciliated. He expressed his astonishment that the kings of other kingdoms should take upon them to carve up the Spanish monarchy without the consent of the present possessor and the estates of the kingdom. He denied the right of these powers to compel him to accept a part when he was heir to the whole, and to pronounce his forfeiture of even that part if within three months he did not consent to this unwarrantable proceeding. The other princes of Germany were unwilling to excite the enmity of the house of Austria by expressing their approval of the scheme, and Brandenburg, which was just now in treaty with the emperor for the acknowledgment of Prussia as a kingdom, which was signed on the 16th of November, of course united with him. The Italian states were alarmed at the prospect of being handed over to France, and the Swiss declined to sanction the treaty. In Spain the aristocracy, who had vast estates in Sicily, Naples, and the other Italian provinces, and who enjoyed the vice-royalties, and governorships, and other good offices there, were greatly incensed at the idea of all these passing to the French. The miserable and dying king was in agonies. He had already made a will, leaving the crown and all its dependencies to the emperor, but neither he nor the emperor had taken the precaution of securing the Italian provinces by marching a strong army thither—probably from fear of arousing Louis to a premature war. He now called a council of state to deliberate on the succession; but the unfortunate prince had to deliberate with a council which had long been bought over by the French. Even the queen, who was young and childless, was tempted by the private proposal that, on the king's death, and the succession of the son of the dauphin—for still, spite of Louis's treaty with William, it was the son of the dauphin that he meant to succeed—she should marry him and still share the crown. Though the king still adhered to the house of Austria, he found that ten out of twelve of the council were for a Bourbon prince. They contended that Spain had fallen into such a state of weakness, that nothing but being under the care and alliance of France could prevent the different powers seizing on her dependencies and dismembering her; that Austria could not do this; she was too distant, had no fleets, was too poor, and too much dependent on the support of heretic princes. France, on the other hand, was truly catholic, and had shown that she could overawe all Europe. They had only to provide that the two crowns should never be united.

Only two of the council had the patriotism to vote that the question should be submitted to the cortes; they were overborne by the voices of the rest, who had been bought over by Harcourt, the French minister. Amongst them were prominent the marquis de Monterey and cardinal Portocarrero. They advised that they should consult the faculties of law and theology, and these faculties were already bribed by France. Portocarrero removed the king's confessor, who was in the interest of Austria, and by whom the queen kept the king firm to that house. He introduced instead one Froylan Diaz, a Dominican friar, who was perfectly his creature, and, by the aid of this friar, Portocarrero and the inquisitor-general persuaded Charles that all his complaints arose from sorcery which had been practised on him by his own mother, Mariana, who was of the house of Austria, and who was hated by the Spaniards for her insolent carriage and rapacious disposition. This scheme was, however, defeated by the death of the inquisitor-general, and the succession of the bishop of Segovia, who was in the German interest, and who convinced Charles that he had been grossly imposed upon. This diabolical plot having failed, the French faction persuaded the starving people that all their troubles had been produced by the partisans of Austria; and the enraged mob surrounded the palace and demanded to see the king, who was compelled to show himself, though he was too weak to stand without help.

The people being somewhat quieted, the faculties of law and theology decided that the French prince had the best claim, provided care was taken to keep the two crowns asunder, and that the oath imposed on Maria Theresa when she married Louis meant no more. The cardinal Portocarrero and the priests and monks that he had about the king alarmed his conscience by representing that eternal damnation awaited him if he wronged the legitimate heir, the son of his sister. Charles was in a dreadful state of mind, and the contending factions about him were by their alternate importunities hurrying him with double speed to his grave. He declared that he was only for the rights of his own family, the house of Austria, but then he could not run the risk of his soul on their account. He sent, therefore, the duke of Uzeda to consult the pope. This was appealing from Beelzebub to Satan; for the pope, Innocent XII., was a creature of Louis's, and the whole conclave of cardinals had been bought over to the French interest. The money spent by Louis for this object must have been equal to the cost of a war. The pope, after consulting, with all the appearance of deep cogitation, with the cardinals for forty days, of course decided that the renunciation of Maria Theresa was a forced one, and therefore wholly invalid, and that the crown of Spain descended without question to her son, the dauphin, and that, in accordance with the will of the nation, must be received by his second son, Philip, duke of Anjou, so as to keep apart the two crowns. The old pope, who was himself failing, and actually died before Charles, added weight to his decision by saying that he was about to appear before Christ, and give an account of his stewardship, and therefore gave the king only such advice as would allow him, with a clear conscience, to go to the judgment-seat of God.

But the wretched Charles's conflict was by no means ended. The queen, on the death of the inquisitor-general, had managed to expel the intriguing confessor, and to reintroduce her own. Every effort was now made to counteract the French plans. Austria was alarmed; her troops were invited to enter Spain, and the duke of Medina Celi was sent to Naples to act for Austria, and receive Austrian troops into the garrisons. The duke of Mantua was treated with to admit Austrian troops also. But all was in vain; both these noblemen were already secured by France, and Austria had neither troops to march in sufficient numbers, nor money to pay them; but Louis, on the contrary, marched large armies to the frontiers ready to repel Austria and take possession at a moment's warning. All this time the condition of the king of Spain was frightful. His conscience, accustomed to be swayed by his religious advisers, was torn to and fro by the contending exertions of Portocarrero and the queen. Portocarrero was a man of vast influence; he was not only cardinal but archbishop of Toledo, and affected a deep concern for the king. Charles, intensely attached to his own family, and having a strong persuasion that its claims were the claims of the nation, was yet so tortured by the arguments of the priests of the opposite factions, and the entreaties of the queen, that no poor soul was ever in so dreadful a purgatory. At length, after the most violent contests, he sunk in passive weakness, and on the 2nd of October he signed the will dictated by France. Having done it, he burst into tears, and sighed out "Now I am nothing!"

But this signing was effected in deepest secresy; neither the queen nor any one but a small junto of the French faction was aware of it. As Charles, however, still lingered between life and death for a month yet, the French made every preparation for the event, and Portocarrero took possession of the great seals, and dispersed all his agents, so as to secure the certain transfer of the crown to France. On the 1st of November the unhappy monarch died, at the age of thirty-nine, and the will was made known, to the consternation of the queen and the Austrian and English ambassadors, who were till the moment in profound ignorance of it. As soon as the news reached Paris, count Zinzendorf, the imperial ambassador, presented himself at Versailles, and inquired whether the king meant to abide by the treaty of partition or accept the will. The marquis de Torcy answered for Louis that he meant certainly to abide by the treaty. But this was only to gain time. Louis had long made up his mind, and when he heard that Charles was dead, he exclaimed, "There are no longer Pyrenees." Yet he acted the part of one who doubted the propriety or the expedience of accepting the will with some success. He affected to feel the necessity of keeping faith with the king of England and the States-General. Madame Maintenon had warmly advocated the right of the dauphin's son. In her chamber the council was assembled, and it was only after much apparent reluctance that Louis gave way. The whole was well got up. No sooner was it decided to accept the will than Louis took the duke of Anjou into his closet, and addressed him with all the pious wisdom of a Haroun Alraschid:—"Sir, the king of Spain has made you a king. The grandees demand you, the people wish for you, and I give my consent. Remember, only, you are a prince of France. I recommend you to love your people, to gain their affection by the lenity of your government, and to render yourself worthy of the throne you are going to ascend."

What must have been the sensations of William on the receipt of the news of the death of Charles and of this will, it would not be easy to describe. Never had a man of sense and caution been led into a dirty and unwarrantable meddling with his neighbour's property and been so completely duped. He had been engaged with the most unprincipled man of the age, and perhaps of any age, in dissecting and giving away a monarchy with which he had no more right to meddle than he had with France itself; and now he saw that all along his brother robber had merely been amusing him. The partition intended was not so bad certainly as the more recent partition of Poland, because they were separate nationalities which it was intended to detach from Spain; but the crime lay in this, that no regard was paid to the interests or wishes of these separate nationalities. Italian states were handed over from Spain to France as if they had no inherent rights of their own, but were to be disposed of as so many cattle. The disgust which this proposed partition created in England when it had become known was almost as great as in Spain. The parliament highly resented the fact that the king had presumed to compromise the honour and integrity of England by so unjust a transaction without consulting them. They protested against any English monarch voluntarily consenting to place so many Italian states under the control of France, to the imminent peril of our commerce in the Mediterranean. They observed that the possession of Guipuscoa would on any future rupture furnish a fresh inlet for France into Spain. The Jacobites laid hold on these arguments, and contended loudly that it was time to acknowledge the succession to the crown in the prince of Wales. William fell under universal odium on this account; but when the fact of the king of Spain's will became known, not only his moral character but his intellectual sagacity suffered great depreciation. William's error resulted from the want of that highest quality of a statesman—to let things take their natural course, and put his trust in the Supreme Arbiter of events, rather than sully his soul by anxiously endeavouring, by unjustifiable means, to avert menacing dangers. Had William never meddled in the partition treaty he would now have stood erect and strong to resist by all laudable means the undue influence of Europe, backed by the opinion of the whole civilised world and by the spirit of his own great people. As it was, he stood weak and despised, and he never again recovered his former estimation by his subjects. He had now to return to England under the cloud of this unpopularity; and before doing so he took measures to lessen the irritation which he had so recklessly aroused in Scotland.

He sent permission for the Scottish estates to meet on the 28th of October, and addressed a letter to them from Loo, in which he promised to confirm any acts for the better establishment of the presbyterian religion, for discouraging popery and the growth of vice. He expressed himself anxious to promote their trade, and the prosperity of their African and Indian company, at the same time assuring them that he could not sanction their settling in Darien, as it would inevitably produce a ruinous war with Spain and France. But this letter produced no effect. It was now known to the company that their settlement in Panama was entirely broken up, and their capital all lost. The nation was in a perfect ferment. On the very day of the parliament meeting a memorial was presented to it, declaring that besides the ruin of their colony, their privileges at home had been violated by the want of that protection which the king had promised. They addressed a fresh epistle to the king, as unflinching as ever in the statement of their grievances, and William found that it was hopeless using words, he must use more effectual persuasives, and his ministers sent down agents to *pacify* the leading members of parliament in a way too well known to governments in general. The members became zealous for the king; the murmurs of the people were unheeded, and an act was passed for keeping on foot three thousand soldiers, one thousand one hundred of which were to be put at the disposal of the king, and were sent over to Holland. Parliament was then prorogued to the 6th of May, and the earl of Argyll was created a duke for his services in managing the estates during this difficult session.

William had returned to England towards the end of October, a few days before the death of the king of Spain. He was deeply chagrined at this unexpected event, but, under the present temper of England—disgusted with his proceedings with Louis for the partition of Spain—he could not openly complain. Not the less, however, did he unburthen his feelings to his friend, the pensionary Heinsius. Writing to him, he said, "I never relied much on the engagements with France, but I must confess that I did not think they would on this occasion have broken, in the face of the whole world, a solemn treaty before it was well accomplished." He confessed that he had been duped, and that he felt it the more because his English subjects did not disguise their opinion that the will was better than the partition. He expressed his deep anxiety regarding the Spanish Netherlands, which, it seemed, must fall into the hands of France, and as to what barrier was to be set up betwixt them and Holland; and he concluded by saying that he should bear all the blame for having trusted to France after his experience that no trust was to be put in it. That, indeed, was the folly of William, attempting to secure faith where he knew there was none.

At Paris William's ambassador, the earl of Manchester, expressed his master's astonishment at Louis departing from the treaty just made; but De Torcy, the minister, coolly replied that they found that the treaty was not likely to answer; that the emperor refused to accede to it; that none of the nations, not even England or Holland, approved of it; that the Spaniards were so opposed to the division of their monarchy, that the whole of the territories intended to be severed from it would have been to be reconquered by force, and thus have occasioned another bloody and ruinous war. All these facts were, of course, well known, or could be well anticipated by France from the beginning, but they had taken care not to whisper them till now. De Torcy concluded by saying that really Louis acted a very disinterested part in accepting the will, for the treaty would have been better for France; that the king only consulted the peace of Europe, and he trusted that neither William nor the States would attempt to disturb it. He sent a similar statement to Holland, but the States sent him a very firm reply, declaring that they had not expected that his most Christian majesty would thus have broken the treaty just made so solemnly, and which they had expected would be observed with faith and honour by all parties; that there was a secret article in the treaty, by which the emperor was allowed a certain time to come in; that this time had not yet expired, and that they, the States-General, had earnestly importuned his imperial majesty to avail himself of it, and desired that Louis would, therefore, reconsider the matter, that it might be settled to the satisfaction of all Europe.

Louis, though it was well known that he had accepted and meant to act on the will, still, with his usual hypocrisy, affected to listen to the suggestions of the States, employed a Swedish diplomatist to engage the States as a mediator in a pretended compromise, assuring them that the English people much preferred the will to the treaty, and that the king would find himself opposed by his parliament if he attempted to assume hostile measures. At the same time he dispatched Tallard to London to endeavour to persuade William to his views; but, finding no encouragement, Louis threw off the remains of his mask, and marched French troops into the Netherlands and into the duchy of Milan, the towns of which admitted French garrisons. His fleet sailed along the coast of Spain, and came to anchor in the port of Cadiz, and another squadron was dispatched to secure the South American and West Indian settlements of Spain. The elector of Bavaria, who had declared that his son had been poisoned by the French court, now hastened to make terms with France, and proclaimed the duke of Anjou as king of Spain at Brussels on the 20th of November. That part of the Dutch army quartered in Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur were declared prisoners of war, because they would not acknowledge the new king without orders from the States. Confounded by this proceeding, and dreading an attack on their own defenceless frontier, the States in their turn lost no time in acknowledging the duke of Anjou, and, therefore, their troops were dismissed. On the 4th of December the duke set off for Spain, and his two brothers attended the new Spanish king to the frontiers.

Thus Louis, by his daring and unprincipled manœuvres, had accomplished his grand object of securing the Spanish succession, to prevent which so many lives had been lost and so much wealth exhausted. He had outwitted the king of England, though he could not drive him from the battlefield, and stood in proud preeminence in Europe—France, Spain, the Netherlands, a great part of Italy, and the vast regions of South America all lying under his dominion, though part nominally under that of his grandson. He had at the same time the satisfaction of seeing his most powerful and determined enemy, the king of England and stadtholder of Holland, deluded, disgraced, put down through his Machiavellian artifice, from his high moral status, and his mind and body a prey to the combined attacks of shame, disappointment, helpless chagrin, and a dropsical state of body, induced by his declining physical powers. Bishop Burnet, reviewing the state of things at this melancholy crisis, says:—"And now I am come to the end of this century, in which there was a black appearance of a new and dismal scene. France was now in possession of a great empire, for a small part of which there had been wars—broke off, indeed, in some intervals—for above two hundred years, while we in England, who were to protect and defend the rest, were, by wretched factions and violent animosities, running into a feeble and disjointed state. The king's cold and reserved manner on so high a provocation, made some conclude that he was in secret engagements with France; that he was resolved to own the new king of Spain, and to engage in no new war. This seemed so different from his own inclinations, and from all the former parts of his life, that it made many conclude that he found himself in an ill state of health, the swelling of his legs being much increased, and this might have such effects on his mind, as to make him less warm and active,—less disposed to involve himself in new troubles, and that he might think it too inconsiderate a thing to enter on a new war that was not like to end so soon, when he found himself in a declining state of health."

But besides his health and the mortification of Louis's triumphant deceit, William had plenty of troubles from the temper of his parliament, and the state of the factions which harassed his government. With such gloomy auspices came in the year 1701. The king had now replaced the retiring whigs of his ministry by Tories. Lord Godolphin was made first commissioner of the treasury; lord Tankerville succeeded Lord Lonsdale, deceased, as privy seal; lord Rochester was sent as lord-lieutenant to Ireland, and Sir Charles Hedges was appointed secretary of state. By their advice parliament was dissolved, and writs issued for the meeting of the new one on the 6th of February.

At this juncture count Wratislaw arrived as ambassador from the emperor, to explain the title of Leopold to the Spanish crown; but the envoy of William's old ally was received with great coldness. The truth was, William was secretly engaged in a negotiation with the Spanish regency to procure a concession of certain frontier towns of the Netherlands being garrisoned by Dutch and English troops for the protection of Holland. Wratislaw's arrival could not, therefore, have occurred at a more awkward crisis, as tending to excite the suspicion of France. But the proposal of the garrisons was rejected by the regency, or, in reality, by France, for it now meant the same thing, and William then gave a more cordial welcome to the imperial minister. But the new cabinet was averse to running into fresh engagements which might lead to another continental war. They contended that it was not the business of England to concern itself with the balance of power on the continent, but for the nations there to assert and maintain their own liberties; for which reason they could enter into suitable combinations. That it was the more fitting and dignified position of England to maintain friendly relations as far as possible with them all, and to act as umpire betwixt them, promoting peace and good neighbourhood, as became a Christian nation. And these, indeed, were the true principles of British action, had they enunciated them from sound motives; but it is to be feared that a desire to cast the blame of the past ruinous war on their opponents, the whigs, had more weight with them than honest and enlightened principle.

When parliament met on the 6th of February, it was found that the late speaker, Sir Thomas Littleton, had absented himself from the house, and the tories proposed in his stead Robert Harley, who was now fast rising into favour with that party. The king had requested Lyttleton, in fact, to withdraw, that the tories might get in their man; but there was such a ferment in the house, that it was obliged to be adjourned till the 20th. Then the whigs brought forward Sir Richard Onslow, but he was defeated by a majority of two hundred and forty-nine to one hundred and twenty-five. This showed that a strong tory commons had been returned, and yet it was not true that all the tories were unanimous. There was, indeed, a considerable breach in the party. Those of them who had been passed over in the selection of the ministry, or had other causes of pique against the government, remained in opposition, and occasioned the king and their own party no little embarrassment. Amongst these were the duke of Leeds, the marquis of Normanby, the earl of Nottingham, Seymour, Musgrove, Howe, Finch, and Showers. It was strongly suspected, too, that Louis had made use of Tallard to bribe members of parliament and of the government to an awful extent to oppose any measures for war and continental combinations. "It was observed," says Burnet, "as soon as parliament opened, that the French had a great party in it; that great sums of money came over this winter from France; the packet-boat seldom came without ten thousand louis d'ors; it brought often more; the nation was filled with them, and in six months time a million of guineas were coined out of them. The merchants, indeed, said the balance of trade was then so much turned to our side, that whereas we were wont to carry over a million of money in specie, we then sent no money to France, and had at least half that sum sent over to balance the trade. Yet this did not account for that vast flood of French gold that was visible amongst us; and upon the French ambassador's going away, a sensible alteration was found in bills of exchange, so that it was concluded that great remittances were made to him, and that these were distributed amongst those who were resolved to merit a share of that wealth which came over now so copiously, beyond example of former times."

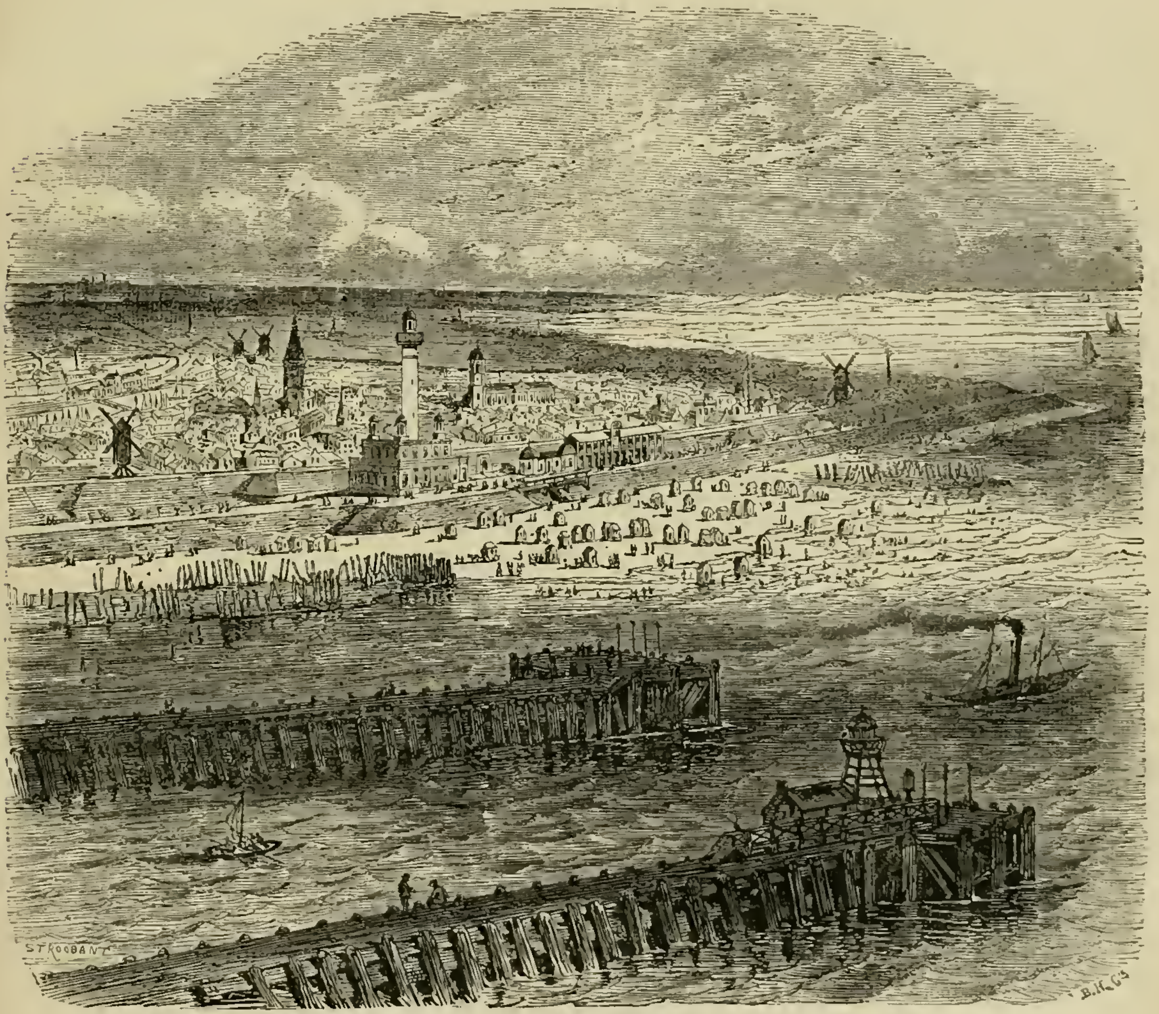
Different modes have been suggested to account for this remarkable influx of French gold, and its disappearance with the ambassador, without supposing any bribery. One was, the increased demand for our manufactures since the peace of Ryswick, the change being, therefore, now in our favour, and the king issuing a proclamation forbidding the circulation of this gold, which speedily turned it into guineas. But all this does not explain the unexampled influx of it precisely at this moment, when it was of consequence to Louis to discourage a renewed war against him; and as he was known to have been greatly in the habit of bribing even kings, ministers, and parliament, the suspicion on this occasion was probably well founded.

In his opening speech William informed the parliament that the death of the duke of Gloucester had rendered it necessary that they should take into consideration the succession to the crown after him and the princess Anne, who had now no heir. That the happiness of the nation and the security of the protestant religion made it the subject of the highest importance. The subject of next importance, and scarcely inferior, he said, was the death of the late king of Spain, and the succession arranged by his will, which had made so great an alteration in affairs abroad, as demanded their most serious consideration for the interests and safety of England, and the preservation of the peace of Europe and of the protestant religion. That these great topics might have due consideration, he had desired that they should receive it in a new parliament. He next referred to the necessity for making a proper provision for the current expenditure, and for the reduction of the debt, and recommended them to put the fleet into effective condition.

The electress Sophia of Hanover, the next in succession to Anne, was the daughter of Frederick, the prince palatine, and Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, therefore granddaughter of James I. No sooner did Sophia hear of the death of the duke of Gloucester, than she took with her her daughter, the electress of Brandenburg, and made a visit to William at Loo. She had a twofold object, to obtain his promise of favouring her succession to the crown of England, and his acknowledgment of Brandenburg as a kingdom under the name of Prussia, a favour which the emperor, as we have seen, had already conceded. William seems to have assured her of his intention to support both her claim to the English crown, and that of her daughter to the title of queen of Prussia, and immediately left for England. At the same time the court of St. Germains was on the alert to get the prince of Wales accepted, and the Jacobites of England dispatched Mr. F. Graham, a brother of the late lord Preston, to James, to make certain proposals regarding the succession of the prince of Wales. It was proposed that he should be sent to England and there educated in protestantism; but this condition James was certain not to agree to, and accordingly the whole scheme fell to the ground. It is said that the princess Anne was favourable to the prince's succession could he have been brought up a protestant; but his parents declared that they would rather see him dead.

The tories, who were averse to a new continental war, appear to have held a large meeting, to propose an address to his majesty, praying him to acknowledge the new king of Spain; and had they done this, they would probably have found the king ready to listen to them, for the States were urging him to do the same thing. But though the proposition was warmly advocated, a Mr. Monckton happening to say that if they carried this motion, the next he supposed would be to recommend the acknowledgment of the prince of Wales, the idea appeared to startle the meeting, and the matter was dropped. But the whig party was still inclined to a war. They had been the advocates and supporters of the former one; they knew that William was strongly inclined to it, and that to support him was the way to regain his favour. Besides, Marlborough was anxious to distinguish himself at the head of an army; he had now secretly gone over to the whigs, and had their support. The whigs saw the fast-failing health of William, and looked towards the rising sun—the princess Anne, with whom the Marlboroughs were everything. A strong spirit of war, therefore, manifested itself in the commons in spite of the inclinations of ministers. Secretary Vernon, writing to the earl of Manchester at Paris, told him that so great a spirit had rarely been seen in the house of commons for supporting the interests of England and Holland; and this was fully borne out by a unanimous vote of the house on the 24th of February, declaring that it would stand by the king and support him in all such measures as went to maintain the independence of England, the security of the protestant religion, and the peace of Europe. The question, however, of the best mode of maintaining peace, whether by conceding the French claims on Spain, or arming to resist them, was warmly debated by the different factions. William was agreeably surprised at the tone of the house, and on the 17th he informed them of his satisfaction at their assurances, which he took to be important for the honour and safety of England, for William always talked of the honour of England when he meant that of Holland. He then handed to them the pressing memorial of the States-General to him, to acknowledge the duke of Anjou as the king of Spain. They had themselves agreed to do this, in terror lest the French should march over their naked frontiers; yet they told William that they would do nothing without his consent and approbation. They counted, however, fully on this, and painted earnestly the dangers to which they were exposed by any opposition to France, and called on him to supply the English aid secured to them by treaty.

To rouse the John Bullism of the commons, a weak, vain-glorious, and maudlin sentiment of false magnanimity, which is so easily kindled in the English mind, and which has been so fatally employed by statesmen on all occasions, to plunge the nation into ruinous and useless wars for thankless neighbours, who ought to have taken care of themselves, William, at the same time that he presented the Dutch memorial, also presented a letter of the contemptible lord Melfort. This was addressed to his brother, the earl of Perth, the governor of the prince of Wales. The letter had been mislaid, and came by accident in the English mail. It expressed the opinion that this was a noble opportunity for a fresh descent on England. That William was hated by all classes of his subjects, that France was exasperated at him for his opposition to the Spanish succession, and was actually fitting out a vast fleet. That this fleet would be absolute master of the seas for the whole of the summer, because the English had reduced their naval force to a mere cypher, and even were they otherwise ready, would lose the whole summer in long debates on the matter instead of getting ready. That the Dutch, unsupported by the English, dare not stir out of port; they were trembling even for their safety on land. That there was plenty of money, plenty of stores, and plenty of men full of zeal for the undertaking. That in private conversations with Madame de Maintenon, the king of France's mistress, he learnt that Louis was ready to second all James's wishes, if he could only be persuaded that James himself and his subjects were agreed on the matter. The only thing, Melfort said, that was wanting, was that James should have some one of ability and information who should make out statements of the feasibility of the enterprise, which would convince Louis and Madame, and show not only how easy it would be, but how glorious to France, and beneficial to the catholic religion. He represented lord Middleton, James's minister, as wholly unfitted for this task; as "lazy in his temper, an enemy to France by inclination, tainted with commonwealth principles, and against the



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king's returning by any other power than that of the people of England, and upon terms; one suspected of giving out to the compounders, if not worse." He recommended Mr. Caryl for this important function, and to manage it entirely unknown to Middleton, for if he had any hand in it, "neither the true church of England party, the catholics, nor the earl of Arran, with whom lay the best game the king had to play, would have anything to do with it."

This contemptible letter of a most contemptible man—which ought to have been treated as it deserved, with silent scorn—had all the effect that William could have desired, and far more than he expected. Both houses, for to both was the letter submitted, united in a storm of indignation upon it. The slightest reflection would have satisfied them that Louis had too much to do on the continent, to attempt at this juncture an invasion of England. That however much he might desire to strike a blow at William, it was not on English ground that it was to be done. That every attempt to help the imbecile and incorrigible James had most miserably failed, and that that monarch was now far more than ever incapacitated for heading such an enterprise, or maintaining himself on a protestant throne if he ever got there. He was sunk into all the habits of a monk of La Trappe, given up to bead-telling and penances, and fitter for a cell and a tonsure than a crown.

Yet the commons voted on this ridiculous document that it was necessary to put the kingdom into a state of defence, authorised the exchequer to borrow five hundred and fifty thousand pounds at six per cent. for the service of the fleet and army, and raised the vote for seamen from seven thousand to thirty thousand. They voted an address to the king, and carried it up in a body, praying him to take such measures with the States-General as should seem necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and of Holland too, and promised to support him in the performance of all the conditions of the treaty entered into with the States-General in 1677.

William must have been most agreeably surprised at this success of his attempt to revive the war-spirit by Melfort's foolish letter. This vehement outburst of indignation, far exceeding all cause, delighted him exceedingly. The parliament had pledged itself to the old involvement in the continental feuds, and William, eagerly seizing hold on it, expressed his hearty thanks, and assured them that he would immediately instruct his ministers abroad to enter into negotiations to attain the ends they desired. The nation stood pledged once more to fight the battles of all those nations who, if their independence was worth having, were numerous enough to defend it. But the lords even went further; they called, indeed, for the treaties which had been formerly entered into with the continental nations, that they might know their real nature; but they did not wait for a full examination of them, but prayed his majesty to renew his alliances with all those nations who were willing to unite for the preservation of the balance of power, and promising him their most energetic support in maintaining the honour of England and the peace of Europe. They recommended that the laws should be put in force against papists; that they should all be banished from London; that their houses and arms should be seized, and search-warrants issued to make quest after the provisions for war which the letter described as being in readiness, and they urged the preparation of the fleet with all expedition.

The French ministers both in London and in Paris expressed their surprise that the English court and parliament should be led to sow jealousies and misunderstanding betwixt the two nations on the faith of a letter of such a man as Melfort. They declared that he was banished from the court of James, and was regarded at that of Versailles as no better than a fool and a madman; that as to his pretended private interviews, they were merely to get two of his daughters into the Maintenon establishment of St. Cyr; that he had no access to or credit with the French ministers, but was merely endeavouring to regain favour with king James and damage Middleton; that he had been strictly questioned, and admitted that he had written a letter to his brother, the earl of Perth, which had been lost, but that it was totally different from that produced to the British parliament, and that probably that letter produced might be a mischievous forgery, but, whether so or not, Melfort had no authority from the king of France or king James for any pretences about invasion; that as to a fleet, undoubtedly they were preparing a strong fleet, but this was simply because the Dutch were preparing a numerous fleet, working night and day, and even on Sundays at it. They added, the production of the letter attributed to Melfort, and its being cried about the streets, looked much more like a wish on the part of England to break with France. To show that they were in earnest, the French court arrested Melfort by *lettre-de-cachet*, and committed him to the castle of Angers.

The parliament now entered on the great deliberation of the session, the appointment of the successor to the crown after the princess of Denmark. It was a subject which the king had recommended from the throne at the commencement of the session, and which the failing health of William and the prospect of great agitations all over Europe warned them not to defer. This important business, however, was set about in an extraordinary manner. Roger Coke says a whig member meant to bring in a bill to fix the succession on the house of Brunswick, but that the tories, becoming aware of it, set Sir John Bowles, one of their own party, to bring one in. This Bowles was a half crazy man, and in the end became altogether insane; and the bill being put into his hands looked as though the tories meant to cast contempt upon it. The bill was sent into committee, and Bowles was put in the chair; but whenever the discussion was brought in the members hastened out of the house, and the matter seemed to hang for several weeks as though no one would proceed with it under the present management. But at length Harley took it up in earnest, and remarked that there were some very necessary preliminary questions to be settled before they proceeded to vote the different clauses of the bill; that the nation had been in too great haste when it settled the government on the previous occasion, and had consequently overlooked many securities to the liberties of the nation which might have been obtained; that now they were under no immediate pressure, and it would be inexcusable to fall into the same error. Before, therefore, they proceeded to nominate the *person* who should succeed, they ought to settle the conditions under which he and his descendants should succeed. This advice was taken, much to the surprise of William, who found the tories, now in the ascendant, endeavouring to curtail the royal prerogative, and by every one of their restrictions casting a decided censure upon him. The public, likewise, was so much puzzled by this conduct, that they suspected that the motion of Harley was intended to defeat the Brunswick succession altogether. But the terms on which William and Mary had been admitted to the throne were the work of the whigs, and the tories could not let slip this opportunity of showing how negligent they had been of the rights of the nation.

Accordingly, after great discussions carried on for about three months, the following resolutions were agreed to and embodied in the bill:—"That whoever should hereafter come to the possession of this crown shall join in communion with the church of England as by law established; that in case the crown and dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England without the consent of parliament; that no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of the crown shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland without consent of parliament; that from and after the time that further limitations by this act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognisable in the privy council by the laws and customs of the realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the privy council as shall advise and consent to the same; that after the limitations shall take effect, no person born out of the kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, although he be naturalised and made a denizen, except such as are born of English parents, shall be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either house of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or to any other in trust for him; that no person who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the house of commons; that after the limitation shall take effect, judges' commissions shall be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established, but, upon the address of both houses of parliament, it may be lawful to remove them; that no pardon under the great seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in parliament." Having settled these preliminaries, the bill provided that the princess Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in succession to the crown of England in the protestant line after his majesty and the princess Anne, and the heirs of their bodies respectively, and that the further limitation of the crown be to the said princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants.

When this extraordinary bill was sent up to the lords it was not expected to pass there without much opposition and cutting down. There was, in fact, an evident reluctance there as well as in the commons to enter on the question. Many lords absented themselves, and others, as the marquis of Normanby, the earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the lords Guildford and Jeffreys, opposed it. Burnet attempted to move some amendments; but some lords crying out "No amendments! no amendments!" none were further attempted, and the bill was sent down to the commons as it went up.

Had such a sweeping bill as this passed the houses some years ago, William would have refused to ratify it, as he did so long the triennial bill. Certainly it was from beginning to end the most trenchant piece of censure on his conduct, both as it regarded leading the nation into foreign wars, and as it concerned his lavish favouritism to Dutchmen, that ever was laid before a king for his signature. William had from the first made use of the lives and the substance of Englishmen to defend his beloved Holland with a most reckless disregard to the purse and the life-blood of this country, yet always under the pretence that it was for the honour and safety of England. He had gone away at his pleasure and spent his summers in Holland; here was a most marked reproof of the practice, and caution against its repetition. The condemnation of his making the partition treaties without the knowledge of his privy council, much less of parliament, was equally severe. His introduction of his Dutch favourites into the privy council and into the house of lords, to the prejudice of Englishmen, had its reproof; and his profuse and extravagant endowment of them with hundreds of thousands of English and Irish acres was shown to have excited the indignant observation of the nation. Most of these restrictions were most essentially conducive to the national good, and have been the greater part of them continued down to our time. Well would it have been if more of them had remained so; if placemen and pensioners had been rigorously excluded from parliament, with the exception of the three or four chief ministers. Well, had the people united in abstaining from continental wars, but the succession of the house of Hanover led us deeper than ever in this fatal practice of meddling with foreign feuds, the result of which is an expenditure of *three thousand millions* on those foreign wars, of which eight hundred millions remain yet as a debt upon us and our posterity; whilst the utter waste of these enormous sums and of oceans of British blood is shown by the whole of Europe, including the very nations which we attempted to serve, lying under the most heartless and hopeless despotisms that the world ever saw. Europe, armed to the teeth, and its people from end to end held down at the points of millions of bayonets, and their minds trodden under the iron heels of freedom-hating despots, is the only result of our foolish and thankless interference.

There were politicians who saw clearly all the mischiefs which have followed even under these restrictions, and would have willingly imposed more. Though the nation, in electing William, and even Mary, out of her strict order of succession, had established *de facto* the doctrine of a nation choosing its own sovereign, there were many yet who would have had this doctrine clearly defined in this bill in express terms, and have carried it so far that the nation should be authorised to set aside at will an incompetent heir to the throne and substitute a more suitable one, either from the same or another family; that the well-governing of the realm should be the first consideration, and not a person merely standing next in the course of birth. This doctrine was ably urged by Toland in a treatise on the subject. He contended that we had a right to impose what restrictions we please on persons to whom we present the crown voluntarily and out of our own good will; that we might have done it to our vast advantage in admitting William and Mary; that the case was now still more open to us; and that we ought not to accept any member of the houses of Hanover or Brandenburg without insisting on their first renouncing their foreign possessions. "For," said he, "if our crown should fall upon either of those families, they will fall under mighty temptations to enlarge their dominions beyond sea, in order to make the communication betwixt their old and new dominions more speedy and easy. This the house of Hanover may attempt by falling down upon the Elbe and the Weiser, and swallowing up Hamburg, Bremen, Verden, &c.; and the house of Brandenburg might do the like, falling down the same rivers and the Rhine. All these things, how remote and chimerical soever they may seem at present, ought to be considered." If they had been considered and provided against, the very ends foreseen would have been prevented during the reigns of the Georges, and this country would have been spared much trouble, bloodshed, and many millions of money.

William naturally regarded the restrictions which were introduced with the greatest mortification, for, indeed, they were every one of them severe censures on his own conduct; but he passed the bill without venturing on any remarks.

Still more offensive was this measure to the popish princes who were nearer in blood to the throne of England than the electress of Hanover. The duchess of Savoy, the sole daughter of Henrietta, the daughter of Charles I., was the next in succession to James and his issue, and she ordered count Maffie, the duke of Savoy's ambassador, to make a strong protest against the abrogation of her claim, though that was already sufficiently done by the Bill of Rights, which cut off all papists whatever. This might, notwithstanding, have occasioned some embarrassment had the duke of Savoy still continued the faithful ally of England; but this very moment he had entered into alliance with France and Spain on condition that the king of Spain should marry his youngest daughter without dowry, but engaging for himself to command the allied army in Italy, and to furnish eight thousand infantry and two thousand horse, in consideration of a monthly subsidy of fifty thousand crowns.

The house of Hanover, though overjoyed to have obtained the reversion of the crown of England on such easy terms, pretended to consider the restrictions introduced as diminishing the value of the gift. Their agent talked largely of the princes of Hanover as "this great family." He informed the English court that "this great family" was already determined to show their zeal for England; that they were marching five thousand men to the frontiers of Holland for its defence against the French—as if the defence of Holland and England were synonymous; but in the same breath insinuated that "this great family" "could not make bricks without straw;" which meant that "this great family" was very poor, and must be paid for defending England—that is, Holland. Here was a striking practical proof of the necessity of the additional restrictions which Toland and many others had contended for. The old electress immediately became a person of immense consideration; the court of Hanover became a sort of second English court; all the poor principalities of Germany, which before paid little attention to them, were now assiduous in paying court to "this great family," and Sophia wrote to her friends that her son George "gave himself the airs of a sovereign."

During these transactions negotiations were going on at the Hague betwixt England, France, Holland, and Spain. Mr. Stanhope, envoy extraordinary to the States-General, was empowered to treat in union with Holland for a continuation of the peace on certain conditions. These conditions were, that Louis should withdraw all his troops from the Spanish Netherlands, and engage to send no fresh ones into any of the Flemish towns. That no troops but native born troops of Flanders or Spain should be kept there, except in Newport and Ostend, which should be given up to king William as cautionary towns, and in Luxembourg, Namur, and Mons, which should be garrisoned by the States-General, for the security of their frontiers, but without prejudice to the rights and revenues of the crown of Spain. That no towns in the Spanish Netherlands, nor any port belonging to Spain, should be given up to or exchanged with France on any pretence whatever. That the subjects of England should enjoy the same liberties and privileges as they did on the demise of the late king of Spain, and in as ample a manner as the French or any other nation, in all parts of the Spanish dominions, whether by land or sea. That the emperor should be invited to join, and that any other princes or states who desired to unite for the preservation of the peace of Europe, should be admitted to the treaty.

D'Avaux, the French minister, received these demands with an air of the utmost astonishment, and declared that they could not have been higher if his master had lost four successive battles. That the French troops would be removed from Flanders as soon as Spain could send forces to replace them, he said was certain, but for the rest of the articles he could only send them to Versailles for the consideration of the king. Louis expressed the utmost indignation at these demands, which he declared to be most insolent, and could only be put forward by William with a desire to provoke a war. He said that he would renew the treaty of Ryswick, which was all that could be reasonably expected. In fact, though the demands were no more than were necessary for the security of Holland, William, knowing the nature of Louis, and that he was now at the head of both France, Spain, and a great part of Italy, could not seriously have expected that he would accede to them. Perhaps William intended him to reject them, as that would furnish a good *casus belli*, and would enable him to rouse the spirit of the English people to a martial tone. Accordingly he communicated the refusal of the French court to accede to the terms offered; but the commons feeling that the object was to engage them in support of a continental congress, which might lead them into another war more oppressive than the former one, they thanked his majesty in an address for his communication, but called for copies of the partition-treaty, that they might inform themselves on the precise terms agreed upon in that treaty with France. The tories, however much they might be disposed to maintain the same course themselves, would by no means omit the opportunity of damaging the whig ministers who had been concerned in that business. They had already agreed to send ten thousand men to the aid of the States-General in support of the treaty of 1677, and they now set to work to establish by this inquiry a plea against lord Somers, Portland, and the others engaged in the treaty.

The lords, not to be behind, also called for copies of the two treaties. They appointed a committee to examine them, and placed Nottingham, a thorough tory, in the chair. There was a sprinkling of whigs in the committee to give it an air of fairness, and a strong contest went on between the two parties. On the fourth resolution, that there were no instructions in writing given to the plenipotentiaries of England, and that. if verbal orders were given, they were given without being submitted to the council, Portland, who had been almost the sole manager of these treaties, in conjunction with William, by permission of the king, informed them that he had, by the king's order, laid the matter before six of the king's ministers—namely, Pembroke, Marlborough, Lonsdale, Somers, Halifax, and secretary Vernon. These lords then endeavoured to excuse themselves by admitting that the earl of Jersey having read the first treaty to them, they had objected to various particulars, but being informed that the king had already carried the matter as far as possible, and could get no better terms, and that, in fact, everything was settled, they had nothing for it but to desist from their objections. Various protests were entered against the resolutions in committee, but the report, when brought up, was to this effect:—That the lords spiritual and temporal had found, to their great sorrow, that the treaty made with the French king had been very prejudicial to the peace and safety of Europe. That it had probably given occasion to the late king of Spain to make his will in favour of the duke of Anjou, and that the sanction of France having possession of Sicily, Naples, several ports in the Mediterranean, the province of Guipuscoa, and the duchy of Lorraine, was not only very injurious to the interests of Europe, but contrary to the pretence of the treaty itself, which was to prevent too many territories being united under one crown. That it appeared that this treaty never was submitted to the consideration of the council or the committee of the council (in our phrase the cabinet), and they prayed his majesty in future to take the advice of his natural-born subjects, whose interest and natural affection to their country would induce them to seek its welfare and prosperity. This last observation was aimed at Portland.

The ministers, such as were admitted to the secret of the treaty, as well as the king, had undoubtedly grossly violated the constitution, and had the tories been honest, they might have rendered essential service to the country by punishing them. But their object was too apparent, to crush Portland and Somers, and to let the rest go, whom they quietly passed over. The new lord-keeper carried up the address to the king, but the members at large, not relishing the unpleasant office, took care not to accompany him, and he found himself at the palace almost alone. Two or three of the lords in waiting were all that served to represent the house of peers. On its being read William endeavoured to conceal his chagrin, and merely replied that the address contained matter of grave moment, and that he would always take care that all treaties should be made so as to contribute to the honour and safety of England.

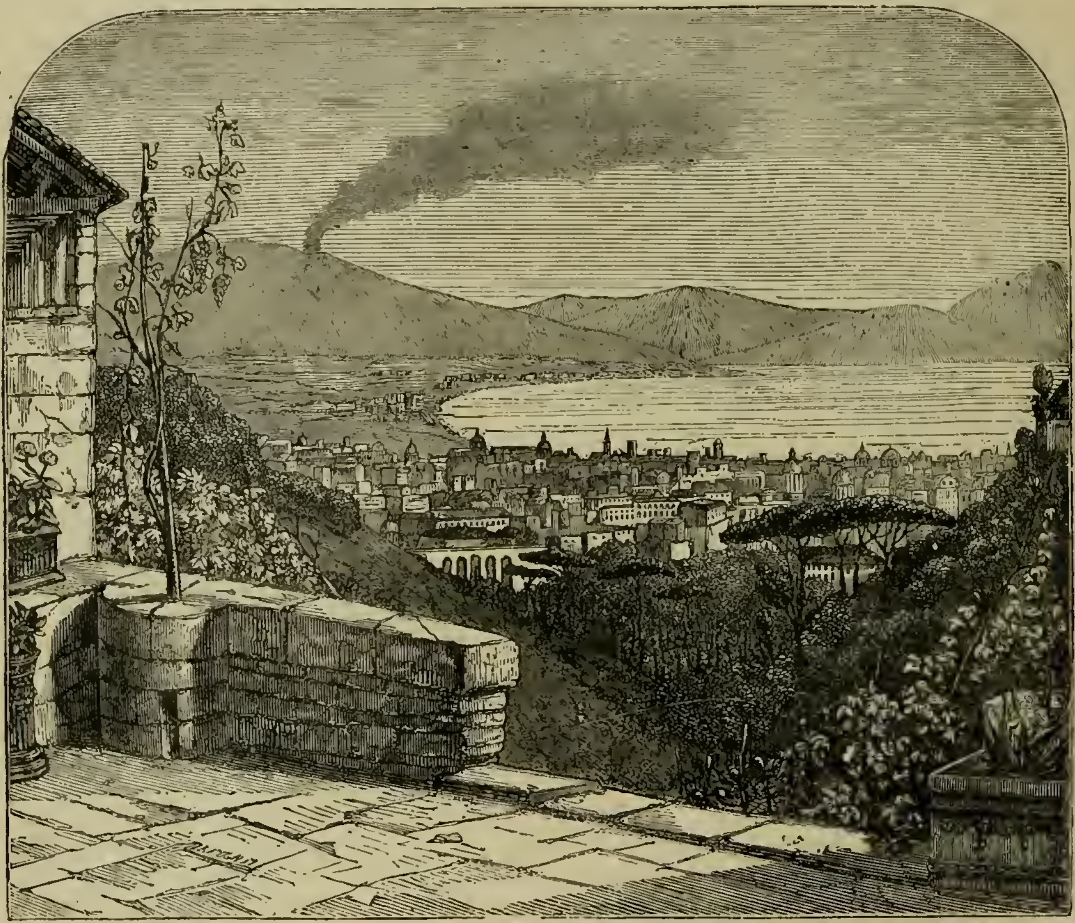
The debates in the commons were in the meantime still more vehement on the same subject. Sir Edward Seymour declared that the partition treaty was as infamous as a highway robbery, and Howe went further, denouncing it as a felonious treaty; an expression which so exasperated the king, that he protested, if the disparity of condition betwixt him and that member had not been too great, he would have demanded satisfaction by his sword. These discussions in the two houses excited out of doors a general condemnation of the treaty, and threw fresh odium on the government.

On the last day of March a message was communicated to both houses by secretary Hedges, that no further negotiation appeared possible with France, from its decided rejection of the terms offered, and its continuing to concede only the renewal of the treaty of Ryswick. The commons, instead of an immediate answer, adjourned to the 2nd of April, and then resolved unanimously to desire his majesty to carry on the negotiations with the States-General, and take such measures as should conduce to the safety of the kingdom. In reply to two resolutions from the States-General, and a memorial presented by their envoy in England, which the king laid before them, they assured him that they would support him, supplying the twenty ships and ten thousand men which they were bound to find by the treaty of 1677. This gave no sanction to any negotiations for a fresh alliance with the powers formerly combined against France; and William was deeply mortified, but he merely thanked them for their assurances of aid, and informed them that he had sent orders to his ambassador at the Hague still to endeavour to come to terms with France and Spain.

On the 19th of April the marquis de Torcy handed to the earl of Manchester at Paris a letter from the new king of Spain to the king of England, announcing his accession to the throne, and expressing a desire to cultivate terms of friendship with him. This announcement had been made long before to the other European powers, and it might well have been doubted whether William would now acknowledge his right. To do that was to admit the validity of the late king of Spain's will, and there could then be no real reason to refuse the conditions of the treaty of Ryswick. William was from this cause in a state of great perplexity: but the earl of Rochester and the new ministers urged him to reply and admit the duke of Anjou's right. The States-General had already done it, and, in fact, unless England and the old allies of the emperor were prepared to dispute it with efficient arms, it was useless to refuse. Accordingly, after a severe struggle with himself. William wrote to "the most serene and potent prince, brother, and cousin," congratulating him on his happy arrival in his kingdom of Spain, and expressing his assurance that the ancient friendship betwixt the two crowns would remain inviolate, to the mutual advantage and prosperity of the two nations. With this was certainly ended every right of England to dispute the possession of all the territories and dependencies of the Spanish monarch by the new king; and there could be no justifiable cause of war with France until she attempted to renew her hostilities to neighbouring peoples.

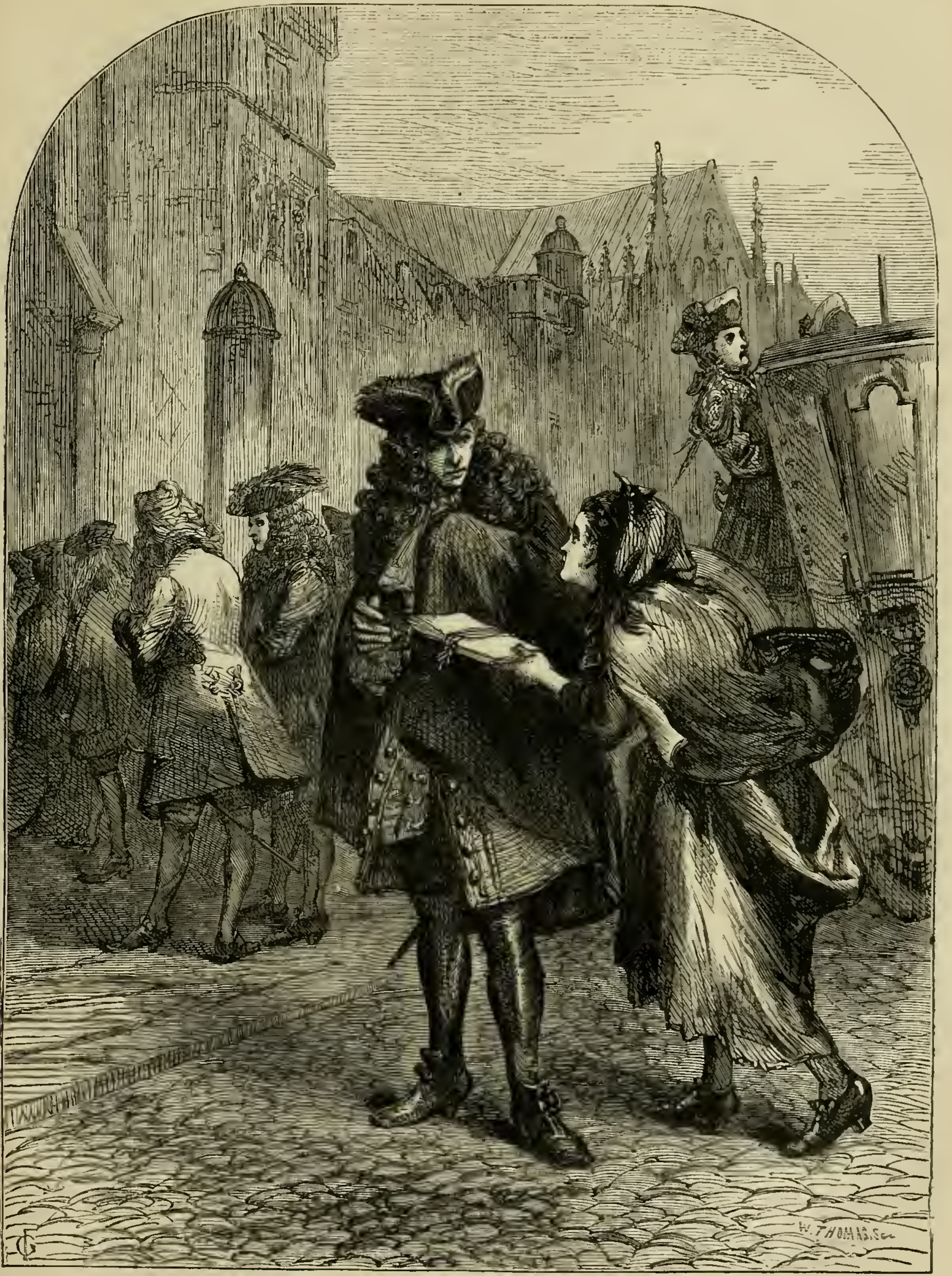
This act was a heavy blow to the emperor, who was beginning to move in defence of his claim on the crown of Spain, and to call on the different states of the empire and on his old allies, the Dutch and English, to assist him in his object. But there appeared very few circumstances in his favour. True, he was at peace with Turkey, and could withdraw his troops from that quarter and pour them into the Netherlands; but this force alone was wholly inadequate to contend with France and Spain. The states of Germany were divided as usual. Hanover and the Palatinate were in his favour; but Louis had been busy with others, and the elector of Cologne was in his pay, and raising five thousand troops, the elector of Bavaria the same, and raising ten thousand. Bavaria, who had accused Louis of poisoning his son, and thus getting rid of him as a claimant of the Spanish crown, had now changed his note, and transferred the charge of this crime to the emperor, the young prince's grandfather. Then what were William and the States-General to do, who had now acknowledged the duke of Anjou? The emperor proposed to send prince Eugene into Italy with an army to take possession of the duchy of Milan; but on that side the pope, Clement XI., was a creature of France, and the Venetians, though favouring the emperor, saw too well the unequal contest to declare themselves openly.

Louis, notwithstanding his pretended astonishment at the demands of William and the States-General, was yet willing to renew the negotiations at the Hague; but this was with the design of engaging the Dutch in a separate treaty. As they had been induced by their fears to acknowledge the duke of Anjou without William, he hoped that they might be brought to make peace without England. Finding that the Dutch would not listen to any proposals independent of England, Louis pursued his plans for dividing the princes of the empire, whilst he drew lines on the frontiers of Holland. The Dutch, on their part, took every possible measure for their defence; they strengthened their garrisons, laid in supplies, and sent to neighbouring states to solicit assistance. It was plain that Louis, trusting to his new strength, could not long rest without renewing his encroachments on other states.



VIEW OF NAPLES.

Whilst affairs were in this position abroad, the anxiety of William was increased to the utmost by the war which was waging betwixt the two rival factions in parliament. In endeavouring to damage the whigs to the utmost, the tories damaged and tortured the king, who was sufficiently



HARLEY RECEIVING THE "LEGION" MEMORIAL.

miserable with the prospects on the continent and his fast-failing health. The commons now determined to impeach Portland and Somers on the ground of their concern in the second partition treaty, contrary to the constitutional usages of the country. They passed a resolution that "William earl of Portland, by negotiating and concluding the treaty of partition, which was destructive to the trade of this kingdom and dangerous to the peace of Europe, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour." They ordered Sir John Leveson Gower to impeach him at the bar of the lords, and named a committee to prepare the articles against him. They then demanded a conference with the lords, and desired them to communicate the particulars of what had passed before them between the earl of Portland and secretary Vernon, as well as what information they had obtained in regard to the treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy. To this demand the lords demurred, and, returning no answer for six days, the commons applied to his majesty for copies of the treaty of the grand alliance, of the treaties of partition, and of the powers granted for negotiating these treaties. The copies were accordingly furnished by the king; but secretary Vernon informed the house that there were no instructions in writing. On this the commons had another conference with the lords, and they then received, through Sheffield, marquis of Normanby, and afterwards duke of Buckingham, two papers in Latin, the first containing full powers granted at Loo, July 1st, 1690, to the earls of Portland and Jersey to treat with France, Holland, and Germany for peace, but containing nothing regarding the Spanish succession; the second, dated at Kensington, January 2nd, 1690-1700, with full powers to sign the second treaty of partition. Normanby also handed to them a paper containing the following statement made in writing by the earl of Portland, when charged by them with acting in this negotiation. It was not, however, signed by him:—"At the beginning of the summer, '99, when I was in Holland at my country house, and when the king would have me be concerned in the negotiating of this treaty with the emperor, the French king and the States, being very unwilling to meddle with business again, from which I was retired, before I would engage myself I would advise with my friends in Holland, and writ into England to the secretary Vernon, as my particular friend, whether it was advisable for me to engage in any business again. To which Mr. Vernon answered in substance that it would not engage me but for a little while; that I, being upon the place and generally acquainted with the foreign ministers, it would be easier for the king, and properer for me to be employed in it than anybody else that must be otherwise sent for on purpose."

These and some other memorandums were ordered to be translated and laid before a committee, and, on examining these, the animus of the commons against Portland and Somers became glaringly apparent. Though it was shown that the earl of Jersey, Mr. Vernon, and Sir Joseph Williamson had been equally concerned in the management of the treaty—Williamson having actually signed it—yet these persons were carefully passed over, and the whole vial of wrath poured on the heads of Portland, Somers, Orford, and Halifax, the two latter being added to the accused. To procure fresh matter against them, the pirate, captain Kydd, was brought from Newgate, where he was now lying, and examined at the bar of the house. Burnet says, "Their enemies tried again what use could be made of Kydd's business, for he was taken in our northern plantations in America and brought over. He was examined by the house; but either he could not lay a probable story together, or remnants of honesty, raised in him by the near prospect of death, restrained him. He accused no person of having advised or encouraged his turning pirate; he had never talked alone with any of the lords, and never at all with lord Somers; he said he had no orders from them but to pursue his voyage against the pirates in Madagascar. All endeavours were used to persuade him to accuse the lords. He was assured that, if he did it, he should be preserved, and, if he did not, he should certainly die for his piracy. Yet this did not prevail on him to charge them; so he, with some of his crew, were hanged, there appearing not so much as a colour to fasten any imputation on those lords."

These lords and others, it will be recollected, had, at their own expense, sent out Kydd to put down the pirates, and when he had betrayed them, any treasure found on him or his ship was ordered to be paid over to them to reimburse them. This, too, was seized on as a crime, and contrary to the constitution, but it would not stand in law; and so far from attaching blame to them, the highest legal authorities declared that it was quite proper, and that their whole conduct in that business had been highly patriotic and meritorious. The conduct of Kydd also showed that though the fascination of a roving sea life had led him astray, as it had done the buccaneers, yet, like them, amid much crime, there was a fine, honest nature in the man, which made him prefer death to the baseness of accusing honourable men. So vindictively, however, did the commons adhere to this attempt to implicate such men as Portland and Somers in piracy and lawless plunder, that the matter was not dismissed until it had been four times debated, and then only by a small majority.

They then turned to a more legitimate argument. In consenting to act in a negotiation with foreign powers unknown to the cabinet, though known to several members of it, and though commanded by the king, they had fairly incurred the censure of parliament, as they had clearly sinned against the constitution. On this head they now resolved to impeach them, and on this ground alone they ought to have stood. Somers, in affixing the great seal to a *carte blanche* for the king to fill up in treaty with France and Holland as they might agree, and that only at the command of the king, had certainly committed a serious offence. The moment that he heard that the question of his impeachment was mooted in the commons, he desired to be heard at their bar. He was admitted, and stated in self-defence that when he received the king's letter with the order to send over the necessary powers with all secresy and despatch, he did not think he was authorised to put a stop by his refusal to a treaty of so much consequence, the life of the king of Spain hanging, as it were, by a thread; for had the king died before the treaty was finished, then he should have been blamed for defeating the treaty. That he considered the king's letter to be really a warrant; nevertheless, he had objected to various particulars, and proposed others which he deemed more for the good of the country. That he thought himself bound to put the great seal to the treaty when finished; that he had acted as a privy councillor to the best of his judgment; and discharged his duty as lord chancellor as seemed to him most faithfully. He then withdrew, but returned, and begged to leave with the house a copy of a letter which he had received from the king and his answer, and this he said he was authorised to do by his majesty.

The statement of Somers seems to have excited a violent debate in the house, though the particulars of it have not come down to us, and very different reports have been made as to its effect on the members. Burnet says that nothing could be more convincing and successful; on the contrary, lord Dartmouth, who was equally hostile to the king and the whigs, commenting on Burnet's statement, says, "I was in the house of commons during the whole debate. What the bishop says of lord Somers making an impression in his favour is so far from true, that I never saw that house in so great a flame as they were upon his withdrawing. He justified his putting the great seal to a blank so poorly, and insisted that the king's letter, which he produced, was a good warrant, which everybody knew to be none—nor did the contents sufficiently justify him if it had been any—and his endeavour to throw everything upon the king, provoked them to such a degree, that he left them in a much worse disposition than he found them; and I have heard many of his best friends say they heartily wished he had never come thither."

There seems to be great truth in these remarks. We have seen that Somers endeavoured to get Vernon to issue a warrant for the affixing the seal to the *carte blanche*, but Vernon would not. Somers, therefore, showed that he knew very well that the king's command was not a warrant of itself, yet he took the responsibility of affixing the seal; and now to produce the king's letter and plead his command, certainly was an attempt to excuse himself at the expense of the king. This, however, has been so regularly the practice of facile or corrupt ministers, that the plea has been taken from them by the maxim that "the king can do no wrong," leaving the responsibility of yielding to illegal demands from the monarch on the ministers in all cases. From Somers, however, we have been led to expect better things, but, however just and honourable in general, this case sufficiently testifies that he was not one of those truly great characters, who are ready to sacrifice place rather than consent to an unconstitutional demand from the monarch. The commons, evidently, were of the same sentiment, for when he had withdrawn, amid that flame of excitement which lord Dartmouth mentions, a resolution was moved and carried, "That John lord Somers, by advising his majesty in 1699 to the treaty for dividing the Spanish monarchy, whereby large territories of the king of Spain's dominions were to be delivered up to France, is guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour." Similar resolutions were next carried against the lords Orford and Halifax, whom it was resolved to impeach at the bar of the house of lords. An address was also carried, praying his majesty to remove from his council and presence for ever Somers, Portland, Orford, and Halifax, and that without a division. There was, however, instantly a counter address moved in the house of lords, and carried by a majority of twenty, that his majesty would be pleased not to pass any censure on these noblemen until they had been tried by their peers according to the law of the land. The king replied to the address of the commons by assuring them that he would employ none in his service but such as he thought most likely to increase the confidence betwixt him and his people; but when the counter address was presented from the lords, confounded by the conflicting prayers, he remained silent, but allowed the names of the accused lords to remain in the council-book.

The commons appear to have carried their object, that of branding the characters of these ministers, for they took no active steps to carry out the resolutions of impeachment. On the 5th of May the house of lords sent a message to the commons, reminding them that no articles had yet been exhibited by them against the noblemen whom they had impeached. The commons immediately drew up a charge against the earl of Orford, accusing him of having received enormous grants from the crown; of having been connected with the pirate Kydd in his lawless enterprise; of having committed gross abuses in managing and victualling the fleet whilst it lay on the coast of Spain; and finally, of having advised the partition treaty. The earl defended himself in the lords by stating that the only grant he had received from the crown was a very distant reversion, and ten thousand pounds after his defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue; that in Kydd's affair he had done nothing illegal, but had acted at his own cost and heavy loss for the benefit of the country; that his accounts for the fleet had been examined and passed, yet he was ready to waive any advantage on that score, and answer any charge brought against him; that as to the partition treaty, he denied having advised on the subject at all. No immediate replication was made to these statements by the commons. The king adjourned parliament, and on its reassembling, secretary Hedges informed the house that the States-General were resolved not to take any steps in the negotiation with France, without the concurrence of his majesty, and returned him their hearty thanks for the assistance promised in case of their being attacked by France.

The commons voted an additional aid to support this charge of three shillings in the pound as a tax on land; but at the same time they laid their hands on various sums which the court was treating quietly as its own. The fifty thousand pounds a year allotted as dowry to the queen of James II. not being paid, they claimed, as well as thirty thousand pounds a year fallen in by the death of Catherine, the queen of Charles II., and twenty thousand pounds a year by the death of the duke of Gloucester, and passed a resolution that this sum of one hundred thousand pounds a year should be appropriated to assist in defraying the public debt. This was extremely mortifying to the court, and many of the whigs, who were now anxious to win favour and regain power, voted against it, but in vain; the resolution was carried by two hundred and fourteen to one hundred and sixty-nine.

At this juncture the men of Kent manifested their old public spirit by sending in a petition, praying the house to endeavour to rise above their party squabbles, and to combine for the furtherance of the public business. The whole community were beginning to grow disgusted with the dissensions, which had evidently more of party rancour than patriotism at their bottom. This petition had been got up and signed by grand jurors, magistrates, and freeholders of the county assembled at Maidstone, and confided to Sir Thomas Hales, one of their members. But Sir Thomas, on looking over it, was so much alarmed, that he handed it to the other member, Mr. Meredith. Meredith, in his turn, was so impressed with the hazardous nature of the petition, that, on presenting it, he informed the house that some of the supporters of it, five gentlemen of fortune and distinction, were in the lobby and ready to attest their signatures. They were called in accordingly, and owned their signatures, when they were ordered to withdraw, and the petition was read. It concluded by saying, "that the experience of all ages made it manifest that no nation can be great or happy without union. We hope that no pretence whatever shall be able to create a misunderstanding amongst ourselves, or the least distrust of his most sacred majesty, whose great actions for this nation are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never, without the blackest ingratitude, be forgot. We most humbly implore this honourable house to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be effectually provided for, that your addresses may be turned into bills of supply, and that his most sacred majesty, whose propitious and unblemished reign over us we pray God long to continue, may be able powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late."

In proportion to the excellence of the advice was the indignation with which it was received by the angry commons. When men are conscious that they are acting from private motives of no very respectable kind under the mask of patriotism, the discovery that they are seen through invariably exasperates them. Accordingly, the house was furious at this very seasonable petition. Some of the members went out to the petitioners, and called upon them to make a proper submission to the affronted house; but they stoutly refused, contending that they had only done their duty; whereupon the house voted that the petition was scandalous, insolent, seditious, and tending to the destruction of the constitution; and they ordered the sergeant-at-arms to take the petitioners into custody. But the stout men of Kent were not secured without a vigorous resistance. They were then sent to the Gate-House; but their treatment only damaged the commons, for the public were greatly of the same opinion. Similar petitions were soon preparing in different quarters, and these gentlemen were much visited in their confinement, which continued till the prorogation. It was, moreover, much questioned whether the commons had not greatly outstripped their real authority, and infringed the statute of the 13th of Charles II., which guarantees the right of petition.

These angry proceedings were again interrupted by a message from the king, laying before them the critical state of Holland from the unprincipled encroachments of France. He accompanied them with a letter from the States-General, which detailed the French conduct, and then most earnestly implored the assistance of England. They relied, they said, on the treaty made with Charles II. in 1678, and they added—"We will tell you, sir, in what condition France puts itself, and your majesty will judge by that if our fear, which reanimates our demand, be ill-founded. France, not contented with having taken possession of all the places in the Netherlands that remain to Spain, has thrown into them, and causes actually every day formidable forces to march thither. They draw a line from the Scheldt, near Antwerp, to the Meuse; they are going to draw such a line, according to our advices, from Antwerp to Ostend; they send a numerous artillery into the places that are nearest to our frontier; they make with great diligence many magazines in Flanders, in Brabant, in Guelderland, and at Namur, which they fill with all sorts of ammunition for war and subsistence, besides the great stores for forage which they gather from all parts. They build forts under the cannon of our places; they have worked, and work still continually, to draw the princes that are our friends from our interests, to make them enter into their alliance, or to engage them to a neutrality at least. In short, by intrigues and divisions in the empire, they make our friends useless, and increase those of France. Thus we are almost surrounded on all sides, except on the side of the sea."

The last observation was meant to imply how completely the Dutch depended on the assistance from England which had been given so preeminently in the last war. But they did not content themselves with implying; they made the most direct and earnest appeals for it. They declared that they were worse off than when in a state of war, because then they could take measures to hinder these attempts. They declared that they were compelled to cut their dykes and overflow their country for protection; and they looked forward with deep alarm to the approaching summer.

This piteous appeal was confirmed by Mr. Stanhope, the English ambassador at the Hague. He complained of the double-dealing of D'Avaux, the French ambassador-extraordinary, and of the numbers of French troops pouring into the Netherlands, and of the transport of vast quantities of cannon, mortars, bombs, and ammunition which were advanced towards the frontiers. It was clear that France, which had always been the restless disturber of Europe, could not long remain quiet. It was not enough that it had obtained the long-desired dominion of Spain and all its dependencies; that acquisition only the more inspired it with the desire to domineer over every people within its reach. To William's great relief the commons, who, however averse to a continental war, were bound by treaties to support Holland, from which they could not at such a juncture recede with honour, took into consideration the papers and messages sent down to them by the king, and resolved to enable him to assist his allies in maintaining the liberties of Europe, and to provide the succours demanded by the States-General. On the heels of this resolution the emperor's ambassador, count Wratislaw, announced to the king his imperial master's determination to assert his rights to Spain and its dependencies in opposition to France. He stated that he was quite aware of the formidable nature of the attempt, but he relied on the support of the kings and princes who had entered into the late confederacy, and first and foremost on the king of England. He assumed that the old confederacy was still in force, and that all the parties to it were bound to furnish their stipulated quotas of men and money, though the treaty of Ryswick and the two partition treaties had virtually dissolved and superseded that compact. All parties were still looking to England to sacrifice herself for their particular interests, and the tone of the house of lords was of a kind to encourage this expectation. They sent to William an address, assuring him that they felt deeply the imminent danger of the States-General; that they regarded the interests of England and Holland as inseparable, and they prayed the king to renew all his treaties with his old allies, including the emperor of Germany, and expressed their confidence that his subjects would second his efforts in so righteous a cause as the defence of the liberties of Europe, with their property and their lives. They did not, however, conceal from him that they held him bound rather by treaties into which he had been led by fatal counsels, than by natural claims upon England had those treaties been kept clear of. William, notwithstanding this bitter drop in the cup of encouragement, thanked them for their address, assuring them that was a policy which would raise England to the pitch of national honour.

The tory party in the commons then returned to their prosecutions of the late whig ministers; but on the very day that the lords carried their martial address to the king at Kensington, Harley, the speaker of the commons, received a packet from the hands of a poor woman as he entered the house. Such an incident could not take place now, the commons having protected themselves from such irregular missives by making it necessary that all petitions should have the names of the places, as well as the persons whence they came, clearly stated, and be confided to the care of a member in good time for him to note its character and contents. This, however, turned out to be no petition, but a command. "The enclosed memorial," it was stated in a letter accompanying, "you are charged with in behalf of many thousands of the good people of England. There is neither popish, Jacobite, seditious, court, or party interest concerned in it, but honesty and truth. You are commanded by two hundred thousand Englishmen to deliver it to the house of commons, and to inform them that it is no banter, but serious truth, and a serious regard to it is expected. Nothing but justice and their duty is required; and it is required by them who have both a right to require and power to compel it—namely, the people of England. We could have come to the house strong enough to oblige you to hear us, but we have avoided any tumults, not desiring to embroil, but to serve our native country. If you refuse to communicate it to them, you will find cause in a short time to repent it."

This strange memorial was signed Legion, and charged the house with unwarrantable practices under fifteen heads. A new claim of right was arranged under seven heads. Amongst the reprehensible proceedings of the commons were stated to be, voting the partition treaty fatal to Europe, because it gave too much of the Spanish dominions to the French, and not concerning themselves to prevent them taking possession of them all. Deserting the Dutch when the French were almost at their doors, and till it was almost too late to help them, it declared to be unjust to our treaties, unkind to our confederates, dishonourable to the English nation, and negligent of the safety of both our neighbours and ourselves. Addressing the king to displace his friends on base surmises, before the legal trial or any article proven, which it pronounced illegal, contrary to the course of law, and putting execution before judgment. Delaying proceedings on impeachments to blast the reputations of the accused without proving the charges, which is illegal, oppressive, destructive to the liberties of Englishmen, and a reproach to parliaments. In the same strain it criticised the attacks on the king's person, especially those of that "impudent rascal John Howe," who had said openly that his majesty had made a felonious treaty. Insinuating that the partition treaty was a combination to rob the king of Spain, when it was quite as just as to blow up one man's house to save that of his neighbour. The commons were admonished to mend their ways, as shown to them in the memorial, on pain of incurring the resentment of an injured nation; and the document concluded thus, "for Englishmen are no more to be slaves to parliament than to kings—our name is Legion, and we are many."

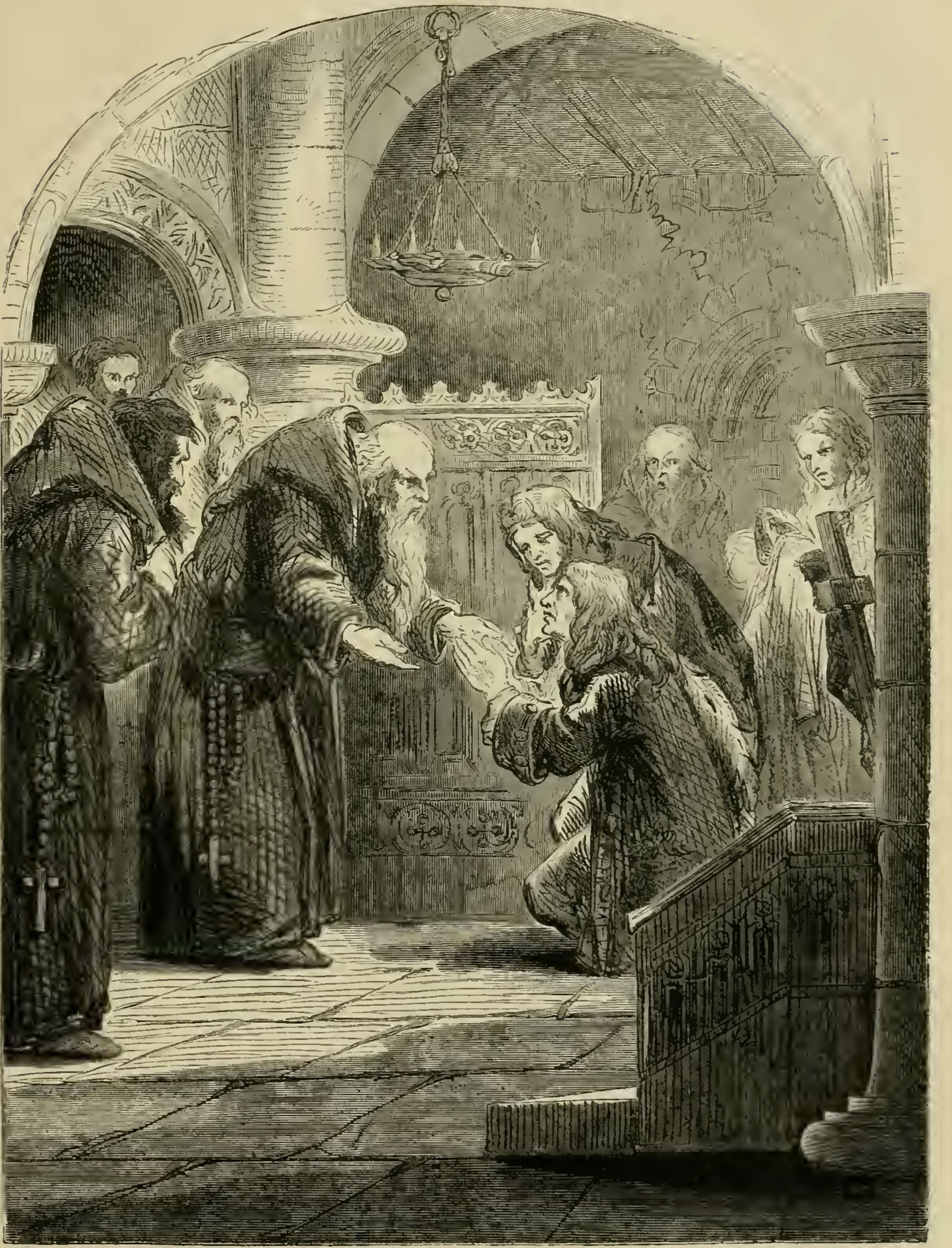
No sooner was this paper read, than the blustering commons were filled with consternation. They summoned all the members of the house by the sergeant-at-arms; anticipations of sedition and tumult were expressed, and an address to his majesty was drawn up in all haste, calling on him to take measures for the public peace. Howe, one of the noisiest men in the house, and accustomed to say very bold things, and other tory members, declared their lives in danger; others got away into the country, believing that "Legion" was on the point of attacking the parliament. A committee was appointed to sit permanently in the speaker's chamber, to take every means for averting a catastrophe, with power to call before them all persons necessary for throwing light on the danger, and to examine all papers. At length, however, as "Legion" did not appear, and all remained quiet, the house began to recover its senses; it began at the same time to dawn upon their apprehensions, that they had been hoaxed by some clever wag. This wag was universally believed to be no other than Daniel Defoe, the inimitable author of "Robinson Crusoe," and one of the shrewdest political writers of the time. Defoe had seen the hollowness of the tory faction, which, under the mask of patriotism, was pursuing only its own malice, and must have luxuriated in the terror into which he had thrown them.

In the midst of the affright of the commons the lords sent to remind them that though they had exhibited articles against Orford, they had exhibited none against the others accused, and that these noblemen were suffering from the delay in not being able to clear their characters. The commons, therefore, made haste to send up the charges against Somers. These charges were, his affixing the great seal to the *carte blanche* for the partition treaty, and afterwards to the treaty itself, and having made many unreasonable and exorbitant grants under it, especially of the forfeited estates in Ireland; of having himself received also great and unreasonable grants of manors, lands, tenements, &c., besides an additional pension of four thousand pounds. To these charges Somers returned the usual ministerial pleas in such cases. That he had been obliged by his office to pass those grants, and to affix the great seal at the command of the king, pleas which would excuse any offences of the kind, however enormous, and which are the only pleas which can be used in these cases from age to age, when the aristocracy about the king are enriching themselves on the national property. By these practices it is that our aristocracy have grown to what they are, and will never be kept from doing the like but by the power of an educated and enlightened people. Somers, therefore, whose character has been so highly extolled by some of our historians, was not ashamed to defend himself by these arguments, which have been in the mouths of all ministers from the days of Henry VIII., when the church and convent lands were thus filched away, to our own, in which the forests of Hainault and Epping, which should remain for parks to the vast metropolis, are fast melting away in the same aristocratic crucible. Somers, again, moreover, threw the blame on the king, asserting that the treaty was the king's own measure, which was only a reason, if it were an unpatriotic or unjust measure, why the chancellor should have delivered up the seals, and not made himself a party to it. As to his own grants, he, of course, did not think them at all exorbitant. He had only, he said, got the manors of Reigate and Howley, and the four thousand pounds a year, the pension being only such as several of his predecessors had received. As ministers never do consider it a crime to get grants of all the lands they can, notwithstanding their solemn oaths on entering office, Somers neither thought himself criminal for only getting the manors of Reigate and Howley, nor for affixing the great seal to the wholesale grants of Irish estates to the king's favourites of from one hundred thousand to two hundred and thirty thousand acres each, for which any minister alone ought to have been impeached. As to enrolling the treaty in the court of chancery, that, he said, was the duty of the prothonotary, as if the chancellor himself had no voice in the matter. All charges of abuse of his power in the court of chancery, of injurious delays and irregular proceedings, he utterly denied. He denied any knowledge of other minor matters, such as alienation of quit and other rents annexed to Windsor Castle; and as to participation in the piracy of captain Kydd, he contended that the fitting-out of that expedition by private funds was a good and patriotic action; that the authors and supporters of the plan were not accountable for Kydd's betrayal of his duty; by it they had lost their property, and for it Kydd had been justly punished. In this last article, undoubtedly, Somers had the most right on his side. The whole of the chancellor's conduct in office and his defence go to convince us that, whilst he was far from being as rapacious and unjust as many who have filled that high and most important office, he was equally far from being that great character which lord Macaulay and others have laboured hard to make him appear.

The lords now demanded that the trial should proceed without any further delay, but the commons proposed that it should be conducted before a committee of both houses. This they probably did to throw an effectual bar in the way of the trial at all, for they appeared rather to desire to destroy the characters of the accused than to proceed to extremities. They were well aware that the accused nobles had a majority in their favour in their own house, and that to impeach them there was to fail. For the same reasons the lords refused to admit the commons to a share in the trial, because in their house there was a majority the other way. They replied, therefore, that such committees were contrary to custom in cases of impeachment for misdemeanour; that the only exception was that in the case of the earl of Danby and the five popish lords, and that the fate of it was sufficient warning to avoid such a precedent, for the committee could not proceed for altercations, and the affair could only be got rid of by dissolving parliament. The commons still argued for it, the lords persisted in their refusal, and at this moment the dispute was interrupted by the king calling on both houses to attend to the ratification of the new succession bill.

After this the contest regarding the mode of trial of the impeached nobles was renewed with unabated acrimony. In one of the conferences on the subject lord Haversham declared his opinion that the commons themselves really believed the accused lords innocent, "for there are," he said, "various other lords implicated in the very same business, and yet the commons make no charge against them, but leave them at the head of affairs near the king's person to do any mischief they are inclined to, and impeach others, when they are all alike guilty, and concerned in the same facts." This was a hard hit, for it was the simple truth, and the delegates of the commons, as they could not deny it, could only affect to take violent offence at it. They at once withdrew, with Sir Christopher Musgrave at their head, and reported this sally of lord Haversham to their own house, which thereupon, going into a fit of most virtuous indignation, voted that "Lord John Haversham had uttered most scandalous reproaches and most false expressions, highly reflecting upon the honour and justice of the house of commons." They demanded that lord Haversham should be charged before the lords; that the lords should do justice on him for this unpardonable offence against the commons; and that the commons would proceed no further in the matter of the impeachment till they had this satisfaction. Haversham offered to submit to trial, but insisted on the commons first proving that he had used the words attributed to him. There was fresh correspondence, but the lords cut the matter short by deciding that there should be no committee of both houses for regulating the trials of the impeached nobles.

The commons, however, on the 14th of June sent up their charges against the earl of Halifax, declining to proceed against Portland, as they said, out of respect to his majesty. Halifax they taxed with retaining a grant in Ireland without paying the value of it according to the law lately passed concerning those grants; with possessing another grant in the forest of Dean of waste timber, so used as to be very prejudicial to the navy; and with having held the offices of commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer at the same time, contrary to the interests of the state; and with advising the two treaties of partition. To this he replied that his grant in Ireland was of debts and sums of money, and not of lands, and was allowed by the act regarding the confiscated estates; that his grant in the forest of Dean was only of weedings or throwing out of timbers, and could not be, therefore, prejudicial to the navy, though any



KING JAMES II. AT LA TRAPPE.

one may see that it might be so by being grossly abused, as such grants always have been, and that he had never advised on the partition treaties but once, and that then he spoke his sentiments freely.

The lords now gave notice that they would proceed with the trials of the accused nobles, beginning with that of lord Somers first, as the commons had proposed, and called on the commons to make good their charge. On the other hand, the commons, still insisting on their right to have a voice in regulating the trials, made an order that no member of their house should appear at the *pretended* trial of the lord Somers. Notwithstanding, the lords gave notice that they would proceed on the 17th of June to the trial of Somers in Westminster Hall. The commons refused to attend, declaring that they were the only judges, and that the evidence was not yet prepared. This produced a violent debate in the lords, where the tory ministers supported their party in the commons; but the order for the trial was carried, followed by strong protests against it. On the day of the trial the lords sent a message to the commons to inform them that they were going to the hall, and the commons not appearing there, the lords again returned to their own house, and settled the question to be put; and again returning to Westminster Hall, the question was then put:—"That John lord Somers be acquitted of the articles of impeachment exhibited by the house of commons, and all things therein contained; and that the impeachment be dismissed." This was carried by a majority of thirty-five.

The commons, greatly enraged, passed a resolution that the lords had refused justice to the commons; that they had done their best to overturn the right of impeachment inherent in the house of commons, and to render impeachments impossible in future; that all the ill consequences which might attend the delay of supplies for the preservation of the public peace and the maintenance of the balance of Europe, would lie upon them, who, to secure impunity for their crimes, had endeavoured to create a breach betwixt the two houses. The lords replied by informing them that they had acquitted lord Somers, and had appointed the next Monday for the trial of the earl of Orford; that unless the commons prosecuted their charge against lord Haversham before the close of the session, they should adjudge him innocent; and they threw back on the commons the responsibility of the delays on the trials and the supplies, adding that their late votes reflected most unfoundedly on the justice and honour of the peers. They went on, and on the 23rd of June the articles of impeachment against the earl of Orford were read in Westminster Hall, and the commons not attending, he was in like manner acquitted; and on the following day those against the earls of Portland and Halifax were similarly dealt with, together with that of the duke of Leeds (Danby), which had lain seven years, and which they seized this opportunity to make an end of. The charge against lord Haversham, not being prosecuted by the commons, was dismissed too. Both houses ordered a narrative of these proceedings. They had arrived at a pitch of mutual animosity which appeared likely to endure for a long time; and the prosecutions of the commons, which might otherwise have taught a salutary lesson to both the crown and the rapacity of ministers, failed because they were too obviously based, not on patriotism, but on faction. The whigs recovered a great deal of their popularity by the evidently interested attacks of their opponents; and the commons perceiving that they had incurred the odium of the nation at large instead of its gratitude, they now endeavoured to regain their ground by pandering to the war-spirit against France which showed itself, and voted two million seven hundred thousand pounds for the service of the year, and thirty thousand seamen. They did not terminate the session, however, without another contest with the lords. They nominated a commission to examine the state of the public accounts. The lords altered the bill, and the commons rejected the alterations, and the king put an end to the renewed cavil by closing the session.

It had been a miserable session to the king. His health continued to fail, and, amid his endeavours to conceal the decay of his constitution, that his allies might not be discouraged, he had found his favourite minister violently attacked, himself by no means spared, and the session almost wholly wasted in party feud. It had, however, passed the succession bill, and now, to his agreeable surprise, voted him unexpectedly liberal supplies, and sanctioned his forming alliances against France. He now lost no time in appointing a regency; and gave the command of the ten thousand troops sent to Holland to Marlborough—an appointment, however despicable the man, the very best he could have made in a military point of view. At the commencement of July he sailed for Holland, accompanied by the earls of Carlisle, Romney, Albemarle, general Auverquerque, and others, and landed on the 3rd of the month. The Scotch troops voted had arrived in Holland before him, and the ten thousand men from England and Ireland were just arriving, so that William appeared again amongst his countrymen at the head of a respectable army of his new subjects. When he presented himself, however, before the States-General the day after his arrival, his appearance was such as to create great alarm in all that saw him. In his energies they put the almost only trust of effectual resistance to France, and he was clearly fast sinking. He was wasted, pale, and haggard. The last session of parliament and the fierce dissensions which had been carried on betwixt the factions of whig and tory, neither of which looked to anything but the indulgence of their own malice, had done more to wear him out than a dozen campaigns. He might well declare that that had been the most miserable year of his existence. What strength he had left, however, he devoted unshrinkingly to the great object of his existence, the war for the balance of power. He expressed his great joy to be once more amongst his faithful countrymen; and, in truth, he must have felt it like a cordial, for around him in England he saw nothing but unprincipled strife of parties, none of which he could sincerely attach to his own person, in the moral integrity of none of which he could establish in his own mind any confidence. He told the States that he had hoped, after the peace of Ryswick, to have been able to pass his remaining days in repose, but that the changes which had taken place in Europe were such as no man could see the end of. He was still resolved, he said, notwithstanding this, to pursue the great object of the peace of Europe with unremitting zeal, whether it was to be achieved by negotiation or war; and he assured them of the active support of his English subjects. The States, in their reply, took care to express how much they depended on the courage and power of the English, and to compliment them on the great fame for valour which they had acquired in the late struggle.

William then set out to survey the defences of the frontiers, and the state of the garrisons; and having visited Bergem-op-Zoom, Sluys, and other places, and taken such measures as appeared necessary, he returned to the Hague, where the news met him that Louis had recalled his ambassador, D'Avaux, who left a memorial in a very insolent tone, asserting that his royal master was convinced that no good could come of the negotiations, but still declaring that it depended on themselves whether there should be peace or war. This event by no means surprised William, for both he and Marlborough had felt from the first that there was no sincerity in the professions of D'Avaux, and that they were meant only to gain time. The treaty betwixt England, Holland, and the emperor was, therefore, urged forward briskly, and was signed on the 7th of September, being styled "The Second Grand Alliance." By this treaty it was contracted that the three allies should mutually exert themselves to procure satisfaction for the emperor for the Spanish succession, and security for the peace and trade of the allies. Two months were yet to be allowed for obtaining the objects by negotiation. If this failed, war was to be made to recover the Spanish Flanders, the kingdoms of Sicily, Naples, and the other Spanish territories in Italy; that the States and England might seize and keep for themselves whatever they could of the colonial possessions of Spain. No peace was to be made by any one of the allies until they had obtained security for the absolute separation of France and Spain, and that France should not hold the Spanish Indies. All kings, princes, and states were invited to enter the alliance, and tempting offers of advantages were made to induce them to do so. William had already secured the interest of Denmark, and the promises of Sweden; but the young king of Sweden, Charles XII., was too busily pursuing the war with Russia and Poland to lend any real service to this cause. At the very moment that the allies were canvassing for confederates, this "madman of the north," as he was called, gave the czar Peter a most terrible overthrow at Narva, killing thirty thousand of his men, namely, on the 30th of November. Holstein and the palatinate came into the treaty, and the news from Italy soon induced the German petty princes to profess their adhesion, especially the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had received subsidies from France, and raised troops, with which they would have declared for Louis, had not the victories of prince Eugene swayed their mercenary minds the other way.

For several weeks before the signing of the treaty at the Hague, Eugene, at the head of the emperor's troops in Italy, had opened the war. He had entered Italy at Vicenza, and passed the Adige near Carpi, where, being opposed by Catinat and the duke of Savoy, he defeated them with considerable slaughter, and forced them to retire into the Mantuan territory. Catinat and the French had excited the hatred of the peasantry by their insolence and oppressions, and they flew to arms and assisted Eugene, who was very popular with them, by harassing the outposts of the French, cutting off their foragers, and obstructing their supplies. Marshal Villeroi being sent to their aid, Catinat retired in disgust. Villeroi marched towards Chiari, and attacked Eugene in his camp, but was repulsed with the loss of five thousand men. By the end of the campaign the prince had reduced all the Mantuan territory except Mantua itself and Goito, which he blockaded. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and continued in the field all the winter, displaying a genius for war which greatly alarmed the king of France. He dispatched fresh reinforcements to Piedmont, under the marshal Vendôme, but he found the duke of Savoy now cold and backward in assisting him. The duke had now got all that he could look for from France; his second daughter was married to the new king of Spain, and, satisfied with that, he was by no means ambitious of French domination in his own territories.

On the other hand, France endeavoured to distract Austria by sowing insurrection in Hungary, and Louis's emissaries were busy all over Europe. He managed to make an alliance with Portugal, though the king himself was attached to the house of Austria, but was a weak prince, and was betrayed by his ministers, who were corrupted by France. Meantime the English and Dutch fleets sailed in strong force along the coasts of Spain, to overawe the French, and another fleet was dispatched to the West Indies, to be ready in case of hostilities. In Spain itself both people and nobles began to repent bitterly of their subjection to France. They felt greatly insulted by the insolence of the king's French ministers and attendants, who treated the highest grandees with very little consideration. The French dress was introduced into the court, and French manners also, and a formal edict was issued, putting the French nobles on the same level with the proud Hidalgoes of Spain. The finances of Spain were at the lowest ebb, the spirit of the nation was thoroughly demoralised, and the condition of France was very little better. These circumstances being universally known, encouraged the allies in their projects. Yet the emperor, for whose cause the alliance was ostensibly created, was almost equally poor. He had engaged to bring 90,000 troops into the field—66,000 infantry and 24,000 horse; yet he was compelled to negotiate a loan with Holland for 500,000 crowns. William, on his part, was to furnish 33,000 infantry and 7,000 horse, and the States-General 32,000 infantry and 20,000 horse. Such were the circumstances under which commenced what was called the war of the Spanish succession, which was destined to continue eleven years, and to cost this country alone £62,500,000, of which £32,500,000 was added to the national debt, and this in one hundred and fifty-six years which have since elapsed has cost in interest upwards of £150,000,000, thus making a total of cost to England alone up to this time of upwards of £180,000,000 for that one war alone, and still destined to press on our posterity. Such are the curses which monarchs inflict on nations when they rush into war. We may well inquire what advantages the balance of power in Europe has ever brought to place in the scale against this monstrous burthen, which every day is pressing on the population of this kingdom in taxation, and, therefore, in the rate of rental and of everything consumed. But this, as we shall soon have occasion to note, is but a small item of the burthens first originated in these Dutch wars of William III. The people of England are at this day paying annually one million and a half for this very war, besides its having cost at the time a quarter of a million of the lives of Englishmen. We may well ask, too, what had we to do with the Spanish succession? That was the sole business of the Spaniards themselves; and, disguise the present alliance as historians may, it was but a combination of robbers to pluck a nation limb from limb, and possess themselves of the bleeding members. Austria was to get Naples, Sicily, Milan, &c., with the Spanish Netherlands; Holland and England the colonial dependencies, if they could conquer them. The petty princes of Germany contented themselves with the more certain subsidies from England and the States.

Whilst these great powers, under the gilded names of patriotism and restoring the much-admired though never-achieved balance of power, were contemplating the dismemberment of a great but enfeebled nation, the "sick man" of those days, the poor old ex-king James, was closing his career. James, towards the latter part of his life, had become more than ever a religious devotee. Though his religion was not of a kind which could preserve him from the worst of tyrannies, the most insane of follies, which could open his eyes to see the will of a nation must be respected as much as the will of a monarch, we must admit that at least he was sincere in his faith in it. It was a narrow and a mistaken faith, but it was deep and immovable in him. For his religion, such as it was, he actually sacrificed his crown and the brilliant destiny of his family; for his religion he refused every offer which might have restored him; he would abandon no iota of the dogmas in which he believed. On his deathbed he exhorted his son to the same course, and to suffer any loss but the loss of his religion. He was a man, therefore, with all his faults, his follies, and his crimes, who was to be respected for his sincerity, and that was his only title to respect; for his creed was of a nature which went to destroy all liberty of life and mind, which would have made this nation a nation of slaves, and the worst kind of slaves, the slaves of priestcraft. As his end approached, the poor, worn-out, and, as we may say, doomed monarch—for he was the victim of his grandfather's theory of kingcraft, as his father, Charles I., was—he endeavoured to win his place in heaven by those outward penances and austerities which the church of Rome has so much substituted for the trusting faith in the Saviour of mankind, whose blood purifies from all sin. If James had had that enlightened faith, he need not have put so much faith in flagellations and fasts. As it was, he became almost a monk, and sought a savage kind of consolation amongst the most rigorous of them all, the brethren of La Trappe. He gives himself this account of his visits to La Trappe:—"At first it was partly curiosity, and a desire to see whether the discourses I had heard and the relations I had read whilst I was in England of that holy place came up to my expectations, and whether the abbot who began that reform deserved all the commendations that were given him. An old friend of mine, the marshal de Belfond, carried me thither, for which, as long as he lived, I gave him many thanks, and by degrees found myself, as I thought, improved; for, till I had been there some time, and made a kind of retreat for three or four days at a time—which I have continued to do at least once a year since my coming from Ireland—I found not that change which was necessary in myself. It gave me a true sense of the vanity of all worldly greatness, and that nothing was to be coveted but the love of God, and to endeavour to live up to his law, and mortify oneself by all lawful means," &c.

How every one must wish that the marshal de Belfond had conveyed James to La Trappe in his youth and left him there. That was his right place, and his being in it would have saved the world much misery. James expired on the 16th of September, 1701, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He made a most exemplary end. As we have said, on his deathbed he exhorted the prince of Wales to adhere to the catholic faith, let it cost him what it would, and it was sure to cost him every chance of the English crown. He endeavoured to convert lord Middleton and his other protestant followers. He declared repeatedly his entire forgiveness of the prince of Orange, his daughter Anne, the emperor, and all his enemies. When he had received the sacrament he exclaimed, "The happy day is come at last!"

Louis XIV. made three successive visits to the dying king; and this strange monarch, who had no feeling for human misery in the gross, who let loose his legions to lay waste happy human homes in all the countries round him, to ravage, massacre, and destroy the unoffending people by barbarities which must have instructed the very devils in cruelty—shed maudlin tears over the departure of this poor, silly, bigoted old man, whose life had been one great, miserable blunder, and whose death was the best thing that could happen to him. He promised the dying man that he would maintain the right of his son to the English crown as he had maintained his, though he had sworn at the treaty of Ryswick to do nothing to disturb the throne of William; and the moment that the breath was out of James's body he proclaimed the prince king of England by the title of James III.

After the body of James had lain four-and-twenty hours in the midst of lights, and priests, and monks, singing the office for the dead, and performing mass at two altars erected in the room, it was opened and embalmed, and part of his bowels were deposited in the church of St. Germains, part in that of the English college at St. Omer, the brain and the fleshy parts of the head were sent to the Scotch college at Paris, and the heart to the convent of Chalist. Thus were the fragments of the body of this wretched king distributed as precious relics, and the body itself deposited in the vault of the church of the English Benedictine monks in Paris, "there to remain till it should please God to dispose the people of England to repair, in some measure, the injuries they did him in his life, by the honour they should think fit to show him after his death." But England has never shown any compunction on that head.

The title of James III. was acknowledged by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope. The moment William received the news of Louis having proclaimed James's son king of England, he dispatched a messenger to inform the king of Sweden, who was guarantee of the peace of Ryswick, of this flagrant breach of it. He ordered the earl of Manchester immediately to retire from Paris without taking leave, and Poussin, the secretary of Tallard, to quit

London. Louis pretended that his acknowledgment of the prince of Wales was mere form; that he meant no infraction of the treaty, and might justly complain of William's declarations and preparations in favour of the emperor. In fact, kings never want pleas when they have a purpose, however unwarrantable it may be. The people of England hastened to express their abhorrence of the perfidy of the French king. Addresses of resentment were poured in from the city of London and from all parts of the kingdom, and with declarations of their determination to defend the king and his crown against all pretenders or invaders.

William was impatient to be in London to make the necessary arrangements for a new ministry and a new parliament, and also for the war, which was now inevitable. But he was detained by a severe illness; in fact, he was fast succumbing to the weakness of his constitution, and the ravages made on it by his stupendous exertions in the wars he had been constantly engaged in, and, still more, by the eternal wear and harass of the unprincipled factions which raged around his island throne. He was, in addition, menaced by another attempt on his life by one Boselli, an Italian ruffian, infamous for many villanous deeds, and who had either escaped from the Bastille, or had been let out for this purpose. To cast a damp on his allies, and to encourage proportionably the adherents of Louis, the Spanish minister, De Quiros, hired a number of physicians to consult on William's health, who issued a bulletin that he could not live many weeks, and this opinion was circulated in all quarters with all diligence. Certainly Louis and his court watched with intense interest for the death of William, believing that, if he were out of the way, their course all over Europe were easy.

But though William was detained in Holland, he was busily corresponding with that wily statesman, Sunderland, on the subject of the ministry and parliament; and the Hardwicke State Papers let us into the views of William and this subtle and unprincipled diplomatist, as well as of Somers and other leaders of the whig party. The family of Sunderland had made an alliance with that of Marlborough. Sunderland's eldest son, lord Spenser, had, in January of this year, married Marlborough's second daughter, to whose children the ducal title eventually descended. Lady Sunderland had contracted a great intimacy with lady Marlborough, and there was strong interest exerted to bring the party into power which was in favour of the war, and, therefore, of Marlborough's chance of distinguishing himself. Though professing himself still a tory, Marlborough was leaning to and acting secretly with the whigs. We find Sunderland, therefore, using all his eloquence for the restoration of the whigs. William wrote to him from Loo in September, asking his advice regarding his difficulties with his ministers and parliament, and having evidently more confidence in his political sagacity than in any one else's. He expressed his uncertainty about dismissing his parliament, notwithstanding the manner in which it attacked him and his ministers. The tories, he said, made him great promises, and that he was advised to pass an act of indemnity as a means of putting an end to the party violence which disgraced the last session. This inclined him, he added, to try again what the present ministers and their party would do, with a resolution to change on the first occasion they should give.

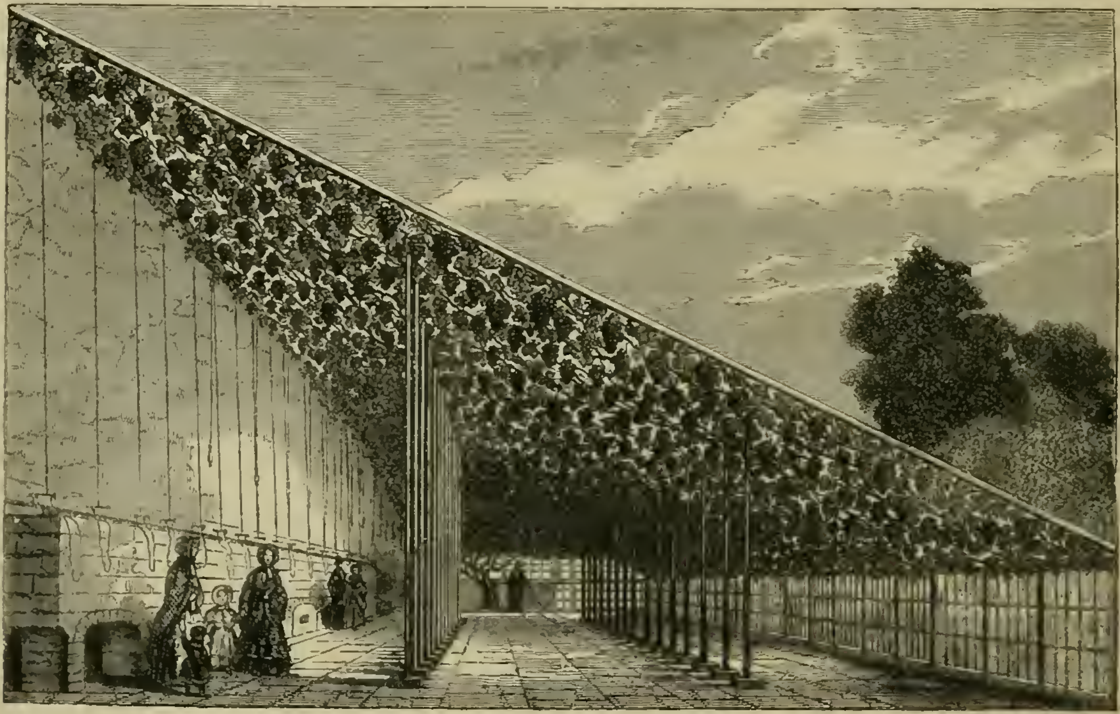
In reply to this, Sunderland informed him that the ministry grew more detested every day; which was a pretty good indication of Sunderland's coming advice. He then went on:—"It is said the king is persuaded still to try the same party and the same ministers, because, if he changes and fails, there will be no resource; which is as much as to say, Continue in the hands of your enemies, for, if they do not save you, you may return to your friends, who will; which is a sort of reason which ought not to be answered, but hissed." He then went on sarcastically to tell the king that if the king tries the whigs and they cannot help him, he can always have the tories at a price—that of completely stultifying himself; by altering the lieutenancy of London, giving up all attempts to check the encroachments of France, and breaking the ecclesiastical commission, which was a commission consisting of two archbishops and four bishops, for managing the church patronage, which the high church party and the tories detested. Winding up, this man, who had played many parts, and many of them very cautious and creeping ones, now assumed a tone of such boldness and freedom as is rarely used towards a king, and could be dictated only by a knowledge that only a striking portraiture of his position could rouse the king to act in his wavering mood. "Another dangerous opinion," he argues, "which the king is led into by flams and lies, is, that if those he now depends on do not act as they promise, he can try new measures in the middle of a session, which is impossible; and that he must know if he pleases to reflect. He will be wheedled, and complimented, and cheated, and, at the latter end, ruined. Can he forget how the tories agreed to the ten thousand men, and the address to enter into the alliance with the emperor? Was it not because it could have been done without them, and that they were frightened out of their wits, and to oblige him to thank them at last, that they might go into the country with safety? Are not their promises on the same account, and because they dread a new parliament? Can he forget the pains that were taken, after the king of Spain's death, to persuade the world that all was well, and that nothing would be so fatal as war? What a fine speech was made for him at the opening of parliament four months after the king of Spain died, and a fortnight after the French were actually masters of Flanders? Or that, during the session, the ministers told him every day they nor their party never would come into a war; of which mind they are so much now, that yet they continue to say, It will undo us? And if they are anyways forced into it, it will be with a design of raising money, which shall both be insufficient and laid so as to be most uneasy to the people that is possible. But to what purpose is it so much as to think of anything of the kind, when, after a thirteen years' experience, the king will not judge right of things he knows, but will be undone infallibly by believing himself more cunning than a whole party by whom he is beset, and who wheedle him every day, and of which, in his whole reign, he never yet could gain any one man? The king ought to consider that, most luckily for him, the whole moderate church-party who are not Jacobites are joined with the whigs, but he will be deceived if he reckons that they will help to establish this ministry, which they think would ruin England and hang them."

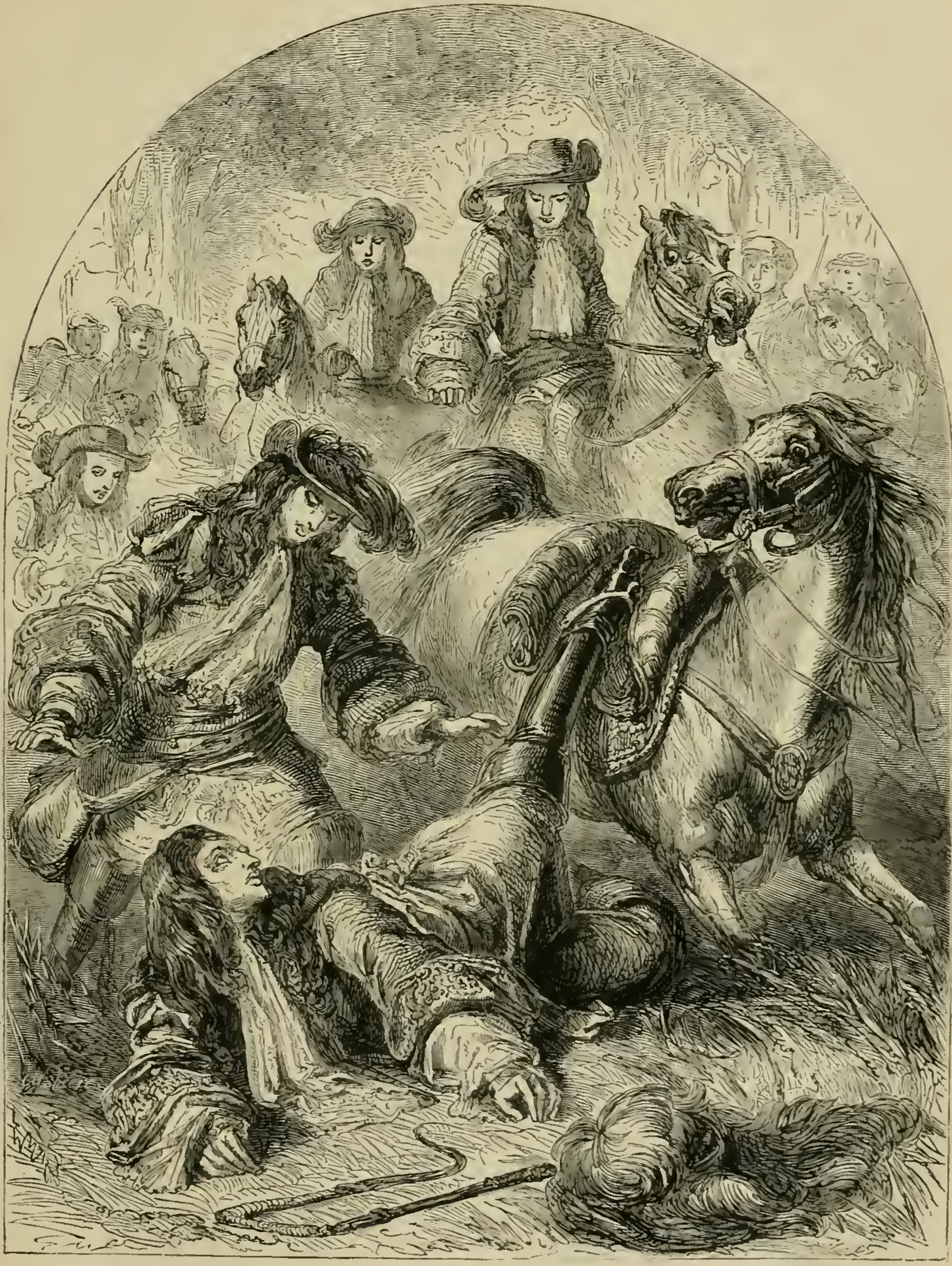
Sunderland, after this plain speaking, told the king that he approved of the act of indemnity, though he warned him that neither party would like it, as the tories would not be satisfied without ruining Somers, nor the whigs without ruining the tories. He then advised him to lose no time in coming to England and sending for Somers. "For," said he, "he is the life, the soul, and spirit of his party, and can answer for it—not like the present ministers, who have no credit with theirs, any further than they can persuade the king to be undone." He counsels him to speak plainly to Somers, and tells him that he may rely upon him; that he will take as much care not to perplex the king's affairs as his present ministers do to confound them; that if he cannot serve the king, he will remain still zealously affectionate to his person and government; and he throws in this concluding *bon bouche*:—"It is a melancholy thing that the king, *who has more understanding than anybody who comes near him*, is imposed on by mountebanks, or by such as he himself knows hate both his person and his government."

Sunderland sent a copy of this letter to Somers himself, and there followed a brisk correspondence betwixt the two whig statesmen. Somers thought Sunderland's counsel admirable, but urged him to accept the premiership instead of himself. To this Sunderland would not listen; he probably felt that the people remembered too much of his antecedents; and in accordance with this idea he hints that he intends to keep in the background for some time yet. William on the 10th of October wrote to Somers, and also sent to him the Huguenot Ruvigny, now earl of Galway, to talk the matter over. Somers, in consequence, promised largely for the whigs, and as pointedly threw suspicion on the tories. To trust the tories, he said, was to put the fate of Europe into their hands; and he asked whether it was likely that a party made up greatly of Jacobites would take effectual measures against France or the prince of Wales? If the tories, he contended, abandoned the Jacobites, they would remain no party at all, unable to carry anything; if they did not abandon them, they could only serve their objects; and nothing could induce the whigs to support a tory ministry which had neither mercy nor justice.

The reasonings of Sunderland and Somers seem to have determined William. He arrived in England on the 4th of November, where he found the two factions raging against each other with unabated rancour, and the public in a ferment of indignation at the proclamation of the king of the French, acknowledging the pretender, and still more at an edict which Louis had published on the 16th of September, prohibiting all trade with England, except in beer, cider, glass bottles, and wool, and the wearing of any English manufacture after the 1st of November next. William closeted himself with some of his ministry whom he still hoped might be disposed to different measures; but finding them still as determined as ever to pursue their former course, and to insist on their impeachments, he dissolved parliament on the 4th of November, and called a new one for the 31st of December.

The two parties went to the election for the new parliament with the same fierce bitterness with which they had fought


THE VINERY AT HAMPTON COURT.



WILLIAM III. THROWN FROM HIS HORSE NEAR HAMPTON COURT.

through the last session. The bribery, corruption, and intimidation were of the most open and shameless kind; but the whigs, having the monied interest in their favour, carried the day. During the elections Sunderland did his best to spur on the king to a decided and determined contest against the tories. He declared that nothing was more dangerous than to let either party think the king was wavering; that it was injurious to his own peace and the prosperity of his policy to give the tories any countenance, even in his closet; that nothing ought he to convince himself of so much as that it was utterly hopeless to expect to win a tory heartily to his cause. Let him consider, he said, writing to Somers, whether he had ever succeeded in doing so in thirteen years. He reminded Somers of the course taken during the elections in 1696; that many depended on the king, and that he ought to speak to them, and tell them how to vote, and that he would admit of no excuse. The tories, he told him, were better speakers in the house of commons than the whigs, and that, therefore, the whigs should endeavour to secure such advantages as would counterbalance that, and that the choice of the speaker was one of the most important of these measures; that he should put promising and capable men into employment, and by all means pass the act of grace; for, if he did not, the quarrels would go on as furiously as ever, and though the whigs might have a majority at starting, the tories would recover it in a fortnight; that an act of abjuration of the prince of Wales ought to be passed, and ought to proceed from the commons.

Sunderland omitted nothing which might contribute to commencing the session with effect. "As soon," he said, "as the speaker's named, endeavours should be made to thank the king for his speech; and it would be well for the king to give order to two of the cabinet to prepare the speech, as the duke of Devonshire and secretary Vernon, and bid them consult in private lord Somers, rather than bring the cabinet a speech already made." He even pointed out the proper topics of the speech, and especially dwelt on the pernicious consequences of the division between the two houses, which, added to the late period of meeting, rendered the last session of parliament almost useless for the public good; that such differences should be strongly reprobated, a good dispatch of the business recommended, not neglecting the exhortation to the payment of the debts, as tending to maintain credit, together with suitable remarks on supporting and defending the protestant religion, both at home and abroad. He next pointed out the most proper persons for the new ministry, marking them by their initials; and he recommended that none of these should be admitted to the cabinet council, except such as had a sort of prescriptive right to be there from their office, as the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord keeper, the lord president, the privy seal, the lord steward, the lord chamberlain, the first commissioner of the treasury, the two secretaries of state, and, if in England, the lord lieutenant of Ireland. If the king wished for more, they should be the first commissioner of the admiralty and the master of the ordnance; but, if the king excluded these, no other person could take it ill if he were not admitted, and the king could send and consult them when anything in their department was under consideration. Last of all, he laid particular emphasis on a particular in which William had been culpably and impolitically negligent, and to which he owed much of his unpopularity. "It would be much for the king's service if he brought his affairs to be debated at that council." William had grossly neglected this in regard to the partition treaties, and he had felt the evil effects of it.

There was not a circumstance or a topic that this consummate master of state business did not touch on; and though the new ministry was not altogether such as he recommended, in all the rest, even to the drawing up of the speech, his advice seems to have been scrupulously followed as the very essence of diplomatic wisdom; and some of his recommendations, as that regarding the cabinet and the prompt address of thanks on the king's speech, and the drawing up of the speech, not by the king, but by some well-qualified members of the cabinet, became, as it were, the stereotyped practice from this time. All this correspondence, however, was carried on in profound secresy, the king being denoted frequently not by name, but by "No. 12," and Sunderland by "No. 33," Sunderland to the last resisting all importunities to take the premiership. Probably he dreaded engaging openly in the rude fight which would take place, for he was truly called "the fox" for his subtlety, and this is pretty clearly indicated by his own words:—"When 12 has put his affairs into some order, 33 may, perhaps, be of some use; and as soon as that is, he will desire to be sent for as much as he now desires to be forgot."

The new ministry was immediately put in preparation. On the 24th of December Charles Howard, the earl of Carlisle, was appointed first lord of the treasury, in place of lord Godolphin. On the 4th of January Charles Montague, earl of Manchester, who had been ambassador at Paris, was made secretary of state in place of Sir Charles Hedges; on the 18th the earl of Pembroke was transferred from the presidency of the council, and made lord high admiral; and Charles Seymour, duke of Somerset, took the presidency. Henry Boyle, afterwards earl of Carleton, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; the privy seal having been in commission since the death of the earl of Tankerville, remained so. The cabinet thus consisted of the personal friends of the king, and the whigs had strengthened their party, having carried the elections in most of the counties and chief boroughs; yet they found themselves so far from a commanding majority that they were immediately defeated in the election of the speaker. The king was desirous of seeing Sir Thomas Littleton in the chair, but the tories managed to elect Harley; Henry St. John, afterwards lord Bolingbroke, who was sent up from Wootton Basset, seconding the motion for Harley. The speech, which was drawn up by Somers according to Sunderland's advice, was then read by William.

In this speech, which was greatly admired, the king said that he trusted that they had met together with a full sense of the common danger of Europe, and of that resentment of the conduct of the French king which had been so strongly and universally expressed in the loyal addresses of the people; that in setting up the pretended prince of Wales as king of England they had offered to him and to the nation the highest indignity, and put in jeopardy the protestant religion and the peace and security of the realm, and he was sure they would take every means to secure the crown in the protestant line, and to extinguish the hopes of all pretenders and their abettors; that the French king, by placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, had put himself in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, and, under the pretence of maintaining it as a separate monarchy, had yet made himself master of the dominions of Spain, placed it entirely under his control, and so surrounded his neighbours that, though the name of peace continued, they were put to the expense and inconvenience of war; that this endangered the whole of our trade, and even our peace and safety at home, and deprived us of that position which we ought to maintain for the preservation of the liberties of Europe; that to obviate these calamities he had entered into several alliances according to the encouragement given him by both houses of parliament, and was still forming others. And he then said emphatically, "It is fit I should tell you that the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament. All matters are at a stand till your resolutions are known; therefore no time ought to be lost. You have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you and your posterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the English nation; but I tell you plainly my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another."

He then recommended the commons to take measures for the discharge of the debts, and preserving public credit by the sacred maxim, that they shall never be losers who trust to a parliamentary security. In urging them for the necessary aids, he was only urging them to care for their own safety and honour at a most dangerous and critical time; that in the late war he ordered yearly accounts of the expenditure to be laid before them, and passed several bills for securing a proper examination of the public accounts; that he was quite willing that any further measures should be adopted for that end, so that it might appear whether the debts had arisen from misapplication or mere deficiency of the funds. He then finally came upon the sore point of the dissensions; trusting that both houses were determined to avoid all manner of disputes and differences, and resolved to act with a general and hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause, which alone could insure a happy session; that he should think it as great a blessing as could befall England if he could perceive them inclined to lay aside those unhappy feuds which divided and weakened them, for that he himself was disposed to make all his subjects easy as to even the highest offences committed against him. He conjured them to disappoint the hopes of their enemies and let there be no other distinction amongst them for the future but of those who were for the protestant religion and the present establishment, and those who were for a popish prince and a French government; that, for his part, he desired to be the common father of his people, and that, if they desired to see England placed at the head of the protestant interest, and hold the balance of Europe, they had only to improve the present opportunity.

The effect of this speech was wonderful. It flew through the nation, which was already worked up into a war-fever, with the rapidity of lightning, and was everywhere received with enthusiasm. It was printed by the zealous supporters of the principles of the revolution in ornamental style, in English, Dutch, and French, and was soon translated into other languages and disseminated all over Europe. It was the announcement of a determined war against the grasping ambition of France, and the eyes of the whole world were truly fixed on England, which volunteered to take the lead in this serious enterprise. As for the supporters of William and the protestant government, they framed his speech and hung it in their houses as the last legacy of the protestant king to his people. The lords immediately drew up a zealous address, in which they echoed his resentment of the conduct of the French king in acknowledging the pretended prince of Wales, and declared that they would not only support and defend him against the pretended prince of Wales and all other pretenders, but, should they be deprived of his majesty's protection, they would still defend the crown of England, by virtue of the acts of parliament, against all but the recognised successors. On the 5th of January the commons presented a similar address, and assured the king that they would enable him to make good the alliances he had made and such as he should yet make for the peace of Europe. The lords, not to be behind the commons, presented a second and more explicit address, in which they not only engaged to support the king in his alliances, but declaring that Europe could never be safe till the emperor was restored to all his rights, and the invaders of Spain should be expelled. And they, too, declared their full approbation of the king's new alliances, and their full determination to support him in them.

William, warned by the resentment of the last house of commons at the concealment of the partition treaties, now laid his present treaties at once before the new parliament. On the 6th of January secretary Vernon laid before both houses copies of the treaty with the king of Denmark and the States-General, the secret articles attached to this treaty, the treaty betwixt the king of Sweden, the States-General, and William, and the separate treaty betwixt William and the States-General, signed in the month of November. The commons were as prompt in expressing their approbation of them, and on the 9th of January they proposed, by an address to his majesty, to take care that an article be introduced into the several treaties of alliance, binding the allies never to make peace with France until reparation was made for the indignity offered by the French king in declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England. They also resolved that a bill should be brought in for the abjuration of the pretended prince of Wales.

They then went into the question of the supplies, and voted unanimously £600,000 should be borrowed, at six per cent., for the services of the navy, and £50,000 for guards and garrisons. They agreed to the number of troops which the king had stipulated as his contingent in the war, namely, 30,000 foot and 7,000 horse; they added 8,300 more English soldiers to the 10,000 already sent to Holland, and voted 40,000 seamen, and that his majesty's allies should be invited to embark a certain proportion of troops on board his majesty's ships of war; they confirmed all the king's contracts for subsidising troops belonging to foreign princes, and to defray the charges of these naval and military forces, they imposed taxes with an alacrity almost unparalleled. They imposed four shillings in the pound on all lands and incomes, including annuities, pensions, and stipends, and on all the professional profits of lawyers, doctors, surgeons, teachers of separate congregations, brokers, factors, &c. Then an additional tax of two and a half per cent. on all stock in trade and money out at interest, and five shillings in the pound on all salaries, fees, and perquisites. They laid on a poll tax of four shillings per head, so completely had this generation come to tolerate this hated form of imposition which formerly roused the people to open rebellion. Besides this they taxed the capital stock of all corporations and public companies which should be transferred in sale to the amount of one per cent., and, finally, sixpence a bushel on malt, and a further duty on mum, cyder, and perry.

On the 15th of January they passed unanimously a bill for the attainder of the pretended prince of Wales, and sent it up to the lords, and the lords, exceeding them in zeal, added a clause, attainting, also, the ex-queen Mary of Modena as regent of the pretended prince of Wales. The commons, however, objected to this amendment, as calculated to sanction a practice of attainting persons by added clauses instead of original bills, which they designated as a pernicious course, as not allowing the full consideration due to so momentous a measure. They struck it out, but the lords demanded a conference, and pressed their amendment on the ground that the commons had themselves adopted that practice so long ago as the 3rd of Henry VIII. The commons were not likely to pay much regard to the practice of either house in the reign of that lawless monarch, and returned the bill to the lords without the clause, and the lords, on further reflection, passed it.

This was followed in the lords by the bill so strongly recommended by Sunderland for the abjuration of the pretended prince of Wales, in which was a clause introduced into the oath, acknowledging William rightful and lawful sovereign. There was a violent debate on the point whether this oath should be voluntary or compulsory. The earl of Nottingham strongly opposed its being compulsory, and he was supported by other lords of the tory party. They contended that the government was first settled with another oath, which had the value of an original contract, and any other oath was unnecessary; that this oath could do nothing more than that oath had done. All inclined to keep that oath had kept it, and all inclined to break it had broken it, and these would break this or any other oath. Whilst they were in debate, Sir Charles Hedges introduced a clause which made it obligatory on all persons enjoying appointments in church and state, and with an obligation to maintain the government in king, lords, and commons, and to maintain the church of England, with toleration to the dissenters. After a sharp debate it passed the commons, but only by a majority of one. In this bill it was made equally penal to compass or imagine the death of the princess of Denmark as it was the death of the king. The bill was strenuously opposed in the lords, but it was carried, and Nottingham and nineteen other peers entered their protest against it. The quakers had endeavoured to get themselves exempted from the operation of the bill, but in vain. This zeal of the whigs in parliament for imposing fresh oaths did them no good, but tended to revive the unpopularity which had so lately driven them from office. Whilst these subjects were before parliament, the lords made a fresh attempt, by a bill of their own, to procure the attainder of Mary of Modena, but the commons let the bill lie.

The fatal passion for war with which the whigs had again managed to inoculate the nation, tended in some degree to swallow up the party feuds; yet the tories could not altogether forget their heartburnings of last session. They complained of petitions and addresses which had reflected on the proceedings of the commons, especially of the Kentish petition, and demanded satisfaction; but the commons rejected the motion, declaring that it was a fundamental right of the people to petition or address the king or parliament for the redress of grievances. The tories came back to the charge in the allegation that the lords, in the late motions for the impeachment of certain members of that house, had denied justice to the commons; and this served to bring back into debate all the rampant fury of the last session; and the advice of the king to avoid such divisions was apparently on the point of being forgotten, but the commons again rejected this motion, resolving that justice had not been denied. The tories, however, did not give up their attack altogether, but accused Thomas Bliss and Thomas Culpepper, two of the gentlemen concerned in the Kentish petition, of having been guilty of corrupt and scandalous practices in a contested election at Maidstone, and they succeeded so far as to obtain the condemnation of Culpepper and his committal to Newgate. They then went on and carried resolutions to the effect that whoever asserted that the house of commons was not the only representative of the people, or that the house of commons had no right to commit any but their own members, or who published any books or libels reflecting on the proceedings of the house, were guilty of subverting the rights of that house and the constitution of the kingdom. They next addressed the king, praying him to provide for the half-pay officers by employing them in the first companies raised, to which the king gave a satisfactory answer. William then went to the house of lords and gave his consent to an act appointing commissioners to examine the debts due to the army, navy, and transport service, and take an account of the prizes taken during the war.

In consequence of various petitions and addresses to the king and to the commons from individuals in Ireland, complaining of the conduct of the commissioners appointed to carry out the act of resumption of the forfeited estates, and of a circular letter which was sent to the members of the grand jury of Ireland to incite them to resist the act of resumption, the commons voted that these addresses and the charges in this circular against the commissioners were scandalous, false, and groundless. Yet, notwithstanding this resolution, they were urged by fresh petitions to examine into the causes of complaint, and they made the required inquisition, discovered the causes of remonstrance were just, and ordered them to be removed.

In Scotland the clamour against the government for its treatment of the Darien scheme still continued. The earl of Nottingham, therefore, moved that the Scottish parliament should be dissolved, and an attempt made to unite the two kingdoms, by which all causes of complaint would be hereafter removed, all parties having a like interest in the trade of the nation. The king was greatly bent on this design, but he had just now met with an accident which prevented him going to the house of lords to propose it. But he sent a message both to the lords and to the commons, expressing his earnest desire that a union should take place, and that commissioners were already appointed in Scotland to treat with such commissioners as should be appointed in England for that end. He represented that he was fully satisfied that nothing could more contribute to the security and happiness of the two kingdoms than such a union, and that he should esteem it a peculiar felicity if, during his reign, so great an event should take place.

But the accident alluded to was of a more serious nature than was suspected, and, falling on a weak and exhausted frame, was about to bring his reign to an abrupt close. In riding towards Hampton Court on the 21st of February, on his accustomed Saturday's excursion to hunt there, his horse fell with him and fractured his collar-bone, besides doing him other serious injury. He was carried to Hampton Court, where the bone was set; and though the surgeon remarked that his pulse was feverish, he was deemed in too feeble a condition to admit of benefit by bleeding. Contrary, moreover, to the advice of his medical attendants, he would insist on returning that same evening to Kensington, and was, accordingly, conveyed thither in a carriage; but, on arriving, it was found that the collar-bone, by the jolting of the carriage, was again displaced. It was again set, and the king slept well the night through after it. For several days no bad consequences appeared; but on the 1st of March a great pain and weakness was felt in his knee. Ronjat, his surgeon, a Frenchman, who had reset the bone, had contended that he ought to have been bled; Bidloo, his Dutch physician, had opposed it as injurious in his debilitated state. He was now attended by Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Theodore Colledon, Dr. Bidloo, and other eminent physicians. Again he appeared to rally, and on the 4th of March he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington; but, sitting down on a couch, he fell asleep, and awoke shivering and in high fever. On this there was a hurry to pass several bills through the lords that they might receive his signature, in case of fatal termination of his illness. These were the malt-tax bill, the bill for the prince of Wales's attainder, and one in favour of the quakers, making their affirmation valid instead of an oath. These being prepared, and the king not being able to use his hand, the royal signature was affixed by a stamp made for the purpose.

This took place on the 7th of March, and was not a moment too soon, for the king's symptoms rapidly gained strength, and he died the next day. The earl of Albemarle, his great favourite, arrived from Holland on the day preceding his death, and it was thought the good news which he brought would cheer him, but William appeared to receive his information with indifference, and merely replied, "*Je tire vers ma fin*"—"I approach my end." The news of the king's danger filled the antechamber with such a throng of courtiers as is generally witnessed at the expected moment of a monarch's decease; not prompted by affection, but on the watch for seizing the earliest moment to make their court to his successor. Physicians, statesmen, and emissaries of interested parties were there mingled, eagerly listening for the reports of his state, and ready to fly with the news of his decease. Amongst these were the messengers of the princess Anne and of Lady Marlborough, who, with her husband, now absent with the army in Holland, had scarcely less to expect from the event. Yet even lady Marlborough, assuredly by no means sensitive where her ambition was concerned, expresses her disgust at the scene. "When the king came to die, I felt nothing of the satisfaction which I once thought I should have had on this occasion; and my lord and lady Jersey's writing and sending perpetually to give an account (to the princess Anne) as his breath grew shorter and shorter, filled me with horror." These Jerseys, who were thus courting the favour of the heiress to the crown by these incessant messages of the advancing death of the king, had been amongst those on whom he had heaped favours and benefits pre-eminently. Such is the end of princes. The closing scene is thus detailed by bishop Burnet, who, to the last, showed himself one of the steadiest and most grateful of his courtiers. "The king's strength and pulse were still sinking as the difficulty of breathing increased, so that no hope was left. The archbishop of Canterbury and I went to him on Saturday morning, and did not stir from him till he died. The archbishop prayed on Saturday some time with him, but he was then so weak that he could scarce speak, but gave him his hand, as a sign that he firmly believed the truth of the Christian religion, and said he intended to receive the sacrament. His reason and all his senses were entire to the last minute. About five in the morning he desired the sacrament, and went through the office with great appearance of seriousness, but could not express himself; when this was done, he called for the earl of Albemarle, and gave him a charge to take care of his papers. He thanked M. Auverquerque for his long and faithful services. He took leave of the duke of Ormond, and called for the earl of Portland, but before he came his voice quite failed; so he took him by the hand and carried it to his heart with great tenderness. He was often looking up to heaven in many short ejaculations. Between seven and eight o'clock the rattle began; the commendatory prayer was said to him, and as it ended he died, on Sunday the 8th of March, in the fifty-second year of his age, having reigned thirteen years and a few days."

It was found on opening the body that he had had an adhesion of the lungs, which being torn from the side to which it had adhered by the fall from his horse, was the cause of his death. His head and heart were sound, but he had scarcely any blood in his body.

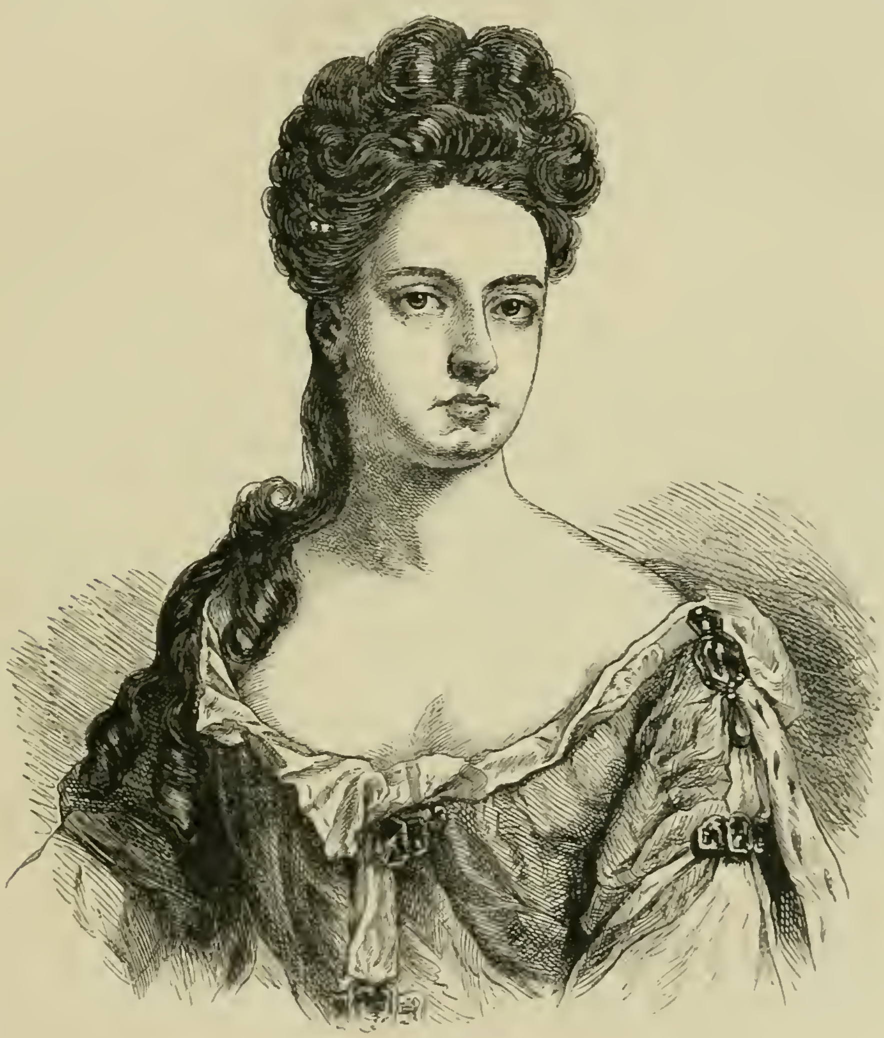
In person William was of a spare frame, of middle stature, and of a delicate constitution, being subject to an asthma and cough from his childhood, supposed to be the consequences of smallpox. He had an aquiline nose, clear, bright eyes, a finely developed forehead, a grave aspect, and was very taciturn, except amongst his own immediate friends, who were almost all his own countrymen. His reserved and repellant manner gave great offence to his English courtiers and nobles, and the lavish wealth which he heaped on his favourite Dutchmen, heightened this feeling. He never liked Englishmen, and they never liked him. For his neglect to attach himself to the English there is, however, much excuse. The men about his court, and the very party who brought him in, were a most selfish, rapacious, and unprincipled set. It is difficult to point to a truly noble and genuinely patriotic man amongst them. Perhaps the most unexceptionable were the earl of Devonshire and lord Somers; but the greater part of them were men whose chief object was self-aggrandisement, and the party fight which the two factions kept up around the throne, made it anything but an enviable seat. The peculation and jobbery in every department of the state were wholesale and unblushing, and the greater part of those who were ostensibly serving him and receiving his pay, were secretly engaged to his enemies, spies upon all his actions and intentions, and traitors, in a perpetual transmission of his projects to the court of his deadly foes. The forbearance which he constantly manifested towards those despicable men, was something admirable and almost superhuman. Though he was well aware of their treason, he still employed and endeavoured to conciliate them. With a cold exterior, William was far from destitute of affection. This he showed in the confidence with which he intrusted the government to his wife in his absence, and in his passionate grief for her death. This was also manifested in his warm and unshaken attachment to the friends who had shared his fortunes, spoke his tongue, knew his whole mind and nature, and served him with a fidelity, amid an age of treachery and a court of deep corruption, which has nothing more beautiful in history.

As a monarch William conferred the most solid advantages on this country, but at the same time he entailed upon it evils of the most gigantic magnitude. He was the first monarch for many centuries who was a genuine friend to constitutional liberty. None of our native kings since Alfred displayed the same disinterested and magnanimous regard for the rights and freedom of the nation. By his manly pride, as well as by his liberal mind, he broke the fatal chain of the divine right of kings, and freely consented to the establishment of a new charter in the Bill of Rights, which was more complete than Magna Charta itself. It must be recorded, to the eternal honour of William III., that he on no occasion betrayed the slightest desire to encroach on the privileges of the people—a striking spectacle after the obstinate and pertinacious endeavour of the four last kings of the race of Stuart to crush every liberty of the people. Nor must we even forget that to William we owe our religious as well as our civil liberty. To him we owe the act of toleration, which put an end to the frightful scenes of blood, of fire, of incarceration in the most hideous of dungeons, of the plunder of property, and the insults and injuries to the person, which had disgraced the reign of the Stuarts. We should have had still a greater religious freedom if he could have had his own way. But he had to contend with a high church party which loved dominion, and was on the highway to popish ceremony and despotism over souls till it got a fright from popish James; he had also to contend with a hard and equally intolerant presbyterianism in Scotland. Yet, though he could not utterly extirpate the rank and poisonous weeds of religious intolerance, he mowed them down, and laid bare their roots, for us gradually to dig out. He relieved the quakers from their subjection to oaths, giving them the credit for men being bound by more binding principles. These were inestimable blessings, noble gifts to a nation that did not love him, and which pointed to a still higher path of policy which succeeding ages might ascend.

But the great fault of William was his ambition to be the arbiter of the destinies of the continental nations. No doubt that he was sincere in his belief that the happiness of those destinies lay in the balance of national powers there. No doubt but that he firmly believed that Louis XIV., without his exertions and the employment of the wealth and force of England, would tread the whole continent under his feet, and put out the light of liberty and the sacred exercise of mind. It must be conceded, moreover, that his ambition was a generous ambition, that his views and desires and labours were in favour of the rights, creeds, and happiness of mankind. But, notwithstanding all this, the system which he inaugurated, of this country taking the lead in the quarrels of the continental nations, was a fatal system, and one which has heaped loads of debt on this country, caused rivers of its blood to flow, without producing one of those benefits to the nations for which it was introduced, which he or his successors promised to themselves or to the nations. The perpetual cry has been, Will you suffer your neighbour nations to be overrun by an unprincipled tyrant? and the result of the stupendous efforts to prevent this catastrophe has put them under the feet of a score of unprincipled tyrants. At this moment, after all our wars from the time of William, behold the whole of Europe ruled, not by free constitutions, but by thousands of cannon and myriads of bayonets. We need not waste arguments upon this topic; the miserable result supersedes all argument.

The whole of those wars which have succeeded the reign of William, triumphantly established the great fact which the tories in William's time contended for, had they but contended honestly—that England has a more noble, philanthropic, and sublime mission than that of wasting her energies in fighting the battles of the continent; that providence has placed her on the seas to be the friend and succour of the civilised world, not by fighting, but by trading, and being ready at all times to offer her services, not to promote contentions, but to restore peace, and when she cannot do that, to alleviate by her wealth their distresses. From age to age the grand truth has become ever more conspicuous — that nations, if they are to be free, must wrestle out their own freedom. The nations of the continent are numerous enough and powerful enough to combine against any one ambitious aggressor, and till they are prepared to do that, no external aid can do it for them. Let us now for a moment contemplate the awful result of our endeavours, for one hundred and fifty years, to do that for the continental nations which they alone could and yet can do for themselves. Let us survey, with an instructible spirit, the results to ourselves of William's system of continental interference.

One of the very first consequences of William's war for the balance of power on the continent was to destroy the balance of our accounts at home. In the eighth year of his reign, 1696, his ministers proposed the sure and bold scheme of creating a debt, that of forestalling the year's revenue by borrowing money upon state counters or exchequer bills, bearing interest, and secured upon supplies raised in succeeding sessions. That first war cost 80,000 Englishmen, and £36,000,000, of which the interest of £20,000,000 borrowed to support it, at 3½ per cent., has now cost this country more than £200,000,000. The war of the Spanish succession, just commencing at William's death, lasted seven years, and cost 250,000 Englishmen, and £62,500,000 of money, of which £32,500,000 was borrowed and added to the debt, and has cost this country in interest more than £150,000,000. We are still paying for that war alone, and our children will have to pay it after us £1,525,000 a year. With the accession of the Georges, the system of continental interference was pursued. We had to defend a much less important piece of land than Holland, namely, Hanover, and, as it turned out, at an infinitely greater cost.



QUEEN ANNE.

By these first wars, and the system they established, we went on to assist Hanover in fighting against Frederick, called the great of Prussia, and in fighting another war with Spain, which cost £54,000,000, and its interest has cost upwards of £100,000,000. The wars thus waged against France led her to retaliation, and she assisted the United States to deprive us of these states in a war which cost us £136,000,000, and the interest of which has cost us nearly £200,000,000. Thus, by endeavouring to save Holland originally, by this system of interference, we eventually lost America. Then came the great revolutionary war against France, in pursuance of this same system of continental interference, which cost us before Bonaparte was put down £2,220,000,000, a sum which actually stuns the imagination. In short, these wars, thus inaugurated by William III., and descending from each other by a clear logical succession, have cost us more than £3,500,000,000 in principal and interest, and 1,820,000 lives of our countrymen, besides the awful numbers that have fallen on the other side. The contemplation of this terrible picture of human destitution and misery should lead us to reflect well on the folly of attempting to regulate the affairs of the continent by our guns and swords, but to leave the continental powers to settle their own disputes. *Our* reward has been the hatred of the whole continent, the crushing weight of this enormous debt, for which we are called yearly to pay TWENTY-EIGHT MILLIONS interest, and the mortification of seeing the whole continent in the worst and most miserable condition of political slavery that can be conceived. In weighing, therefore, the benefits and the evils which we received at the hands of king William, whilst we gratefully acknowledge the freedom which we achieved through him, we must sorrowfully remember, too, the heavy debt which he prepared for us, and the crimes and the bloodshed which he led us to perpetrate, and the slavery which he has induced us to perpetuate in all the continental states, by supporting the tottering thrones of their tyrants. There is no reign in our annals more pregnant with political suggestions of profound import.

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

Anne confirms William's Engagement with the Allies—Inclines to the Tories—War proclaimed with France—Appoints Commissioners to treat of a Union with Scotland—Keiserswerth and Landau taken by the Allies—Marlborough in Flanders—Nearly taken by the French—Affairs in Germany, Italy, and Poland—The Expedition under Ormond and Rooke against Cadiz—Spanish galleon destroyed at Vigo—Seafight betwixt Benbow and Du Cass in the West Indies—A Settlement made on the Prince of Denmark—Marlborough made a Duke—Bill for preventing occasional Conformity—Violent Contentions in Parliament and in Convocation—Affairs of Scotland—Progress of the War in Germany—King of Portugal joins the Alliance—The King of Spain visits England—Simon Frazer's Conspiracy—Grant of Tenths and First Fruits by the Queen to the Clergy—Opposition to Government in Scotland—Bad State of the Emperor's Affairs—Marlborough's March into Bavaria—Battles of Schellenberg and Blenheim—Siege of Landau—Campaign in Portugal—Rooko takes Gibraltar—Beats the French off Malaga—Manor of Woodstock granted to Marlborough—Affairs of Scotland and Ireland—Marlborough in Flanders—Hampered by the Deputies of the States—Visits the Court of Vienna—State of the War on the Rhine, in Hungary, Piedmont, Poland, and Portugal—Defeat of the French at Gibraltar—Amazing Campaign of Lord Peterborough in Spain—Battle of Ramillies—Siege of Barcelona raised by the English—Victory of Prince Eugene at Turin—King of Sweden marches into Saxony—Union completed with Scotland.

WHEN Anne succeeded to the throne she was in her thirty-eighth year. She was fat, indolent, and good natured. She had long been under the complete management of the imperious lady Marlborough, and through her Marlborough expected to be the real ruler of the country. Through them the queen had imbibed a deep-rooted hatred of the whigs, whom they had taught her to regard as the partisans of king William, and the real authors of all the indignities and mortifications which she had endured during his reign. The tories, therefore, calculated confidently on recovering full power under her, and had resolved to place Marlborough at the head of the army. The queen, on her part, had a great leaning towards the tories, as the enemies of the whigs, and the friends of the church, to which she was strongly attached. The endeavours which had been made in her father's time to make a catholic of her, and in her brother-in-law's time to level the distinctions betwixt church and dissent, had only rooted more deeply her predilection for the church; nor did the fact of her husband being a Lutheran, and maintaining his Lutheran chapel and minister in the palace, at all diminish this feeling.

No sooner was the king dead than the courtiers who had been eagerly watching the shortening of his breath—the lord Jersey and others—ran in breathless haste to bring the news to Anne, who, with her friend the lady Marlborough, sate on that Sunday morning anxiously waiting for the message which should announce her queen. The first person who reached her with the news, lord Dartmouth says, was bishop Burnet, who drove hard, and outwent the earl of Essex, whose office it was to make that communication. Dartmouth insinuates that Burnet was not well received for what he calls his officiousness; but Dartmouth is decidedly inimical to the bishop, and if he was not favourably received, it was, most probably, less from the haste he showed, than from his having been always a devoted servant of William and Mary. But Burnet was rapidly succeeded by the press of eager courtiers First amongst them was the earl of Clarendon, the queen's uncle, who was a rabid Jacobite, and his object was to claim from the queen a promise she was said to have made to her father after the death of her son the duke of Gloucester, that she would name her brother, the prince of Wales, her successor. But Anne, well aware of his errand, on his demanding admittance to her, desired the lord in waiting to ask him whether he was prepared to take the oath of allegiance to the queen, for he had not taken it to William. "No," replied the haughty Hyde, "I came to talk to my niece. I will take no other oaths than I have done." Anne, therefore, refused to see him, and he remained, says Roger Coke, a non-juror to the day of his death. Her other uncle, the earl of Rochester, the great champion of the church, met with a different reception. Lord Dartmouth, who criticises Burnet's haste, was not far behind him, and the marquis of Normandy, the queen's quondam lover, also pressed in amongst the first. Anne, who was not famous for her conversational talents, observed to him that it was a very fine day, and Normandy, with the ready wit of a true courtier, replied, "Your majesty must allow me to declare that it is the finest day I ever saw in my life," which was echoed through the whole court circle as a most felicitous impromptu.

Though it was Sunday, both houses of parliament met, for they were empowered still to sit by an act passed in William's reign, and the death of William was formally announced to the commons by Mr. Secretary Vernon. There was a great speechifying, full of congratulations, Mr. Granville saying, "We have lost a great king, and got a most gracious queen." Both houses then proceeded to the palace with addresses of felicitation, and were graciously received. The privy council also waited on the queen, who assured them of her determination to maintain the laws, liberties, and religion of the country, to secure the succession in the protestant line, and the church and state as by law established. The privy council having taken the oaths, she caused a proclamation to be issued, signifying her pleasure that all persons in office should continue to hold their respective posts till further orders.

On the 11th of March she went in state to the house of lords. She was accompanied in her coach by her consort the prince of Denmark, and Marlborough carried the sword of state before her. Lady Marlborough occupied the place close behind the queen, but ladies do not seem to have been admitted into the body of the house as at the present day. Anne had a remarkably rich and touching voice, and it had been cultivated, at the suggestion of her uncle, Charles II., for elocutionary delivery, as especially important for a monarch,—one of Charles's few wise suggestions. She concluded her speech with these words :—" As I know my own heart to be entirely English, I can sincerely assure you that there is not anything that you can expect or desire from me which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England, and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word."

It has been observed that, unfortunately, both the assurances that her heart was entirely English, and that her word should be sacred, had been in her father's speech; but in Anne the word English had a peculiar signification. With the exception of Edward VI., Elizabeth, and Mary II., there had not been a king or queen for a very long time, who was English both by father and mother. Anne's mother, as well as father, were English, and the common people had always a tradition that the queen's grandmother, the wife of chancellor Hyde, first lord chancellor, had been a washerwoman, or, as cardinal York asserted, a tub-woman—that is, a drawer of beer at a country publichouse, which, though a doubtful tradition, always gave her a wonderful claim in their regard. Anne was too thoroughly English in many other respects. Her education had been so neglected that she knew scarcely any other language than English, and very little of what was written in that She rarely ever read a book, and her orthography, as well as that of her friend, lady Marlborough, and most ladies of the time, was amazingly defective.

Not only did she receive the thanks of both houses for her gracious assurances, but congratulatory addresses from the city of London, from the bishop and clergy of London, from the various bodies of dissenters, and the different counties and chief towns of the kingdom. There was, according to Burnet, a great difference of tone observed in these addresses towards the late king. Some mentioned him in terms full of respect and gratitude, others named him slightingly or not at all. To all Anne gave short but courteous answers; some of these answers, however, being so short that they had not a word in them, but only friendly smiles and nods, for Anne was no orator.

There was expected to be some difficulty in Scotland from the Jacobites, but all passed over easily, the Jacobites, in fact, thinking that as Anne had no issue, the Stuarts would be sure to get in again on her death. The secretaries of state for Scotland, and such of the Scotch privy councillors who were in London, waited on her, read to her their "claim of rights," and tendered her the coronation oath with many professions of loyalty and attachment; and this ceremony being completed, the earl of Marchmont, the chancellor of Scotland, was dispatched to represent the queen in the general assembly of the kirk about to assemble. In Ireland the natives were so rigorously ruled, that they excited no alarm.

The queen announced the coronation for the 23rd of April, and took up her abode at Windsor, as St. James's was completely hung with black, and was too gloomy for living in. She also took immediate possession of William's favourite residence at Kensington, which George of Denmark had always coveted. William's remains were unceremoniously transferred to "the prince's chamber" at Westminster, and the Dutch colony, as they were called, the attendants of William, were routed out, to their great indignation. Before a week had expired Anne accomplished what she had so often attempted in vain—she conferred the order of the garter on Marlborough. He was appointed captain-general of the English army both at home and abroad, and, soon after, master of the ordnance. The prince of Denmark was made lord high admiral, with the title of generalissimo of the forces; but as he was both ignorant of and indisposed to the management of either naval or military affairs, Marlborough was in reality the real commander-in-chief of the forces.

The commons voted her majesty the same revenue as king William had enjoyed, and pledged themselves to the repudiation of the pretended prince of Wales, and to the defence of her majesty's person and the protestant succession. On the 30th of March the queen went to the house of lords and ratified the act for the revenue and for her household, and generously relinquished one hundred thousand pounds of the income granted. At the same time she passed a bill continuing the commission for examination of the public accounts; but these necessary inquiries were always defeated by the principal persons who were deep in the corruption. The villany was almost universal, and therefore was carefully screened from efficient research.

On the 12th of April the funeral of the late king took place, prince George acting as chief mourner, though William had a particular aversion and contempt for him, and, though it was his proper office, had refused to allow him to perform it at the funeral of queen Mary. The body was deposited in the vault of Henry VII.'s chapel, near that of the late queen and that of Charles II.

When the great officers of the court came to surrender their white sticks she graciously returned them all, requesting them to hold office for the present, except that of lord Wharton, comptroller of the household, which she handed to Sir Edward Seymour. This marked affront, so unlike the gentle nature of Anne, was no doubt instigated by the vindictive lady Marlborough. Wharton had been a most determined whig, and had, probably, particularly stirred the imperious lady's spleen by his urging on the repeated attempts to impeach her husband. The incensed noble muttered threats of vengeance which he did not forget. On the other hand, lady Marlborough did not forget her grudge against the old earl of Portland. She got him dismissed from his office of groom of the stole and keeper of Windsor Park, into both of which she stepped herself, getting her two daughters, lady Harriet Godolphin and lady Spencer, nominated ladies of the bedchamber.

In naming her ministers, the tory bias of the queen at once showed itself. Godolphin, the family ally of the Marlboroughs, was appointed lord treasurer: Nottingham was made principal secretary of state, and was allowed to name Sir Charles Hedges as the other secretary, in the place of

Mr. Vernon; Rochester, the queen's uncle, was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the duke of Somerset, lord president of the council, was dismissed to make way for the earl of Pembroke, who could scarcely rank as a tory, but disclaimed being a whig; the earl of Bradford was made treasurer of the household through the influence of Rochester; the marquis of Normanby received the privy seal—a reward for his happy flattery; and the earl of Jersey retained his post of chamberlain for his assiduous transmission of the news of William's "shortening breath." Howe, one of the most insolent and noisy insulters of the late king in the house of commons, was made one of the joint paymasters of the forces; and himself, Grenville, Gower, and Harcourt were sworn privy councillors. Peregrine Bertie was now vice-chamberlain under Jersey; Gower was also made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster: Harcourt solicitor, and Northey attorney-general. Sir Nathaniel Wright remained lord-keeper: and Sharp, archbishop of York, became the queen's adviser in all ecclesiastical matters. The only whigs who retained office were the duke of Devonshire, lord high steward, and Mr. Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer; and, on Shrewsbury's refusing the post of master of the horse, the duke of Somerset, though displaced as lord-president, was induced to accept that office.

The prince of Denmark appointed a counsel for himself, into which he introduced none but tories. At the head of this board, which was deemed wholly illegal, but which was not called in question by parliament from respect to the queen, he placed Sir George Rooke, a most decided antagonist to the whigs, and made him president of the commission for managing the fleet. To him was added George Churchill, the brother of Marlborough, who was a tory, and something more—a Jacobite; Sir David Mitchell, and Richard Hill.

The queen manifested an earnest desire to restore the venerable old non-juring bishop Ken to his see of Bath and Wells, as is supposed, at the instigation of Rochester. Ken had lived in a state of great poverty, passing his winters in London with his nephew, the Rev. Izaak Walton, and his summers at Longleat with his friend, lord Weymouth. Anne sent Weymouth to propose his again returning to his diocese, offering to remove Dr. Kidder, the then bishop, to Carlisle; but Ken, though he would have taken the oath of allegiance, could not take that of abjuration of the prince of Wales, as it implied the calumny on his birth, which he did not believe; and, therefore, the queen's effort did not at this time succeed.

On the 23rd of April the coronation took place, being St. George's day. The queen was so corpulent and so afflicted with gout that she could not stand more than a few minutes at a time, and was obliged to be removed from one situation to another during this fatiguing ceremony in an open chair. Tennison, the archbishop of Canterbury, officiated, and the whole ceremony and banquet did not end till eight in the evening. Everybody, say the newspapers, was satisfied, even the thieves, who managed to carry off the whole of the plate used at the banquet in Westminster Hall, together with a rich booty of table-linen and pewter.

During March and April there was a continual arrival of ambassadors-extraordinary to congratulate her majesty on her accession. Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, most of the German states, and particularly those of Zell and Hanover, sent their envoys; and there was a strong discussion in the council on the necessity of declaring war against France. Marlborough and his faction were, of course, for war, in which he hoped to win both glory and affluence; but Rochester and the majority of the council, including the dukes of Somerset and Devon, and the earl of Pembroke, strongly opposed it, on the ground that the quarrel really concerned the continental states and not us, and that it was sufficient on our part to act as auxiliaries, and not as the principal. The queen, however, being determined by the Marlborough influence to declare war, laid her intentions before parliament, which supported her, and, accordingly, war was proclaimed on the 4th of May, the emperor and the States-General issuing their proclamations at the same time. Louis was charged with having seized on the greater part of the Spanish dominions, with the design of destroying the liberties of Europe, and with grossly insulting the queen by declaring the pretended prince of Wales the real king of Great Britain and Ireland. When these charges were read over by De Torcy to Louis, he broke out into keen reproaches against the queen of England, and vowed that he would make Messieurs the Dutch repent of their presumption. He delayed his counter-declaration till the 3rd of July.

The house of commons, on the 6th of May, passed—but not without strong opposition from Sir Edward Seymour and other tory members of the house and the cabinet—a bill to appoint commissioners to treat with the Scots concerning a union of the two nations. Some of the enemies of the late king charged him with having designed to exclude the present queen from the throne, and introducing the elector of Hanover as the immediate successor to the throne. They were in the habit of drinking to the health of Sorel, the horse which fell with the king, and to the mole which threw up the hillock over which the horse stumbled. Under the name of "the little gentleman in velvet," a Latin epigram was circulated, insinuating that, as Sorel had been Sir John Fenwick's horse, it was a judgment on the Dutchman. The spirit became so indecent, that the friends of the late king in the house of lords demanded of those peers who had examined William's papers whether they had found anything warranting such a blot on his memory as that of endeavouring to exclude the queen from her rights. These noblemen replied that they had found nothing of the kind; and the house immediately voted that it was a false, scandalous, and villanous libel, and that any one found repeating it should be prosecuted by the attorney-general. The same censure was passed on the other base attempts to promote faction in the kingdom. The commons presented an address to her majesty, praying her majesty to unite with the emperor and the States to prohibit all intercourse with France and Spain, and at the same time to promote commerce in other directions, and the lords addressed her, praying her to sanction the fitting out of privateers, to make reprisals on the enemies' ships, which interrupted our trade, and also to grant charters to all persons who should seize on any of the French and Spanish territories in the Indies. The queen thanked them for their zeal, and prorogued parliament on the 25th of May.

In Scotland a violent contest took place betwixt the revolutioners and the opposition. The queen, on announcing to the privy council of that kingdom her accession, authorised them to issue a proclamation, permitting all officers of state and magistrates to continue to retain and exercise their offices as under the late king, until new commissions should be issued, in accordance with an act passed in the late reign. But the opposition contended that the queen had not yet taken the coronation oath properly; that it ought not to have been tendered by the twelve Scottish counsellors who happened to be in London, but by persons specially appointed for that purpose by the privy council, or the parliament of Scotland. The Scottish ministry, consisting of the duke of Queensbury, the earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Seafield, Hyndford, and Selkirk, who were all of revolutionary principles, were desirous that, in accordance with the act passed in the late reign, the present parliament should continue in existence for six months from the death of the late king. But the queen having deferred the meeting of the parliament by successive adjournments for three months after his death, the opposition, headed by the duke of Hamilton, contended that the parliament had expired. The duke of Hamilton, accompanied by a great number of noblemen, including the marquis of Tweeddale, the earls Marshall and Rothes, went up to London and laid their views before the queen, but the council advised Anne that Scotland was in too excited a state to venture yet on calling a new parliament. The parliament of Scotland accordingly commenced its sittings on the 9th of June, the duke of Queensbury being named high commissioner. The duke of Hamilton and his party declared their conviction of her majesty's rightful ascent of the throne, and their determination to defend her person and rights to the utmost; but they still contended that the present parliament was no lawful parliament. Having read a paper to that effect, he and seventy-nine other members withdrew.

The rest of the estates, however, continued to sit, and the duke of Queensbury produced a letter from her majesty, assuring them of her resolve to maintain the rights, religion, liberties, and laws; informing them that she had declared war against France, exhorted them to provide a sufficient number of forces to assist in maintaining the peace of the kingdom and its power abroad, and to take into consideration the union of the two nations. Committees were therefore formed to carry out the royal wishes, for settling controverted elections, and for preparing a suitable answer to the queen. The opposition, however, made another attempt to enforce their views, by sending lord Blantyre to her majesty with a counter-address; but she refused to receive it, and wrote again to the parliament, assuring them that she would maintain their authority against all opponents. The parliament, encouraged by this assurance, acted with increased vigour. They expelled Sir Alexander Bruce for reflecting on the presbytery, and the lord advocate prosecuted the faculty of advocates for passing a vote in favour of the protest of the opposition. The whole nation was in a ferment. Parliament then passed a number of acts, one recognising the royal authority, another adjourning the court of session, a third declaring the present parliament legal, a fourth in security of the presbyterian church, a fifth for a land tax, and a sixth enabling her majesty to appoint commissioners for settling the union.

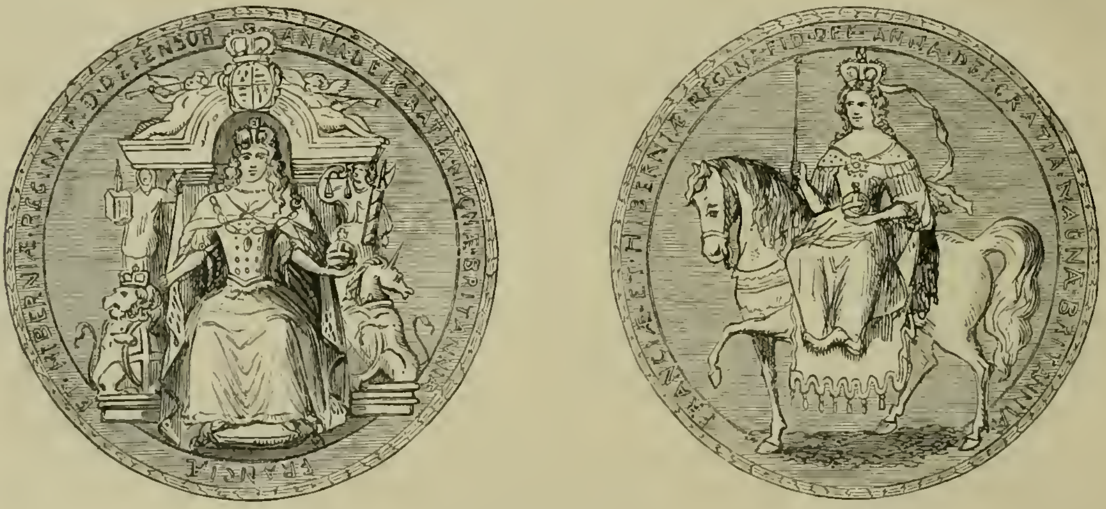
The earl of Marchmont, in an excess of zeal, brought in a bill to abjure the pretended prince of Wales; but in this he was not supported by his colleagues, and on the 30th the high commissioner adjourned the parliament.

We may now turn our attention to the progress of the war. When the States-General received the news of the death of William, they were struck with the utmost consternation. They appeared to be absolutely paralysed with terror and dismay. There was much weeping, and amid vows and embraces they passed a resolution to defend their country with their lives. The arrival of the address of the queen of England to her privy council roused their spirits, and this was followed by a letter from the earl of Marlborough, addressed to the pensionary Fagel, assuring the States of the queen's determination to continue the alliance and assistance against the common enemy. The queen herself addressed to the States a letter confirming these assurances, and dispatched it by Mr. Stanhope, who was again appointed ambassador at the Hague. Marlborough himself, who left England on the 12th of May to assume his foreign command, arriving directly afterwards in the character not only of commander-in-chief of the British forces, with a salary of ten thousand pounds a year, but of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, assured the States that the queen of England was resolved to maintain all the alliances, and resist the encroachments of the French in the same spirit as the late king.

War had been going on some time on the Rhine before Marlborough arrived there, and still longer before he was prepared to join in it. In Germany many negotiations had been going on to induce the petty states to act as contingents of the empire, or to keep them from joining the French against their own nation. The house of Brunswick had engaged to bring to the allied army ten thousand men; Prussia had engaged to co-operate, and Saxe-Gotha and Wolfenbuttel to abandon the French. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had, most traitorously to the empire, aided France in her attempts to enslave Germany, pretended now to stand neuter, but the neutrality was hollow, and the position of affairs in Poland effectually prevented the northern powers of Germany sending much assistance to the allies in Flanders. Charles XII., still pursuing the elector of Saxony as king of Poland, threatened to invade Saxony. He marched first to Warsaw, and ordered the cardinal-primate to summon a diet to choose another king, and Augustus, the Saxon king, posted himself at Cracow. This position of affairs overawed Prussia, and beyond the Alps the condition of Savoy and Milan, where the French were strong, all tended to prevent a full concentration of force in the Netherlands against France.

The position of the contending forces on the Rhine and in the Netherlands was this. The prince of Saarbruck, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, Dutch, Prussians, and Badenese, was besieging Kieserwerth. Athlone and Cohorn were covering the siege of Kieserwerth, Athlone (Ginckell) lying between the Rhine and the Meuse, Cohorn with ten thousand at the mouth of the Scheldt. On the other hand, Tallard, with thirteen thousand men on the opposite side of the Rhine, annoyed the besiegers of Kieserwerth with his artillery, and managed to throw into the city fresh troops, ammunition, and supplies. Count Delamotte, and the Spanish marquis of Bedmar, covered the western frontier of the Spanish Netherlands, and the prince of Baden was posted on the upper Rhine.

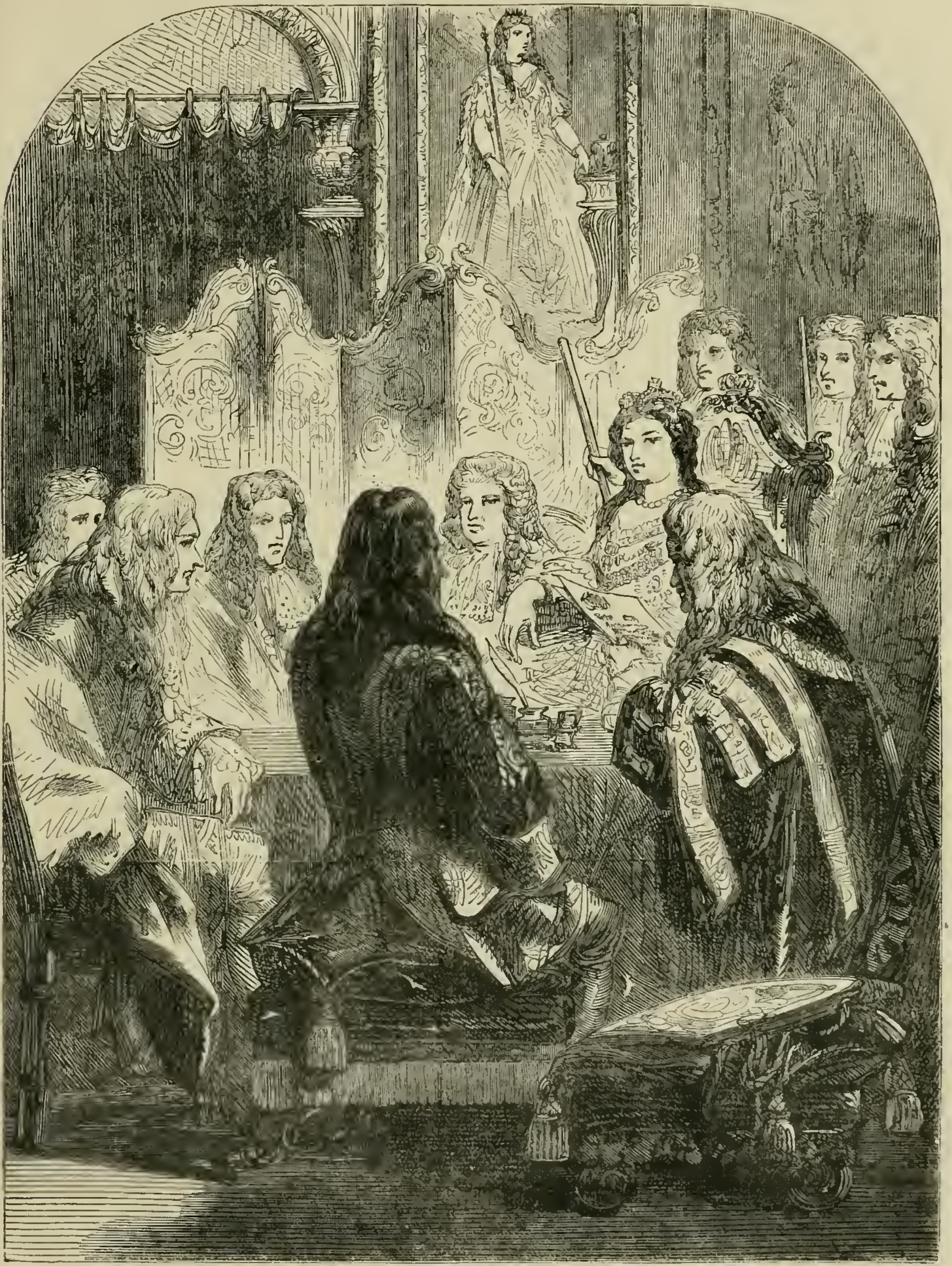
Whilst in this position Cohorn marched into the Netherlands, destroyed the French lines betwixt the forts of Donat and Isabella, and levied contributions on the chatellanie of Bruges; but Bedmar and Delamotte advancing, he cut the dykes, inundated the country, and retired under the walls of Sluys. Meantime the duke of Burgundy, taking the command of the army of Boufflers at Zanten near Cleves, formed a design to surprise Nimeguen in conjunction with Tallard, who suddenly quitted his post near Kieserwerth, and joined Burgundy. Nimeguen was without a garrison, and ill supplied with artillery, and must have fallen an easy prey, had not Athlone, perceiving the object of the enemy, by a masterly march got the start of them, and had posted himself under the walls of the town before the arrival of the French guards.



GREAT SEAL OF QUEEN ANNE.

Marlborough all this time was undergoing his first experience of the difficulties of acting at the head of a miscellaneous body of allies, and with the caution of Dutch burgomasters. He had blamed William severely for his slow movements, and now he was himself hampered by the same obstructions. It was the end of June before he could bring the necessary arrangements for taking the field into order. Nor could he have effected this so soon had not the near surprise of Nimeguen alarmed the Dutch for their frontiers, and quickened their movements. The fall of Kieserwerth was another circumstance in his favour. He collected the forces which had been engaged there, marched the English troops up from Beda, and in the beginning of July found himself at Nimeguen at the head of sixty thousand men. Even then he did not find himself clear of difficulties. His bold plans were checked by the presence of two field deputies which the Dutch always sent along with their generals, and who would not permit him to undertake any movement until they had informed the States-General of it and received their sanction. Thus, it was not the general in the field, but the States-General at a distance who really directed the evolutions of the war; and the only wonder is, that a general in such absurd leading-strings could effect anything at all. Besides the standing nuisance, Marlborough found Athlone, the prince of Saarbruck, and the other chief generals all contending for equal authority with him, and refusing to submit to his commands; and when the States-General freed him, by a positive order, from this difficulty, the Hanoverians refused to march without an order from Bothmar, their ambassador at the Hague. Instead of sending to Bothmar, Marlborough summoned him to the camp, as the proper place for him if he was to direct the movements of the Hanoverian troops, and got rid of this obstacle only to find the Prussians raising the same difficulties.

It was not till the 7th of July that he crossed the Waal and encamped at Druckenburg, a little south of Nimeguen. It was the 16th when he crossed the Meuse and posted himself at Over-hasselt, with the French forces in front at the distance of two leagues and a half, entrenched betwixt Goch and Gedap. Here, in a letter to Godolphin, he complained that still the fears of the Dutch hampered his movements. He then recrossed the river below the Grave, and reached Gravenbroeck, where he was joined by the British train of artillery from Holland Thus prepared, he advanced on the French; on the 2nd of August was at Petit Brugel in their front; but they retired before him, leaving Spanish Guelderland in his power. He determined to bring the French to an engagement, but was restrained by the fears of the Dutch deputies; but, fortunately for him, the French generals had their fears too, and the duke of Burgundy, finding Marlborough pressing on him in spite of his obstructions, resigned his command rather than risk a defeat, and returned to Versailles, leaving the command to Boufflers. The deputies of the States, encouraged by these symptoms, recommended Marlborough to clear the French from Spanish Guelderland, where the places which they still held on the Meuse interrupted the commerce of that river. Though the Dutch were



QUEEN ANNE'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

merely looking at their own interest in this design, Marlborough was glad to attack the enemy anywhere. He dispatched general Schultz to reduce the town and castle of Werk, and in the beginning of September laid siege to Venloo, which, on the 28th of the month, surrendered. Fort St. Michael, at Venloo, was stormed by the impetuous lord Cutts, unrivalled at that work, at the head of the English volunteers, amongst whom the young earl of Huntingdon greatly distinguished himself. He next invested and reduced Ruremonde and the fort of Stevenswerth; and Boufflers, confounded by the rapid successes of Marlborough, retiring on Liège, the English general followed him, reduced the place, stormed the citadel, and seized in it three hundred thousand florins in gold and a million florins in bills on the substantial merchants of the city, who promptly paid the money. This terminated the campaign. Marlborough had wonderfully raised his reputation, won the entire confidence of the States, and, having seen the French retire behind their lines, he distributed his troops into winter quarters, and projected his journey homewards.

As he was descending the Meuse from Maestricht on the way to the Hague, he fell into the hands of the French. He was accompanied by general Opdam and Mynheer Guelderrmalsen, one of the deputies, and at Ruremonde was joined by Cohorn in another and swifter boat. Near Guelders he was surprised by a French partisan, who was lying in wait with his men amongst the rushes for plunder, and who, seizing the tow-rope of the boat, drew it to the shore, discharged their firearms and hand-grenades, and, rushing aboard, secured the soldiers before they could make any defence. Marlborough's companions were provided with passports, he had none; but he produced an old French one which belonged to his brother, general Churchill, and which did as well. The object of the marauder being booty, he paid little attention to the persons in the boat, but rifled it and let it go on, little suspecting the grand prize he thus ignorantly abandoned. The governor of Venloo, hearing of the affair, and supposing Marlborough and his companions conveyed prisoners to Guelders, dispatched a force to invest the place; and the news reaching the Hague, threw the whole government into consternation. Marlborough, however, soon put an end to their fears by his appearance there in safety.

The French had more success on the upper Rhine and in Germany farther south. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne, having obtained all they asked of the French, threw off their pretended neutrality and openly joined them. The elector of Bavaria surprised Ulm, and the diet, incensed at this treachery, denounced both him and the elector of Cologne as enemies, and forbade the appearance of their ministers in the diet. The French, encouraged by the alliance of the electors, took Newburg, in Swabia, and compelled the prince of Baden to lie inactive near Fridlingen. He was soon after attacked by the marshal de Villiers and count Guiscard, was defeated, and Fridlingen taken. On the other hand, Landau was reduced by the king of the Romans, the eldest son of the emperor, and a detachment from the army of Liège took Lintz, Brisac, and Andernach; the French on their side taking Triers and Traerbach.

In Italy prince Eugene had been left to contend single-handed with the French and his countrymen of Savoy. The emperor had exhausted his strength in supporting the king of the Romans in the upper Rhinelands. Philip, the king of Spain, also sailed to Naples to support the French by his appearance there, and was cordially received by the pope. Notwithstanding the powers arrayed against him, Eugene determined to attack the French army about to besiege Luzzara and Guastalla, and posted himself for this purpose behind the dyke of Zero, in order to surprise the enemy before they had pitched their tents on arriving there. But his ambush was discovered by the advanced guard ascending the dyke to survey the country, where it beheld Eugene's army lying on its face behind the dyke. Eugene, notwithstanding, attacked the French army vigorously, but with only half the amount of force, and could not prevent their assaults of Luzzara and Guastalla, which fell. The prince, however, maintained his ground, and Philip returned to Spain without having achieved much advantage.

The operations at sea had not been so decisive as those of Marlborough on land. On the 12th of May Sir John Munden, sent out to intercept the French fleet convoying the viceroy of Mexico from Corunna to the West Indies, chased fourteen sail of French ships into Corunna, but, judging the fortifications too strong to attack them there, put out to sea again, and soon after returned home for provisions, to the great indignation of the people. Munden was tried by court-martial and acquitted, but the prince of Denmark dismissed him from the service notwithstanding. King William having planned the reduction of Cadiz, the queen was now advised to put the project into execution. Sir George Rooke was sent out with a squadron of fifty ships of the line, besides frigates, fireships, and smaller vessels, and carrying the duke of Ormonde with a land-force of fourteen thousand men. The fleet sailed from St. Helen's near the end of June, and anchored on the 12th of August within two leagues of Cadiz. The governor of Fort St. Catherine was summoned to surrender, but he refused; and on the 15th the duke of Ormonde landed under a fire from the batteries, and soon took the forts of St. Catherine and St. Mary. He issued a proclamation declaring that they came, not to make war on the Spaniards, but to free Spain from the yoke of France, and that the people and their property should be protected. But the English soldiers paid no regard to the proclamation, but got drunk in the wine-stores and committed great excesses. Some of the general officers were found as eager as the soldiers for pillaging; and the inhabitants, resenting their sufferings, held aloof. To complete the mischief, the land and the sea commander, as has been too commonly the case, fell to quarrelling. Ormonde wanted to storm the Isla de Leon; Rooke deemed it too hazardous. An attempt was made to batter Montagorda fort, but failed, and the troops were reimbarked.

As the fleet was returning from its inglorious enterprise, it was met by captain Hardy, who informed the commander that the galleons from the West Indies had entered Vigo bay under convoy of a French squadron. A council of war was immediately summoned, and it was resolved to tack about and proceed to Vigo. They appeared before the place on the 11th of October. The passage into the harbour they found strongly defended by forts and batteries on both sides, and the passage closed by a strong boom of iron chains, top-masts, and cables. The admirals shifted their flags into smaller vessels, for neither first nor second-rates could enter. Five-and-twenty English and Dutch ships of the line of lesser size, with their frigates, fireships, and ketches, now prepared to make the attempt to force the boom and burn the fleet, and the duke of Ormonde prepared the way by landing two thousand eight hundred men at six miles from Vigo, and marching on the harbour, where he attacked and carried a strong fort and a platform of forty pieces of cannon at its mouth. The moment the British colours were seen flying on the fort the fleet put itself in motion. Admiral Hopson led the way in the "Torbay," and, running with all sail set, dashed against the boom and burst through it. He was followed by the whole squadron under a tremendous fire from the ships and batteries; but both ships and batteries were soon silenced, the batteries by the soldiers on land, the ships by the fleet. They captured eight ships of war and six galleons; the rest were set fire to by themselves or the French, to prevent them falling into the hands of the English. The Spaniards had lost no time in removing as much of the plate and merchandise as they could; but the allies seized on seven millions of pieces of eight in plate and other goods, and the Spaniards are supposed to have saved twice as much. Sir George Rooke left Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who just arrived, to bring home the prizes, and sailed home with the rest of the fleet and troops in triumph, complaining that Cadiz too might have been taken, had Ormonde done his duty, and Ormonde retorting the blame upon him.

Had this terminated the usual campaign it might have been considered, to a certain extent, a success; but an expedition, sent out to cruise in the waters of the West Indies under the brave old Benbow, had a worse fate. He came up with a French fleet under Du Casse, steering along the shore near St. Martha, and though he had ten sail of the line and the enemy only the same, he found himself deserted by most of his captains, under the plea that the enemy was too strong. Benbow, upbraiding their cowardice, attacked the whole fleet with only two vessels. The battle lasted off and on from the 19th of August to the 24th, some others of the ships occasionally joining him. On the last day his leg was shattered by a chain-shot, and he was wounded in the face and in the arm; yet he caused himself to be placed on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued issuing his orders to the last. Seeing it in vain to contend longer, he returned to Jamaica, and ordered a court-martial to be held on his officers. Du Casse, who had reached Carthagena in safety, wrote to Benbow this note:—"Sir,—I had little hope on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for by God they deserve it. Yours, DU CASSE."

Benbow certainly acted in the Frenchman's spirit of honest indignation over such cowardice. Kirby and Wade were sentenced to be shot; Constable, of the "Windsor," was cashiered and imprisoned; others were suspended or reprimanded. Kirby and Wade were sent home to receive their punishment; but, to prevent any applications in their favour, order had been taken at all the ports, and they were shot on board ship at Plymouth under a death warrant ready waiting them there. The reason assigned for the disobedience of the officers was the rough conduct of Benbow, who was one of the old boisterous school of seamen, but brave and honest. The disgrace thus inflicted on his command, combining with his shattered condition, soon also brought him to his grave.

Marlborough returned to England in November, and was received with great applause. Notwithstanding some sharp criticisms on his campaign, the public saw clearly enough that he was a far superior general to William, and augured great things from his future command. The queen during the summer had been making acquaintance with her subjects in Oxford, Bath, and Bristol, with the double object of cultivating a good feeling towards her amongst the people, and cultivating the health of her husband, who was attacked with a severe asthma. She was royally received at every place, and dined with the heads of the university at Oxford, not fearing any poison, like king William. During this journey, too, occurred an incident which was a perfect reiteration of "The King and the Miller of Mansfield," except that the incident befell in the first place the prince of Denmark. Having gone from Bath to Bristol *incognito*, and with only a single military officer, amongst other places he appeared on 'Change; and, though he was recognised, none of the merchants presumed to accost him, or to invite him to their houses. But one honest John Duddlestone, a boddice-maker, thinking it would be a lasting disgrace to the city should the prince be allowed to go away without any courteous recognition, stepped up to him when all the merchants had gone away, and asked whether he were the queen's husband, as was reported. Being assured that this was the case, he excused his townsmen's apparent want of loyalty by attributing it to their not venturing to accost him, and invited him to take a simple dinner at his house. He promised him only plainest English fare, a piece of roast beef, a plum-pudding, and home-brewed of his wife's own making. The prince, delighted with the simple loyalty of the man, went along with him. On reaching the house, honest John Duddlestone shouted at the foot of the stairs to his wife to put on her best apron and come down, for the queen's husband and a gentleman-officer were come to dine with them. Dame Duddlestone soon made her appearance in a smart blue apron, and the prince was so charmed with his host and hostess and their entertainment, that he invited them to visit him at Windsor Castle. In course of time, John Duddlestone going to London to buy whalebone, took his wife with him, and made Windsor on their road. They found ready access to the prince through a card he had left them, and were heartily received by him and introduced to the queen. The queen, equally pleased at their attention to her husband, invited them to stay dinner, had them clad in full court costume, and introduced them to the courtiers as the "most loyal persons in the city of Bristol." After dinner the queen knighted the worthy boddice-maker, saying, according to the good wife's version of it, when she often related the extraordinary story, "Ston up, Sir Jan." Queen Anne also presented Lady Duddlestone with her own gold watch and chain, which the good dame always wore on holiday occasions with much pride. The queen, moreover, offered Sir John a place under government, or a handsome sum of money; but the stout knight respectfully declined anything, saying that from the number cf people he saw about the queen's house, her living must be very expensive, and as for him, he wanted for nothing, and had fifty pounds out at interest.

Anne worthily endeavoured to put down the practice of buying and selling the places in her household. The practice had been imported from France at the restoration, like many another vice; but it had been more than ever prevalent since the revolution. As every one bought his or her place, every one claimed to sell them, and did sell them as openly as eggs in a market. By this means the monarch was totally deprived of the choice of his servants, and, bad as courts are generally, he must know that there was no claim whatever to virtue or faithful duty in such a mercenary crew. Anne, by order of council, put an end to the practice, as far as an order in council could do it; but Cunningham, the historian, tells us that it had the effect only of confining the custom to one person—namely, lady Marlborough. "Within the palace itself was a busy market of all the offices of government. The queen's own relations were kept at a distance, and all things were transacted by the sole authority of *one* woman, to whom there was no access but by the golden road."

Lady Marlborough boasts that this virtuous order was issued at her suggestion, as, indeed, she pretends was every other good thing, so long as she held the favour of the queen. And there can be little doubt of the fact in this case, as it so completely threw the sale of the whole into her hands, which, like those of her husband, were never insensible to the touch of gold. She was now at the pinnacle of her long desired glory, and ruled supreme over both nation and sovereign. She complained that Anne never made her a present of so much as a diamond or a fan. If that had been true it would have conferred no disgrace on Anne, after she had given to her husband a dukedom, the fine royal estate of Woodstock, ten thousand pounds a year as general-in-chief; and when parliament having refused Marlborough, before he had fought the battle of Blenheim, five thousand pounds a year, she gave him two thousand a year out of her privy purse, which was indignantly refused until the five thousand pounds a year was at length granted by parliament, when the queen's two thousand pounds was also claimed, and had. Under these circumstances, had she given no present whatever to lady Marlborough, she could not be taxed with penuriousness; but whatever the facts, the places which Anne gave to the duchess of Marlborough amounted to five thousand six hundred pounds a year. She had the means of making untold sums by her position and influence, the queen being wholly in her hands, and she made ample use of the opportunity. So far from its being true, even, that the queen did not give her presents, she presented her not with a mere solitary diamond or two, but with a miniature portrait of her husband, the duke, set in diamonds, and covered with a plate diamond valued at eight thousand pounds. Whatever she saw and asked for she had. She was not contented with the rangership of the great and little park at Windsor, but she asked the queen for the gift of the ranger's lodge, got it, and then gave it to a brother of the duke of Marlborough's for his life.

The queen met her new parliament on the 20th of October, which turned out to be so completely tory as to carry all before it in that direction. The government had no occasion to make much exertion to obtain that result; it was enough that the queen's decided leaning to the tories was known. This party had diligently spread the feeling that they were the whigs who had supported the late king in plunging the nation into foreign wars, and had taken advantage of it to grow rich themselves on the taxes levied in consequence. Toryism, therefore, came forward in the new parliament furious against the late king, who had been especially a whig king. Harley was chosen speaker. The tone of the queen's speech, though apparently maintaining a royal dignity and impartiality, was virtually of the same kind, for it began by desiring the commons to make a strict examination of the public accounts, and to punish all who should be found to have been guilty of corruption and peculation. This was but the tory animus still directed against the whig ministers who had been in power under William. At the same time, as is always the case, these virtuous statesmen, after having condemned their rivals, were ready to rush into the same policy and the same abuses. They condemned the foreign war, and yet the queen called on the commons to provide funds for its vigorous maintenance, and we shall see that these tory ministers and tory parliament were just as lavish of the public money for this purpose as the censured whigs had been. The queen regretted the failure of the attack on Cadiz, and condemned the excesses at St. Mary's. The news of the success at Vigo Bay had not yet arrived.

Addresses of congratulation on the brilliant success of the British arms under Marlborough were presented by both houses, which they said "retrieved" the ancient honour and glory of the English nation. This word "retrieved" roused all the spleen of the whigs, who knew that it was meant as a censure on them and king William, who they contended had maintained the honour of the English nation, by joining the great confederacy by which the security of the queen's throne at that moment was established, and by training our soldiers to their ancient pitch of discipline and valour. They moved that the word "maintained" should be substituted for "retrieved," but it was carried against them, amid the most unmeasured abuse of the memory of the late king, Marlborough being cried to the skies at his expense.

The tories next showed their strength in calling in question various elections of whig members, and carried the inquiry against them with the most open and impudent partiality. The borough of Hindon, near Salisbury, was declared guilty of bribery, and a bill introduced for its disfranchisement. Howe was declared duly elected for Gloucestershire, though the majority was clearly the other way. Sir John Packington exhibited a complaint against the bishop of Worcester and his son for having interfered to defeat his election, and the commons prayed the queen to remove the bishop from his office of lord almoner to her majesty, and that the attorney-general should prosecute the son; and though the lords, where a strong whig influence existed, sent up a counter-address, the queen expressed plainly her right to appoint or dismiss her own officers, and accordingly dismissed the bishop.

The commons then voted the supplies, and in practice justified the whigs, by being as lavish for the war as they had been. They voted forty thousand seamen, and the same number of land forces, to act along with the allies. They granted eight hundred and thirty-three thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds for their maintenance; three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for guards and garrisons; seventy thousand nine hundred and seventy-three pounds for ordnance; and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and forty-three pounds for subsidies to the allies, altogether one million three hundred and six thousand six hundred and forty-two pounds for the war alone, independent of the usual national expenses, and these soon required an increase. The news of the success of Vigo arriving, the queen and both houses went in procession to return thanks at St. Paul's, the duke of Ormonde was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland in place of Rochester, and Sir George Rooke was admitted a member of the privy council, though both these commanders were heaping the severest reproaches on each other, and demanding an inquiry. The lords took the side of the duke, the commons of Sir George, for the war betwixt the two houses was beginning to rage again as fiercely as in William's time. Vice-admiral Hopson was knighted and received a pension.

The queen demanded of the commons a further provision for her husband, the prince of Denmark, in case of her decease. Howe moved that one hundred thousand pounds a year should be settled on the prince in case he should be the survivor. No opposition was offered to the amount, but strenuous opposition to a clause in the bill exempting the prince from the provision in the act of settlement, which prevented any foreigner, even though naturalised, holding any employments under the crown; but the court was bent on carrying this, and did so.

Having secured her husband, Anne then sent a message to the commons to inform them that she had created the earl of Marlborough a duke for his eminent services, and praying them to settle five thousand pounds a year on him to enable him to maintain his new dignity. This was so glaring a case of favoritism, that the commons, with all their loyalty, expressed their decided disapprobation. The single campaign which Marlborough had made, though attended with a certain success, certainly entitled him to no such elevation. It was the influence of the Marlboroughs over the queen which was drawing from her everything they pleased; but the commons held the purse, and they made a strong remonstrance against the grant, declaring that Marlborough was already well paid for his services by the profitable employments conferred on him and his family. They upbraided the memory of king William for his extravagance towards his favourites, thus again hitting the whigs. The outcry was so great that the Marlboroughs declined what they saw no means of getting—the grant, and the queen intimated that fact to the house; but she immediately offered her favourites two thousand pounds a year out of her privy purse, which, with affected magnanimity, they also declined, hoping yet to obtain, at some more favourable crisis, the parliamentary grant; and, after that really happened, they then claimed the queen's offer too.

But the opposition of the tories, whom Marlborough had been serving with all his influence in parliament, completely alienated him from that party, and he went over to the whigs. Lady Marlborough claims on her own account much merit for this conversion, both for herself and her husband. She says she had herself been long liberally inclined, and had been for some time endeavouring to raise the whigs in the queen's estimation. "I had no motive," she says, "of private interest to bias me towards the whigs. Everybody must see that, had I consulted that oracle about the choice of a party, it would certainly have directed me to go with the stream of my mistress's inclinations and prejudices. This would have been the surest way to secure my favour with her. Nor had I any particular obligations to the whigs that should bend me to their side rather than to the other. On the contrary, they had treated me very hardly, and I had reason to look upon them as my personal enemies, at the same time that I saw the tories ready to compliment me and to pay me court."

But lady Marlborough, any more than her husband, was not one to be satisfied with empty compliments; she would have substantial benefits. These the tories had now refused, and resentment dictated the determination to secede from them, and to draw the queen from them, as they, in fact, succeeded in doing. What galled Marlborough as much as anything was that he had been in the house of lords strongly supporting one of the most illiberal attempts of the tories, that of destroying the effect of the act of toleration. One of the very best things that the whigs had ever done was the establishment of this act. It had freed the dissenters from their persecutions and annoyances. They were still, it is true, excluded by the test and corporation acts from all offices under government or in corporations unless they could take the oath of the queen's supremacy, and the sacrament according to the ritual of the church of England; but now the tories would have this exclusion extended to all persons whatever, and have the severest penalties enacted for any breach of it. The queen and the tories regarded the church as entitled to confer all favours, and they were determined to give it a power by which all corporations and elections should be thrown into the hands of the government. For this purpose Mr. Bromley, Mr. Annesley, and Mr. St. John, who had been a dissenter himself, but had no religion at all, brought in what they called an "occasional conformity bill." They complained that dissenters and other disaffected persons took the necessary oaths, and often went again to the dissenting meetings; that this was a gross piece of hypocrisy, and left the church exposed to much danger from them. They proposed, therefore, to insist that all who had taken the sacrament and test for offices of trust, or for the magistracy of corporations, and afterwards went to any meeting of the dissenters, should forfeit their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day that they continued to hold their office after having been at a dissenters' meeting, as well as be disabled from holding any other employment till after a year's conformity. The bill was carried in the tory commons by an overwhelming majority, but it was as strongly opposed in the lords, where the whigs were not disposed to pull down the greatest trophy of their legislation. The bishops generally voted against the bill, and Burnet was extremely active against it. None of these men saw the monstrosity of the test and corporation acts, which compelled all to take the sacrament, whether they opposed it in that form or not, and thus shut out the honest and pious, and let in those who had neither honesty nor religion. But they saw that it would again let loose all the detestable race of spies and informers from which the country was now happily free, and would, in reality, only injure instead of benefiting the church, by making her an object of general hatred. The tories themselves affected great veneration for the toleration act, whilst they would thus have stifled all toleration.

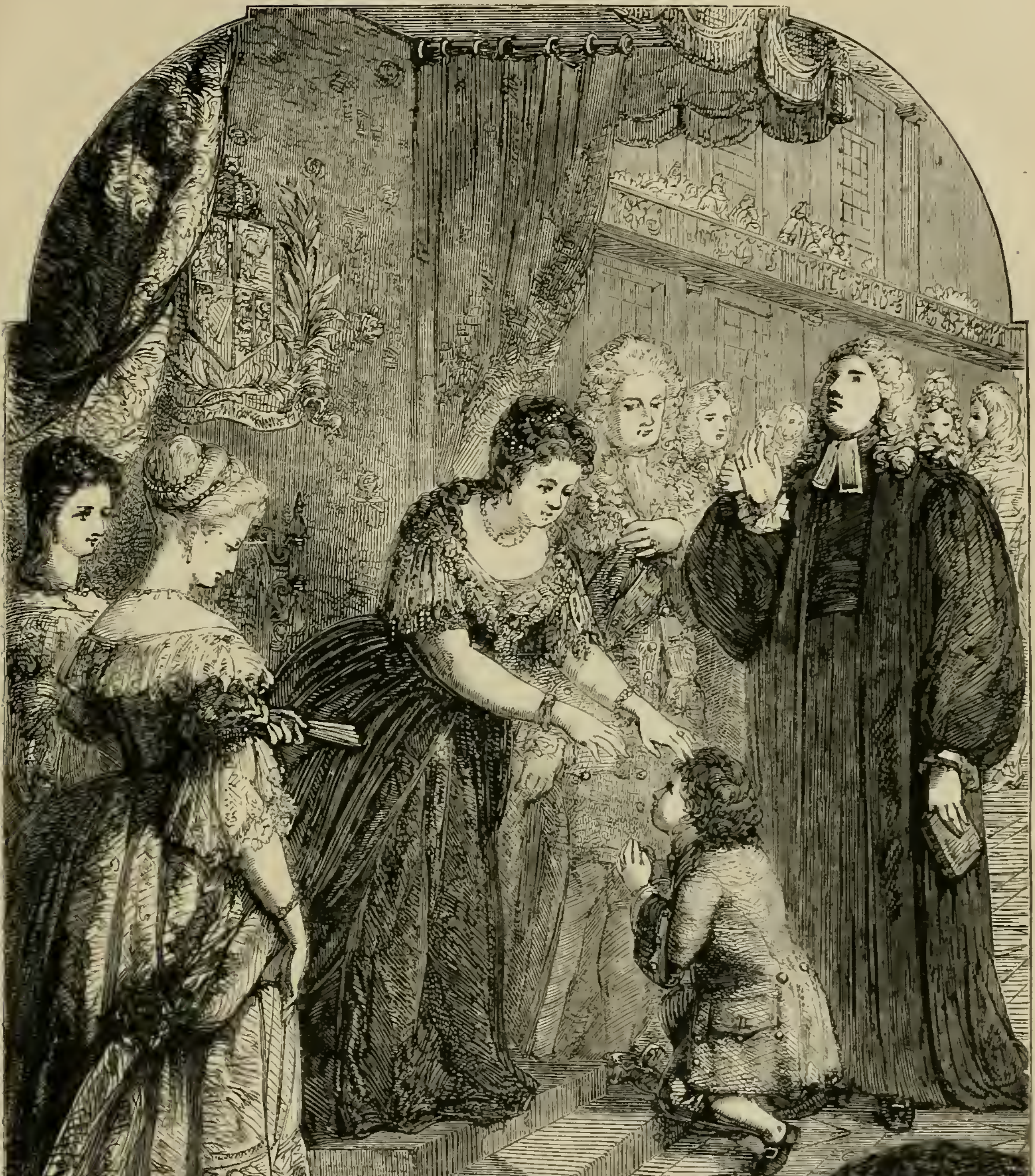
The queen and the whole court exerted themselves to force the bill through the upper house, as they had done that for the prince's salary. Marlborough argued vehemently for it, but the whig lords hit upon a way of defeating it by seeming to comply. They agreed to its passing on condition that all who took the test, and then went to conventicles, should simply be deprived of their employments and be fined twenty pounds. They knew that the commons would not allow the slightest interference of the lords with the money part of the bill, and this proved to be the case. The lords searched their rolls, and showed numerous cases in which they had altered fines, but the commons refused to admit any such power. A conference in the Painted Chamber was held, but with a like result, and, after long contention, the bill was, happily for the nation, let fall.

A bill was next brought in to allow another year of grace to all who had not taken the oath abjuring the pretended prince of Wales. The tories contended that all the Jacobite party had now come over to the queen; but it was shown on the other side that this was but a specious deception; that the agents of St. Germains were in as full activity as ever; were constantly coming and going; and whilst they appeared to favour the queen, it was only to get as strong a party as possible into the house, eventually to abolish both the abjuration and the protestant succession bill; that to this end they now advised all persons to take the abjuration bill, and to be able to get into parliament or power. The bill was carried in the commons, but the lords again tacked two clauses to it; one declaring it high treason to endeavour to alter the succession as settled in the princess Sophia, and the other to impose the oath on the Irish. These were not money clauses; whoever refused them must appear disinclined to the protestant succession. The commons were completely entrapped, and, to the surprise of everybody, they accepted the clauses, and thus the bill, which was originally favourable to the Jacobites, became much more rigid against them.

The year 1703 was opened in the house of commons by a fresh onslaught on the whigs, which brought all the old conflict betwixt the houses into play again. The committee for the examination of the public accounts accused lord Ranelagh, paymaster-general of the forces, and lord Charles Halifax, auditor of the exchequer, with embezzlement and breach of trust. The embezzlement was attributed principally to the earl of Ranelagh, who was accused of appropriating millions, but the committee could only really prove against him hundreds. They expelled him, however, from their house, of which he was a member, and he thereupon resigned his post, which was divided betwixt Howe and another. The commons prayed the queen to dismiss lord Halifax, and to order his prosecution by the attorney-general, with which she promised to comply. The lords then took up the defence of their brother peer, appointed a committee to examine the charges of the commission of accounts against him, acquitted Halifax, ascribed the national debt to deficiency of funds, and addressed the queen on the subject. After this they printed their address, with vouchers for every particular. This raised a fierce debate in the commons. They denied the right of the lords to take cognisance of anything based on money matters; the lords insisted on their right to vindicate the character of a member of their order. To put an end to the conflict, the queen sent a message to the lords, desiring them to dispatch what business they had in hand, and as they still continued to repel the attacks of the commons, she sent the lord keeper on the 27th of February to prorogue parliament.

The tories in the commons, finding so strong a whig opposition in the lords, and perceiving that the whigs had won much popularity during this session by their defence of liberal measures, besought the queen to create four new peers in the tory interest, with which she also complied, and accordingly John Granville was created baron Granville of Petheridge, in the county of Devon; Heneage Finch, baron of Guernsey, in the county of Southampton; Sir John Leveson Gower, baron Gower of Sittenham, in Yorkshire; and Francis Seymour Conway, youngest son of Sir Edward Seymour, baron Conway of Ragley, in Warwickshire. To prevent this extraordinary movement of the commons appearing a party proceeding, John Harvey, a whig, was made baron Harvey of Ickworth, in Suffolk, and the marquis of Normanby was created duke of Buckinghamshire. Notwithstanding, Burnet says the proceeding caused much animadversion, "as it was an encroachment on one of the tenderest points of the prerogative to make motives for creating peers in the house of commons." Harvey's peerage, lady Marlborough tells us, was purely a job of her own.

Lord Rochester was now entirely removed from the queen's councils. His near relationship to the queen, and his being accounted the champion of the church, made him presume in the council, where he was blustering and overbearing. He was disappointed in not being placed at the head of the treasury, and quarrelled continually with Lord Godolphin. He had now voted against Marlborough's grant of five thousand pounds a year, and thus incurred the mortal hatred of the all-powerful lady Marlborough. It was clear that Rochester must give way, or the council must be rent by continual feuds. He was opposed to the war—another cause of hostility from the Marlboroughs, to whom it was money, fame, and everything. He received such intimations from the queen as caused him to retire into the country in disgust. As he refused all summonses to attend the council, her majesty ordered him to proceed to his government in Ireland, where his presence was greatly needed. He replied with great insolence that he would not go to Ireland, and the post of lord-lieutenant, as we have seen, was conferred on the duke of Ormonde. Still refusing to attend the council, the queen ordered that he should no more be summoned, and thus terminated Anne's connection with her relatives by the mother's side. The elder brother of Rochester, lord Clarendon, had been excluded the court for refusing the abjuration of the pretended prince of Wales, and his son, lord Cornbury, little better than an



QUEEN ANNE TOUCHING YOUNG SAMUEL JOHNSON FOR THE EVIL.

idiot, was sent to govern the North American colonies, that he might be out of the way, a system of colonial management by which these colonies were at length entirely estranged. Rochester survived this disgrace but a very few weeks.

About this time also expired the wily old earl of Sunderland, and was succeeded by his son lord Spenser, son-in-law to the Marlboroughs, who ere long showed that he was equal to his father and father-in-law in love of money, and carelessness as to the means by which it was obtained.

Convocation during this session of parliament had been sitting and pursuing those interminable wranglings by which, in the end, they wore out the patience of our monarchs, who forbade their entering on any discussion. At this time the dispute raged betwixt the upper and lower house as violently as the upper and lower house of parliament were opposed to each other. It is singular that clerical parties, composed of the men whose peculiar vocation it is to preach peace and good will to all men, when brought together uniformly display far more acrimony than laymen. The *odium theologicum* has become proverbial, and never flamed higher than at this period. The bishops had been chiefly appointed by king William, and laboured under a suspicion of being too liberally inclined. On the other hand, the ordinary clergy were struggling after an extension of their power. They claimed a right to sit at other times besides that at which the convocation was sitting as a synod. The bishops repulsed this assumption, but the archbishop of Canterbury promised so to arrange their meetings during convocation as to give them ample time for discussion. This did not satisfy them, and they appealed to the house of commons, but that body returned them only a general answer, that it would at any time support their just rights. They then had recourse to the queen, who promised to consider their petition, and there left it. Having, in consequence of these movements, got nothing but a character for being inclined to presbyterianism, they suddenly passed a resolution affirming the divine apostolical right of episcopacy, and desired the bishops to enter this into their books. This was considered a clever dilemma for the bishops. If they refused to enter the resolution, they would be accused themselves of presbyterianism; if they accepted it, it would be an acknowledgment that the lower house had led them right. The wary bishops steered a middle course; they expressed their approbation of the resolution, but informed the lower house that it was already in the preface to the book of ordinations. The unseemly quarrel continued as long as convocation remained sitting, and afterwards spread through the whole country amongst the clergy, who were rent into factions. One party, which stood up like Laud in his time for the high prerogative and all the ceremonies of the church, who were, in fact, ecclesiastical tories, were termed high church; the other, who were disposed to take a more moderate view of things, and to allow of toleration to the dissenters, were styled low church, and branded as presbyterians in disguise. The queen, as a great advocate of the church, was flattered as the possessor of the prerogatives of the ancient monarchy; the memory of the late king was vituperated, and at this time "The History of the Commonwealth," written by her grandfather Clarendon, was published to revive the notions of passive obedience. The queen's hereditary rights were traced up to Edward the Confessor, and she was encouraged to restore the practice of touching for the king's evil as a miraculous privilege of monarchy, and the more so, because William had refused to practise it. Anne was the more stimulated to practising the royal touch because her brother, the prince of Wales, actively pursued the practice at St. Germains as a proof that the true descent lay in him; and, as an angel in gold was bound by the queen round the arm or hung round the neck of every person touched, she had plenty of applicants, notwithstanding an apothecary's certificate was required of the patients being really affected by the disease.

The parliament of Scotland was more violently agitated by the fight of factions than that of England. There was a change of ministry which, from the queen's toryism, was favourable to the episcopalians and at the same time to the anti-revolutionists, the Jacobites of Scotland. The duke of Queensberry, besides being high commissioner, was with lord Tarbat made secretary of state. The earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Selkirk, Leven, and Hyndford were dismissed. The marquis of Annandale was made president of the council, and the earl of Tullibardine lord privy seal. The earl of Seafield, though dismissed from the ministry, succeeded in getting a great number of anti-revolutioners returned to parliament. The duke of Hamilton, who had created so much opposition in the last session, had now obtained from the queen a letter to the privy council of Scotland, desiring that the presbyterian clergy should live in brotherly love and unity with such of the reformed religion as were in possession of benefices, and at the same time lived decently and observed the laws. This, in plain terms, meant that they were expected to allow the government to encourage episcopacy. The episcopal clergy immediately lifted up their heads, and petitioned her majesty to protect them, and not only to allow such episcopalians as were in government pulpits to hold them, but for such parishes as had a majority of episcopalians to elect ministers of that persuasion. The queen returned an answer as favourable as could be ventured upon, advising the episcopalian clergy to live peaceably with their presbyterian brethren established by law. Here was fuel for a renewed fire of fierce warfare betwixt the churches.

But still more fiery were the general elements. A proclamation of indemnity was made in March, which brought over from France and other countries a swarm of Jacobites, who, acting on the policy now adopted at St. Germains, pretended to have changed their sentiments, and were ready to take all oaths so as to get into parliament, and so influence the succession. They added their strength to the anti-revolutioners and the episcopalians, though these three parties had each its particular causes of dissent from the other. On the other hand, the presbyterians and revolutioners were strongly united under the leadership of the duke of Argyll. Then there were malcontents created by the government opposition to the Darien scheme, who were headed by the duke of Hamilton and the marquis of Tweeddale; the anti-revolutioners being led on by the earl of Hume. Here were elements of confusion enough to distract any ministry and paralyse any government, too ready to coalesce for that object, and equally ready, that effected, to strive against each other. The Darien malcontents were for the most part revolutioners; they only opposed government on the score of their own grievances; and the Jacobites, whilst they resolved to bring in the prince of Wales, were willing to regard the queen for the present as regent in his behalf.

The parliament opened with a bill for acknowledging her majesty's entire right and title to the throne, and denouncing the penalties of treason against any one calling her title in question. This was carried after some debate, the anti-revolutioners even acceding to it. But when the earl of Hume introduced a motion for the supply, the marquis of Tweeddale immediately moved that a bill, embodying securities for the liberties and religion of the nation after the decease of her majesty and the heirs of her body, should take precedence of all other questions. It was in vain that the duke of Queensberry promised that, the moment the supplies were granted, the question of the national securities should be gone into. The opposition knew that their strength lay in preventing the supplies, and persisted. The marquis of Athol introduced a bill for the security of the kingdom after her majesty's decease; the duke of Argyll introduced another to ratify the revolution and all its acts; and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun introduced a third to limit the succession after the queen's decease. The earl of Rothes went still further, and proposed a law forbidding any future king or queen of Scotland making war without consent of parliament. If no supplies were to be granted till half these measures were obtained, there was little hope of any subsidies from Scotland in this reign. All these bills were suffered to lie on the table, and the parliament proceeded to pass an act for the maintenance of the true protestant religion and the presbyterian church, as well as one introduced by the duke of Argyll, confirming the first parliament of king William and all its acts.

No sooner were these acts passed than the marquis of Athol again brought forward his bill for the security of the kingdom, transferring the appointment of a successor to parliament. The question was debated with furious vehemence, and the most unsparing abuse of each other by different parties, but it was at length carried by a majority of fifty-nine votes. The commissioner was called on to give it his assent; but, before he gave any answer, the earl of Marchmont, on the 6th of September, introduced a bill for settling the crown on the princess Sophia of Hanover and her issue. As this was utterly opposed to the security bill, it was received with a perfect howl of execration, even by those who were favourable to the Hanoverian succession. Fletcher of Saltoun proposed that no person whatever should be allowed to succeed till they had consented that all offices and places, civil and military, as well as pensions, should be granted, not by the crown, but by parliament; and that the successor should be nominated by a majority of parliament, and his council and administration be appointed by parliament too. This, it was truly observed, would reduce the monarchy to a republic. Cries of liberty or subsidies were raised. Fletcher pressed his motion, and other members declared that, rather than grant subsidies till their liberties were secured, they would fight out their rights with the sword. To such a pitch of excitement did the members proceed that the commissioner deemed it necessary to provide for his own safety. He ordered the foot-guard to be kept in readiness, and posted a guard at the eastern gate of the city. Still he was in great personal danger as he passed to and from the house; and, finding that no subsidy could be obtained, he prorogued parliament on the 12th of October. The duke had been deserted amid these contentions by most of his colleagues. The ministers and the queen, to strengthen his party, now proceeded to confer dignities on such as appeared inclined to support the government. The marquises of Athol and Douglas were created dukes; lord Tarbat was made earl of Cromarty; the viscounts Stair and Roseberry were also made earls. Lord Boyle became earl of Glasgow; James Stuart, of Bute, earl of Bute; Charles Hope, of Hopetoun, earl of Hopetoun; John Crawford, of Kilbirnie, viscount Garnock; and Sir James Primrose viscount Primrose.

In Ireland the duke of Ormonde had been received with great favour. He was regarded as the champion of protestantism, and it was, therefore, expected that he would screen the protestant assumptions, and encourage the appropriation of catholic estates. The commons appointed Allen Broderick speaker, and addressed the queen and the lord-lieutenant, complaining that they had been misrepresented as being desirous of becoming independent of England, which they denied, asserting that they held Ireland to be annexed to the crown of England for ever. But they expressed their resentment against the commissioners Trenchard, Langford, and Hamilton, who had exposed the lavish grants of the forfeited lands by the late king, as having misrepresented and traduced them. They accused them of having, at the same time that they objected to the proceedings of the former trustees, themselves sold the best of the forfeited estates to the Sword-blade Company of England, and they expelled from their house John Asgill, the agent of this company, who had offered to lend money to the public in Ireland, provided parliament passed an act confirming their purchase. The Sword-blade Company disclaimed having given Asgill any authority for such a proposal; and when the Irish parliament called him to account for his false statement, he pleaded his privilege as a member of the English parliament. The parliament then proceeded to make known a list of numerous protestant grievances to her majesty, though the catholics, had they been allowed to speak, could have produced a still more formidable catalogue. To rid himself of the endless subject of complaint, the duke of Ormonde, having obtained the necessary supplies, with a hundred and fifty thousand pounds to make up former deficiencies, made haste to close the session. This was not effected, however, before a committee had been appointed to examine the state of the public accounts, which discovered one hundred thousand pounds falsely set down as a debt against the nation, and took measures to trace out the authors of the fraud, who proved to be dependents of the duke of Ormonde himself. They then passed an act abolishing pensions to the amount of seventeen thousand pounds a year, made provision for half pay, and enacted a severe law against the growth of popery, ordering that all estates of catholics should be equally divided amongst the children, notwithstanding any settlement to the contrary, unless they on whom they were settled came in, took the oaths, and communicated with the church of England. Whilst these things were acting, a member informed the house that the papists in the county of Limerick were forming themselves into bodies to maintain a correspondence with the disaffected in England and elsewhere. The house immediately resolved that the papists of Ireland were bent on bringing in the pretended prince of Wales under the name of James III.; and the anti-papal frenzy growing hourly more rampant, the lord-lieutenant suddenly prorogued parliament, to the great disgust of dominant protestantism.

It was proposed betwixt the emperor of Germany and the allies that the present campaign should be opened with a power and by measures which should go far to paralyse France. The archduke Charles, the emperor's second son, was to declare himself king of Spain, should propose for the hand of the infanta of Portugal, and should proceed to that country to prosecute his claims on Spain by the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets. Meantime the emperor promised to take the field with such a force as to drive the elector of Bavaria, the active and able ally of France, out of his dominions. But Louis, as usual, was too rapid in his movements for the slow Germans. He ordered marshal Villars, who lay with thirty thousand men at Strasburg, to pass the Rhine and advance into Bavaria to the support of the elector. Villars immediately crossed and reduced the fortress of Kehl, opposite to Strasburg, conducting the garrison to Philipsburg. The threatened danger roused the emperor, who ordered count Schlich to enter Bavaria by way of Saltzburg, and at the same time count Stirum to enter Bavaria by the way of Neumark. Schlich, in the execution of his orders, defeated the militia which protected the lines at Saltzburg, and took possession of Riedt and other places. Stirum also took Neumark and Amburg, routing the Bavarians at both places. The elector, however, assembling his forces near Brenau, deceived Schlich by feigning an intention to surprise Passau. Schlich advanced to defend Passau, and the elector, having thus accomplished his object, crossed the bridge of Scardingen and attacked Schlich, who had in his haste left his cavalry and artillery behind, and defeated him. He then marched against the Saxon troops which guarded the artillery, and put them to the rout. Following up his successes, he took Neuburg on the Inn, overthrew the imperialists under the prince of Brandenburg-Anspach, near Burgenfelt, and then advanced to Ratisbon, where the diet was sitting, and compelled them to open the city gates to him. There he engaged to leave the diet at their deliberations and quit the place, on condition of Ratisbon being declared neutral.

Villars, who should have reached and seconded the decisive actions of the elector of Bavaria, had not been so successful. He had first waited to be joined by count Tallard with another body of troops, and when this was effected, the combined host endeavoured to break through the lines of the prince of Baden at Stollhoffen. But the prince had, fortunately, been joined by eight Dutch battalions, and they repulsed the French with great loss, and Villars retreated towards Offingen. Nevertheless, Villars eventually succeeded in joining the elector of Bavaria; and Stirum, who was endeavouring to reach the camp of the prince of Baden, was prevented, being attacked near Schwemmingen, and compelled to retire on Nortlingen.

The war was thus skilfully diverted by Louis from the Rhine into the very neighbourhood of the emperor. On the other hand, Marlborough, who was the soul of the war on the lower Rhine, had been detained by his exertions to counteract the efforts of Louis XIV. in another quarter. Insurrections had broken out amongst Louis's protestant subjects in the Cevennes, who had been barbarously oppressed. Marlborough, who cared more for the paralysing of Louis than for the interests of protestantism, strongly proposed in the council that assistance should be sent to the mountaineers of the Cevennes. This was fighting Louis with his own weapons, who was exciting insurrection in Hungary and Bohemia amongst the subjects of the emperor. Lord Nottingham and others of the council as strongly opposed this measure, on the principle of not exciting subjects against their legitimate sovereign; but Marlborough prevailed. Arms and ammunition were forwarded to the Cevennes, and direct communications were ordered to be opened with the insurgents, which would have compelled Louis to detain a large force for the subjugation of these rebels, which otherwise would have gone to the Rhine; but these aids never reached the unfortunate Cevennes.

Marlborough reached the Hague on the 17th of March, much earlier still than William used to arrive there. Nor had the war paused for his arrival. He had stimulated the Prussians to be in action much earlier. In February they had reduced the fortress of the Rhineberg, and then proceeded to blockade Guelders, the last place in the power of France on the frontiers of Spanish Guelderland. It was fortunate, for the unity of command, that Athlone and Saarbruck, Marlborough's jealous rivals, were both dead; so that now Marlborough had only the Dutch camp deputies as clogs on his movements, but they were quite sufficient often to neutralise his most spirited projects. He found Villeroi and Boufflers posted on the frontiers of the Spanish Netherlands, and his design was to attack and drive them out of Flanders and Brabant. But here, in the very commencement, he was obliged by the States-General to give up his own views to theirs. They desired an immediate attack on Bonn, persuading themselves that the elector of Cologne would rather capitulate than risk the ruin of the town. Marlborough went reluctantly but not inertly into this plan, foreseeing that it would waste a great deal of precious time, and prevent his falling on Villeroi and Boufflers at the right moment, when the attempt to support the elector of Bavaria had drawn many of their forces away into Germany. He was the more chagrined the more he saw of the want of energy in the allies. He proceeded to Nimeguen to arrange with Cohorn the plan of the siege of Bonn. He visited and inspected the garrisons at Venloo, Ruremond, Maestricht, and the other places which he took the last campaign on the Meuse. Arriving before Cologne, he found preparations were making for a siege, but in a most negligent manner; and Cohorn especially excited his disgust by coolly proposing to defer the siege of this place till the end of summer. But Marlborough knew too well the necessity of preventing an attack from that quarter; ordered the place to be invested, and then marched on Bonn with forty battalions, sixty squadrons, and a hundred pieces of artillery. The trenches were opened on the 3rd of May, and it was assaulted from three different quarters at once; on one side by the forces under the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel, on another by those under Cohorn, and on the third by lieutenant-general Fagel. The city capitulated on the 15th, and the commander, the marquis of D'Allegré, and his garrison were conducted to Luxembourg. During the siege continually arrived the news of the successes of the elector of Bavaria and the failures of the imperial troops: and Villeroi and Boufflers advanced, took Tongres, and menaced the allies from that quarter with forty thousand men.

No sooner was Bonn reduced than Marlborough determined to prosecute his original plan of driving the French from Flanders. He now dispatched Cohorn, Spaar, and Opdam to commence operations at Bergen-op-Zoom, whilst he addressed himself to dislodge Villeroi and Boufflers from Tongres. In order to divide the energies of the French, a part of his plan was that the powerful English and Dutch fleet was to keep the coast of that country in alarm from Calais to Dieppe, and actually to make a descent on the land near the latter port.

Marlborough without delay crossed the river Yaar, close under the walls of Maestricht, and near the heights of Hautain, between the Yaar and the Meuse, and came so suddenly on the French army that it retired in confusion. Villeroi and Boufflers fled precipitately from Tongres, after first blowing up the walls with gunpowder. They did not halt till they were three leagues beyond Thys. Marlborough pursued them to Thys, and only waited for the coming up of Cohorn, who, instead of keeping Marlborough's great object, the reduction of Antwerp and Ostend, in view, diverged into the country of the Waes, and employed himself in forcing the French lines there. Marlborough, who was himself as fond of plunder as any one, attributed this object to Cohorn; for, being governor of West Flanders, he said he received the tenths of all the contributions. At length, however, Cohorn had forced the lines at the point of Callo, and baron Spaar in the country of Waes, near Stoken, and Marlborough then advanced his design against Antwerp. That city was garrisoned by Spanish troops under the marquis de Bedmar, and Marlborough intending to attack the enemy's lines with his main army on the side of Louvain and Mechlin, he detached Cohorn with his flying squadrons to amuse Bedmar on the right of the Scheldt towards Dutch Flanders, and he ordered baron Opdam to put himself, with twelve thousand men, near Antwerp, between Eckeren and Capelle, where the lines were held by the Spanish forces.

But the French resolved to cut off the division of Opdam from the main army. Boufflers, with twenty thousand men, surprised him, and the Dutch falling into confusion, Opdam believed the day lost, and fled to Breda. It was a conduct which could not have been expected from a general who displayed a long career of courage and ability. His panic, however, was groundless, and the next in command, general Schlangenburg, rallied the troops and maintained his ground through the whole day, forcing the French eventually to retire. The Dutch lost about one thousand five hundred men, but the French lost more. Both Opdam and Boufflers reaped only disgrace from the action. Opdam presented to the States-General a justification of his conduct, which, however, was not deemed satisfactory; and although Louis XIV. ordered a *Te Deum* as for a victory, Boufflers was censured for his conduct, and never recovered again the confidence of the king. Schlangenburg received the thanks of the States-General, but, having ventured to blame Marlborough for sending only so small a number of troops to the dangerous post of Eckeren, he was, at the instigation of Marlborough, afterwards dismissed from the service.

This miscarriage of Opdam's had greatly deranged Marlborough's plan of attack on Antwerp. Spaar and Cohorn were already near Antwerp with their united forces, but the check received by Opdam's division delayed the simultaneous advance. Villeroi lay in the path of Marlborough near St. Job, and declared that he would wait for him; but the moment the duke advanced to Hoogstraat to give him battle, he set fire to his camp and retreated within his lines with all haste. Boufflers had joined Bedmar in Antwerp, and Marlborough advanced and laid siege to Huy, which surrendered on the 27th of August. He now called a council of war to decide the plan of attack on Antwerp, and was well supported by the Danish, Hanoverian, and Hessian generals, but again found opposition from the Dutch officers and the deputies of the States, who deemed the attempt too dangerous. They recommended him to attempt the reduction of Limburg, by which they would acquire a whole province; and despairing now of accomplishing his great object, the reduction of Antwerp, this campaign—having the Dutch officers, the Dutch deputies, and the Dutch Louvestein faction all working against him—he turned aside to Limburg, and reduced it in a couple of days. This acquisition put into the power of the allies the whole country from Cologne, including Liege; and Guelders being afterwards stormed by the Prussian general Lottum, the whole of Spanish Guelderland remained theirs. There is little doubt that Antwerp might have been added too, completing a most brilliant campaign, but Marlborough's attention was distracted by affairs going on at home, where lady Marlborough was moving heaven and earth to effect a coalition between the whigs and her husband. She was doing all in her power to drive lord Nottingham from office, and to bring in whigs in the place of himself and colleagues.

When it is recollected how determinedly tory was the queen, we may conceive the arduousness of the enterprise; but lady Marlborough knew that she could still lead the queen contrary to her own wishes. Godolphin was the strong ally of Marlborough in the cabinet, but when he ventured to recommend whigs to the queen, he was met by the bitterest reproaches. Betwixt the plans of the Marlboroughs and the prejudices of Anne, the situation of Godolphin was such as frequently drove him to the point of resigning.

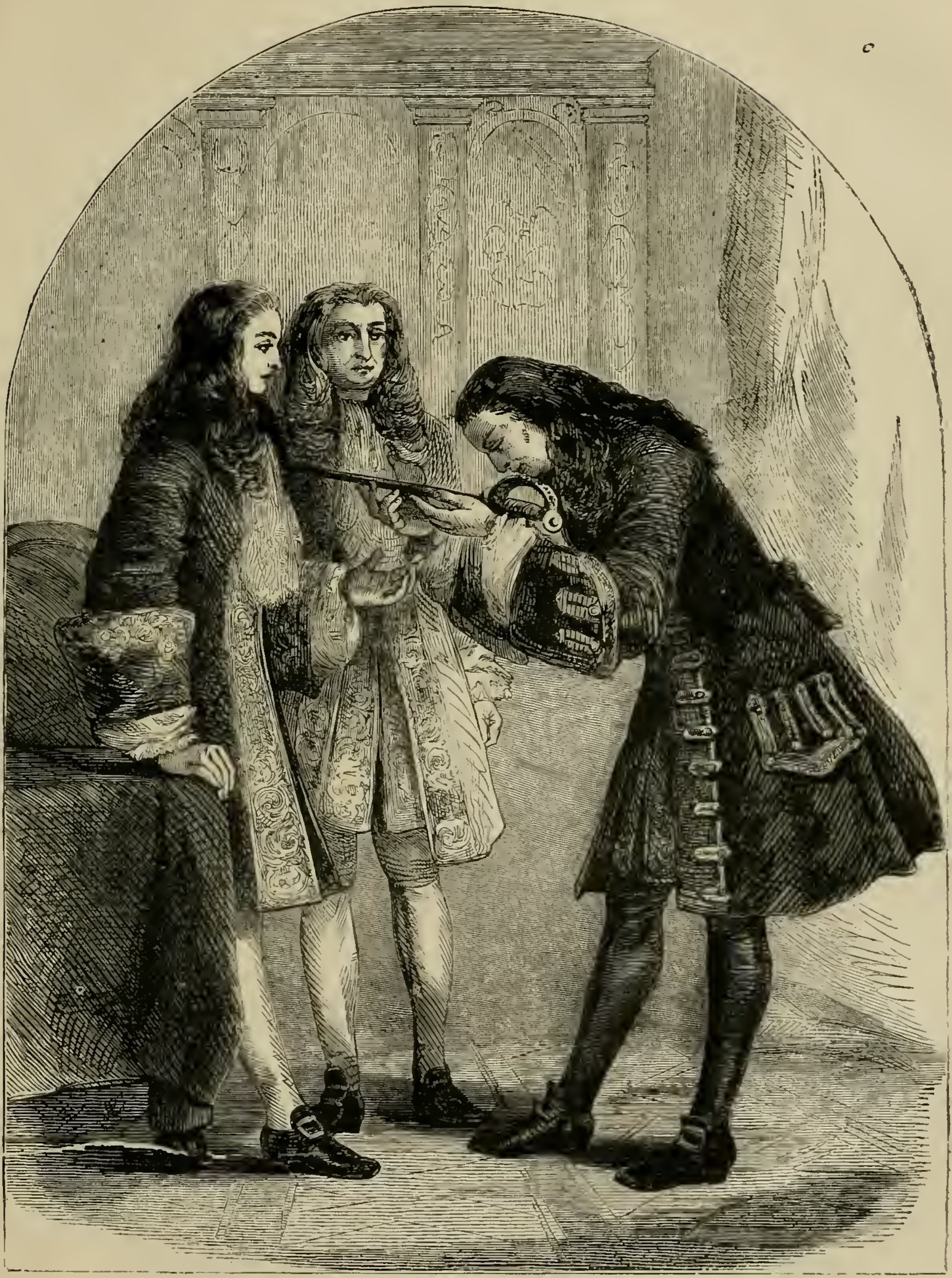
Whilst this political campaign was raging in England that of the allies continued in Germany and on the upper Rhine. If Marlborough had failed of his grand aim, the reduction of Antwerp, the king of France had equally failed in his, which was to penetrate into the very heart of the empire, and make himself master of Vienna. For this purpose he ordered Vendome to march from the Milanese through the Tyrol, and co-operate with the elector of

Bavaria; but he was defeated in this plan by the bravory of the Tyrolese, who rose in arms, and drove the elector from Innspruck, and obstructed the passage of Vendome, who was therefore compelled to return to the Milanese. In Italy, however, the French avenged themselves by the invasion of the duke of Modena's territories, the reduction of the fortress of Barsillo and the duchy of Reggio. They also invested Ostiglia, though they could not take it.

Disappointed of the junction by Vendome, the elector of Bavaria united with Villars, and attacked and defeated Stirum, whilst the duke of Burgundy and count Tallard attacked and took Brisac, when the duke returned to Versailles in triumph, and Tallard laid siege to Landau. To relieve that place the prince of Hesse-Cassel, greatly to the discontent of Marlborough, was dispatched from the Netherlands with twenty battalions and eight squadrons, and joining the count of Nassau-Weilburg, the general of the palatine troops near Speir, they resolved to attack the French, but were on their part attacked by the united forces of Tallard and Pracontal at Spirebach, and, notwithstanding a desperate resistance, were compelled to retreat with the loss of several thousand men. Pracontal, one of the French generals, was killed, but Tallard returned to the siege of Landau and took it, and the elector of Bavaria completed the campaign by making himself master of the substantial old city of Augsburg, so late in the season as December.

VIEW ON THE RHINE.

The affairs of the emperor never appeared more gloomy;



THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES PRESENTING HIS SWORD TO MARLBOROUGH.

instead of recovering Spain, Louis was fast depriving him of his empire. He was supporting the rebellious Hungarians against him, who were in arms under prince Ragotski, and who had, in truth, plenty of oppressions and injuries to complain of. Suddenly, however, some gleams of light shot across his gloom. The duke of Savoy, who seldom remained true to one side long, grew alarmed at the French being masters of the Milanese, and was induced to open communications with the emperor. The secret negotiations, however, were speedily discovered by the French, and the duke of Vendome received orders to disarm the Savoyards who were in his army; to demand that the troops of Savoy should be reduced to the scale of 1696, and that four principal fortresses should be put into the hands of France. But the duke of Savoy was by no means inclined to submit to these demands. He treated them as insults to an ally, and ordered the arrest of the French ambassador and several officers of his nation. Louis, astonished at the decision of these proceedings, wrote the duke a most menacing letter, informing him that as neither honour, interest, religion, nor the oaths of alliance were regarded by him, he should leave the duke of Vendome to deal with him, and who would give him four-and-twenty hours to determine his course in. This imperious letter only hastened the duke's alienation. He concluded the treaty with Vienna, and answered Louis's letter by a defiance. He acknowledged the archduke Charles king of Spain, and despatched envoys to Holland and England. Queen Anne immediately sent an ambassador to Turin, and a body of imperial horse under Visconti, followed by fifteen thousand foot under count Staremberg, issued from the Modenese, and in the midst of the most stormy weather and miry roads, marched to join the duke of Savoy at Canelli. The French harassed them fearfully on the march, but could not prevent their junction, by which Piedmont was placed in security.

On the other hand, Portugal had declared for the emperor. The fear of having Louis in possession of Spain, had operated with Portugal, as similar causes had operated with Savoy. The king of Portugal agreed to give his daughter to the archduke Charles, on condition that the right to the throne of Spain was transferred to him. England and Holland were to support the Portuguese and the new king of Spain from the sea. The treaty was concluded at Lisbon, and a fleet of forty-nine sail, under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, lay off Lisbon to protect the coasts from the French. Charles was to be conveyed to Lisbon by a powerful fleet, having on board twelve thousand soldiers, who were, on landing, to be joined by twenty-eight thousand Portuguese.

The allied fleets had done nothing of importance during this summer. Sir George Rooke cruised in the channel to protect the English trade, and to keep the coast of France in alarm, as agreed with Marlborough, whilst Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the great combined fleet, made sail for the Mediterranean. On the coast of Valentia he made a landing ostensibly to proclaim king Charles, but really to obtain water; and having effected that necessary but inglorious exploit, and endeavoured, but in vain, to throw supplies into the Cevennes, he cruised in the Mediterranean, renewed the peace with the pirate state of Barbary, and returned home.

Another fleet, sent out to make conquests in the West Indies, did much worse. Admiral Graydon was sent out with three ships to succeed Benbow. On his way out he met there a part of the squadron of Du Casse returning in bad condition, but richly laden. Instead of attacking them, he called off captain Cleland, of the "Montagu," who was in act to commence the fight, and kept on his way. Having taken up Nin's four regiments of soldiers, who had been sent out to the Leeward Islands under captain Walker and colonel Coddington, and had made a descent on Guadaloupe, but were in great distress, he proceeded to Jamaica, where he quarrelled with the planters, and then sailed to reduce the French settlement at Placentia, in Newfoundland. He, however, never reached the place, his ships being dispersed in a fog; and a council being called, it was concluded that they were not in a condition to attack the settlement if they reached it, and so returned home. For this miserable conduct, Graydon was examined by the house of lords, and, at their recommendation, dismissed the service.

The only thing like a naval success was performed by admiral Dilkes, who took or destroyed about forty French ships and their convoy off Granville.

The archduke Charles, having assumed the title of king of Spain, set out from Vienna about the middle of September, and reached Dusseldorf on the 16th of October, where he was met by the elector palatine and the duke of Marlborough, who was commissioned by queen Anne to offer his congratulations. The duke performed his duty in his most graceful manner, assuring Charles that he had just had the honour to put his majesty in possession of Limburg. Charles returned the courtesy by taking off his sword and presenting it to the duke, saying, "I am not ashamed to own myself a poor prince. I possess nothing but my cloak and sword; the latter may be of use to your grace; and I hope you will not think it the worse for my wearing it one day." "On the contrary," replied the duke, kissing the diamond hilt, "it will always put me in mind of your majesty's just right and title, and of the obligations I lie under to hazard my life in making you the greatest prince in Christendom."

Marlborough accompanied Charles of Austria to the Hague, where they were both received with high honours by the States-General. Marlborough then hastened over to England to be ready to receive the royal guest on his way to Portugal. On the 26th of December the new king of Spain arrived at Spithead in the Dutch squadron sent to convey him. The queen dispatched the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough to conduct him to Windsor, and prince George met him on the way at Petworth, the seat of the duke of Somerset, and conducted him to Windsor on the 29th. The king was entertained in great state for three days at Windsor, during which time he was politic enough to ingratiate himself with the queen's great favourite, lady Marlborough. When the duchess presented the bason and napkin after supper to the queen for her to wash her hands, the king gallantly took the napkin and held it himself, and on returning it to the duchess of Marlborough he presented her with a superb diamond ring.

After three days the king returned to Portsmouth, and on the 4th of January he embarked on board the fleet, commanded by Sir George Rooke, for Portugal, accompanied by a body of land forces under the duke of Schomberg. The voyage at that season was, however, a most stormy one, and when the fleet had nearly reached Cape Finisterre, it was compelled to put back to Spithead, where it remained till the middle of February. His next attempt was more successful, and he landed in Lisbon amid much popular demonstration, though the court itself was sunk in sorrow by the death of the infanta, whom he went to marry.

Before the arrival of Charles in England, it had been visited by one of the most terrible storms on record. The tempest began on the 27th of November, attended by such thunder and lightning as had never been experienced by any one living. The Thames overflowed its banks, standing several feet deep in Westminster Hall. The houses in London seemed shaken from their foundations, and many actually fell, burying the inhabitants in their ruins. The loss in London alone was estimated at a million sterling, and the storm raged with equal fury in other places. Bristol was a great sufferer; but the greatest destruction fell on the fleet. Thirteen ships of war were lost, and fifteen hundred seamen, including rear-admiral Beaumont, who foundered in the Downs. Many of the oldest trees in the parks were torn up, and the lead on the churches was rolled up in scrolls. This unparalleled storm raged most fiercely along the southern and western counties, being scarcely felt in the northern ones. The bishop of Bath and Wells with his wife was killed in the episcopal palace by the fall of a stack of chimneys.

The queen opened parliament on the 9th of November. She spoke of the new treaties with the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal as subjects of congratulation, though the latter implied a fact which might well have startled her subjects if contemplated in its full extent. She informed them that it was the intention of the allies "to recover the monarchy of Spain from the house of Bourbon and restore it to the house of Austria." This was an announcement which went far beyond the objects of king William—namely, to defend the liberties and protestant religion of Europe, which had been so violently attacked by the tory ministers and members of both houses. It equalled in unjustifiable interference William's so much-censured scheme of the partition, for it went to interfere in the affairs of other nations' setting up and pulling down kings, which concerned them alone. The Spaniards made no complaints to us, asked no aid from us to expel an unauthorised king; and so long as that was the case, an interference was utterly contrary to the rights of nations. By this impolitic engagement we were about to be involved in a war of which the end could not be seen, and which was none of our proper business.

Anne admitted that these engagements would cause an immediate and great expense, but she declared that she would be careful to keep down her own expenses—as if any savings in the civil list could in any manner balance these enormous costs of war. In conclusion, she entreated the two houses to avoid heats or divisions, because they gave encouragement to the enemies of the church and state.

These same lords and commons who had loaded the memory of king William with so much execration for his foreign wars, on this occasion showed the utmost readiness to rush into the same evils themselves. Neither lords nor commons raised an objection to this scheme of setting the archduke Charles of Austria on the throne of Spain. On the contrary, on the 12th of November the lords presented an address to the queen, expressing their satisfaction at her having entered into these treaties, and even displayed a zeal beyond them. The commons on their part voted fifty-eight thousand soldiers and forty thousand sailors as the standard of the army and navy, and they granted the requisite supplies with the utmost readiness.

No sooner was this warlike demonstration made, than the commons again introduced the occasional conformity bill, and carried it through by a large majority, on pretence that the church was in danger; but the lords attacked it with still greater animosity, and threw it out.

At this moment the nation became alarmed with the rumour of a conspiracy amongst the Jacobites in Scotland. When the queen, on the 17th of December, went to the lords to give her assent to the land tax bill, she informed them that she had made discoveries of a seditious nature in Scotland, which, as soon as she could with prudence, she assured them should be laid before them. The lords, in their loyalty, were not disposed to wait for these disclosures, but appointed a committee to inquire into the Scottish plot, and even went so far as to take some of the parties implicated out of the hands of the queen's messengers, to examine them themselves.

This over-zeal was immediately seized upon by the commons, who were sore with the rejection of their occasional conformity bill. They addressed the queen, expressing their surprise at the conduct of the lords in wresting persons accused of treasonable practices out of her majesty's hands, in order to examine them themselves, without her majesty's leave or knowledge. They prayed her to suffer no diminution of her prerogative, and promised to support her in the just exercise of her power to the utmost of their ability. Anne, who dreaded far more the revival of the fierce war betwixt the two houses than any real infringement of her prerogative, replied that the cause of complaint was now at an end. But the offence had been given, and the lords would not let it pass. They addressed her majesty to the effect that they had a right, by the known laws of parliament, to take examinations of persons charged with criminal matters, whether they be in custody or not, and to order that such persons be taken into custody of her majesty's sworn officer attending their house. They declared the address of the commons to be unparliamentary, groundless, without precedent, and highly injurious to the house of peers. The queen could only reply that she was very sorry for these misunderstandings, and thanked them, as she had done the commons, for their great concern for the rights and prerogatives of the crown.

The evil genius which had given occasion for all these bickerings was the notorious Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, a man of the most infamous character. Frazer had violated the sister of the marquis of Athol, and had been in consequence compelled to fly to France, where, notwithstanding his crime and the vile tenor of his whole life, he had free access to the court of St. Germains. He there offered to excite an insurrection in the Highlands of Scotland in favour of the pretended prince of Wales, and to raise twelve thousand mountaineers for his service if provided with the necessary authority and funds. Louis XIV. listened to the project of this devil incarnate, but, as he knew the infamy of his character, he would only consent to send him, if accompanied by two other gentlemen, on whom he could rely. These gentlemen were instructed to sound the natives, and ascertain the real prospects of the prince for themselves.

The very first thing which Lovat did on reaching Scotland was to discover the whole scheme to the duke of Queensberry, the queen's commissioner, and proposed to him to inform him of all whom they should be able to bring over to their views in their tour through the Highlands. Queensberry, instead of seizing the base outlaw, and giving him up to justice, thought it a fine opportunity to make himself acquainted with all the disaffected, and to be able to fix on them the proof of their treason. Not reflecting that this Mephistophiles of the mountains would be just as likely to betray him as he had been to betray his first employers, he gave Frazer a pass to bear him safe through the Highlands in this devil's work of corrupting the queen's subjects, and he was to furnish Queensberry with a list of all the loyal and all the disaffected. Before setting out, Frazer executed a masterpiece of demoniacal art. His grand object in coming over was to take a signal vengeance on the marquis of Athol, whom he had so deeply injured, and who had driven him from the country. He delivered, therefore, to the duke of Queensberry a letter from the ex-queen Mary of Modena to the marquis of Athol. It was observed that the address was in a different hand to the letter itself, and therefore it was probable that Frazer had procured a general letter, which he might himself address to a particular person, as occasion served. The object was to ruin the marquis.

Having made his diabolical tour, Frazer represented what additional service he could render by returning to St. Germains, and there hunting out and conveying to Queensberry all the plots and the names of the plotters against the queen of England. Queensberry had communicated the particulars of information to the queen without revealing the name of his informant, which, for good reasons, he desired might be kept secret. That such a plot was in agitation was confirmed by the queen's own spies at St. Germains, and Frazer was furnished with a passport to Holland by the earl of Nottingham under a feigned name.

About the same time Sir John Maclean was arrested at Folkestone, with his wife, having been conveyed over from France in an open boat. He was the head of one of the clans, and being conveyed to London, he pretended that he had landed only with the intention of passing through England to Scotland, where he meant to take advantage of the queen's pardon, submit himself, and become a loyal subject. Being, however, told that he would be handled as a traitor unless he would purchase forgiveness by rendering real service, he confessed his knowledge of the plot, and gave the necessary information for apprehending one Keith, a nephew of one of the two persons appointed by Louis XIV. to accompany Frazer through the Highlands. This Keith alleged that there was no intention to bring in the prince of Wales until after the queen's death, on hearing which, bishop Burnet remarked to the queen that if that were so, they did not mean her to live any longer than till they thought their designs for the prince were well laid; on which Burnet observes, the queen answered very quickly, "There was no manner of doubt of that."

Nearly at the same time with Keith, David Lindsay, who had been under-secretary to lord Middleton for James II. and the prince of Wales, and James Boucher, who had been aide-de-camp to James's natural son, the duke of Berwick, were arrested. The latter was taken on the coast of Sussex just as he came from France. As for Lindsay, he was the same man who had been employed in bringing over letters during the insurrection of Dundee; and it was not doubted that he had come over now to manage the correspondence of the insurgents. He denied there being any plot at all against the queen and her government, but on being shown Frazer's commission as a colonel, signed by the pretended king, and countersigned by Middleton, he could not deny its genuineness, but observed that things of that kind were never communicated to him. These men, like Maclean, pretended that they were merely coming to live peaceably at home; and at this moment stepped forward Ferguson, that extraordinary presbyterian preacher who was out with Monmouth, and had been in every plot since. He evidently was employed to mystify the whole affair. He protested there was no plot at all; that the Jacobites were glad to see a Stuart on the throne in the person of the queen, and their only desire was to see things so arranged that her brother should succeed her. Frazer, he contended, had merely been employed by Queensberry to draw some persons into the guilt of high treason; but as for plot, there was none. These manœuvres, however, had no effect in convincing the people of the non-existence of a plot. The arrival of so many suspicious persons about the same time, and the unquestionably genuine document of Frazer, proved clearly enough that there was a plot on foot, as certainly as there was two or three years later, in which the very same persons, Frazer and Athol, were engaged.

It was at this moment that the house of lords, determining to search Boucher to the bottom, excited so fiercely the wrath of the commons by demanding that he and Sir John Maclean should be brought to their bar. Nothing, however, could be extracted from Boucher. He pleaded that he was tired of living out of his native country, and had determined to throw himself on the mercy of the queen. He contended that, during the wars in Ireland as well as in Flanders, he had been extremely attentive to all English prisoners, and he produced so much effect that he was allowed to retire, and died soon after in Newgate.

The year 1704 opened amid these inquiries. The queen laid before the house of lords the papers concerning the Highland plot, with one exception, which the earl of Nottingham asserted could not yet be made public without tending to prevent a further discovery. This only stimulated the lords, who addressed the queen, praying that the whole of the papers might be submitted to them. The queen replied that she did not expect to be pressed in this manner, but she ordered the papers in question to be delivered to them under seal. The peers pursued the inquiry with renewed vigour, and soon issued a report that it appeared to them that there had been a dangerous conspiracy carried on for raising a rebellion in Scotland, and invading that kingdom with French power, in order to subvert her majesty's government and bring in the pretended prince of Wales, and that they were of opinion that nothing had given so much encouragement to this conspiracy as the Scots not coming into the Hanover succession as fixed in England. They therefore besought the queen to procure the settlement of the crown of Scotland on the princess Sophia, and when that was done they would use all their influence for a union of the two kingdoms.

Anne expressed her entire concurrence in these views, and the lords then presented another address in answer to the second address of the commons. They charged the commons with manifesting a want of zeal for the queen's safety, and with showing a strange reluctance that the particulars of the plot should be brought to light, obstructing all through, as much as in them lay, the necessary inquiry; and fresh fuel was immediately furnished to the flame already blazing betwixt the two houses. One Matthew Ashby, a freeman of Aylesbury, brought an action against William White and others, the constables of Aylesbury, for preventing his exercising his franchise at the last election. This was an unheard-of proceeding, all matters relating to elections being from time immemorial referred to the house of commons itself. The circumstances of the case, however, furnished some reason for this departure from the established rule. It appeared that four constables made the return, and were well known to bargain with a particular candidate, and so manage that the election should be his. In appeals to the house of commons the party which happened to be in power had in a most barefaced manner always decided in favour of the man of their own side. Ashby, therefore, sought what he hoped would prove a more impartial tribunal. He tried the cause at the assizes, and won it; but it was then moved in the Queen's Bench to quash these proceedings as novel and contrary to all custom. Three of the judges were opposed to hearing the case, the matter belonging notoriously to the house of commons; and they argued that, if this practice were introduced, it would occasion a world of suits, and make the office of returning members a very dangerous one. The lord chief justice Holt alone was in favour of it. He contended that there was a great difference betwixt the election of a member and a right to vote. The decision of the election undoubtedly belonged to the commons, but the right to vote being founded upon a forty shilling freehold, upon burgage land, upon a prescription, or the charter of a borough, was clearly establishable by a court of law. The judges at length permitted the trial, but, being three against one, the decision was for the constables. This aroused the indignation of the whole whig party, and the cause was removed by a writ of error to the house of lords. The lords, after a full hearing, and taking the opinions of the judges, confirmed the judgment given in favour of Ashby at the assizes.

The commons now took up the affair with great warmth. They passed five resolutions, namely, that all matters relating to elections and the right of examining and determining the qualifications of electors belonged solely to them; that Ashby was guilty of a breach of their privileges, and they denounced the utmost weight of their resentment against all persons who should follow his example and bring any such suit into a court of law, as well as against all counsel, attorneys, or others who should assist in such suit. They ordered these resolutions to be affixed to the gates of Westminster Hall. The lords took instant measures to rebut these charges. They appointed a committee to draw up a statement of the whole case, resolved upon its report "that every person being wilfully hindered from exercising his right of voting might seek for justice and redress in common courts of law against the officer by whom his vote had been refused, that any assertion to the contrary was destructive of the property of the subject, against the freedom of election, and manifestly tending to the encouragement of bribery and corruption; and finally that the declaring Matthew Ashby guilty of a breach of privilege of the house of commons was an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature of parliament in the house of lords, and an attempt to subject the law of England to the will and votes of the commons."

They ordered the lord keeper to send copies of the case and their votes to all the sheriffs of England, to be by them communicated to all their boroughs in their respective counties. The house of commons was greatly enraged at this, but it had no power to prevent it, and it had the mortification to see that the public feeling went entirely with the lords, who certainly were the defenders of the rights of the subject, whilst the commons, corruptly refusing a just redress to such appeals, endeavoured to prevent the sufferers obtaining it anywhere else.

We now come to one of the most striking and meritorious acts of the reign of Anne—the grant of the first-fruits and tenths of church livings to the poor clergy. The tenths amounted to about eleven thousand pounds a year, and the first-fruits to about five thousand pounds. These monies had been collected by the bishops since the reformation and paid over to the crown. They had never, says Burnet, "been applied to any good use, but were still obtained by favourites for themselves and friends, and in king Charles's time went chiefly amongst his women and children. It seemed strange that, whilst the clergy had much credit at court, they had never represented this as sacrilege unless it were applied to some religious purpose, and that during archbishop Laud's favour with king Charles I., or at the restoration of king Charles II., no endeavours had been used to appropriate this to better uses, sacrilege was charged on other things on very slight grounds, but this, which was more visible, was always forgot." But it was too convenient a fund for favourites to get assignations upon. It is much to the credit of Burnet that he managed to divert this desecrated fund from the impure clutches of courtiers and mistresses, to the amelioration of the condition of the unhappy working clergy. He proposed the scheme first to William, who listened to it readily, being assured by Burnet that nothing would tend to draw the hearts of the clergy so much towards him, and put a stop to the groundless clamour that he was the enemy of the clergy. Somers and Halifax heartily concurred in the plan; but the avaricious old Sunderland got an assignation of it upon two dioceses for two thousand pounds a year for two lives, which frustrated the advance of the business. Burnet, however, succeeded better with Anne. He represented that there were hundreds of cures that had not twenty pounds a year, and some thousands that had not thirty pounds, and asked what could the clergy be or do under such circumstances? Therefore, on the 7th of February, 1704, Sir Charles Hedges, the secretary of state, announced to the commons that her majesty had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy, and had resolved to grant in future the whole of the first-fruits and tenths for the augmentation of small livings. The commons replied in an address, expressing their sense of her pious care for the church, and brought in a bill to enable her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to create a corporation by charter, to apply the money according to the queen's intention, in increasing the wretched stipends of the poorer clergy. There was an attempt made to relieve the clergy altogether from the payment of first-fruits and tenths, and to devote some other fund to the relief of the poor clergy; but as Anne's intention was not to relieve the rich but to comfort the poor, she would not listen to it. The statute of mortmain was also relaxed by a provision of the bill, so far as to allow individuals to make augmentations to benefices by deed of gift or by bequest. The bishops were unanimous for the bill, and addresses of thanks from all the clergy of England were presented to Anne on the occasion of this noble gift of what has been ever since known as "Queen Anne's Bounty.' It is only due to an impartial judgment of Anne, that we are bound at the same time to say that she was far from being so generous to dissenters, or to any other church of the United Kingdoms. On the contrary, she had just before allowed the parliament of Ireland to stop the poor sum of twelve hundred pounds per annum, which had been paid by the late king to the indigent presbyterian ministers of Ulster, who had so manfully defended the north of Ireland against James.

On the 3rd of April the queen prorogued parliament till the 4th of July. The convocation had during this time kept up its bitter controversy, and had done nothing more except thank the queen for the grant of the first-fruits and tenths, and the commons for having espoused their cause.

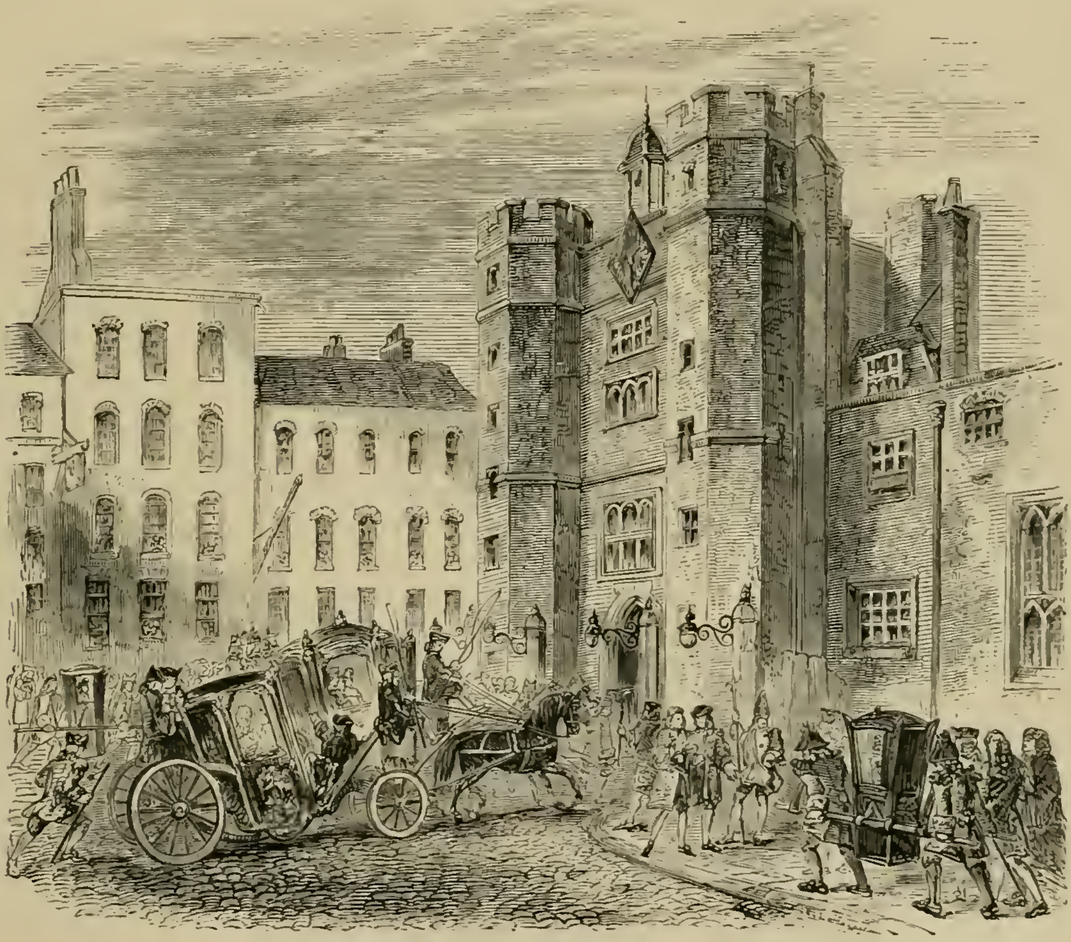
The earl of Nottingham, having endeavoured in vain to get the dukes of Somerset and Devonshire dismissed from the ministry, resigned the seals. Other changes in the cabinet followed. The earl of Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour were dismissed, the earl of Kent being appointed chamberlain, and Harley secretary of state.

Meantime Simon Frazer had again reached St. Germains, and made a very fine report of his mission both in the Highlands and the Lowlands. According to his memorial to Mary of Modena, he had won over both the chiefs of clans and the ministers of the crown. But his impudence was not proof to the vigilance of Middleton, who had watched his proceedings, and pronounced him an arrant traitor. He said that Frazer had described to him Queensberry, Argyll, and Leven as the three worst enemies of the king, and yet these were the very first men to whom he had gone, and revealed the whole of his mission. Queensberry himself had furnished him with his passport to get back again to France, so that it was plain as daylight that he was employed as a spy by him. The consequence was, Simon Frazer was shut up in the Bastille. In England Lindsay was condemned to die for returning from France without a pass or license, and being therefore deemed to be engaged in treasonable designs. He was, however, offered pardon if he would make a full disclosure of the conspiracy; but he denied any knowledge of such a conspiracy as Frazer stated there was. He was drawn to Tyburn to frighten him into confession: he still continued firm, and was taken back to Newgate, where he remained a prisoner for some years. At length he was banished, and died of hunger in Holland.

The Scottish parliament was opened on the 6th of July. Ministers had exerted themselves to induce a sufficient number to vote for the supplies for the war, and to settle the succession, but they were doomed to be disappointed. The Scotch had objects of their own to gain, and they determined to make no compliances till they were yielded. A letter from the queen, instead of an opening speech, was read, in which she implored them to avoid all contentions, and to settle the succession in the protestant line, so that their enemies should have no further motives for sending their secret emissaries amongst them. On her part, she declared that she was ready to grant them anything that they could reasonably desire.

The duke of Hamilton replied to these promises by point-blank declaring that they would not name a successor to the crown until a good treaty concerning commerce and other things was agreed upon. This was plain enough, but Fletcher of Saltoun went much further, and made a very lamentable description of the many hardships and impositions which the Scotch had suffered since the union of the kingdoms under one crown, and he called upon the parliament to grant no concessions till they had secured their own rights. He had willing listeners, who were smarting under the recollection of their Panama enterprise. The earl of Rothes moved that the parliament should not even discuss the duke of Hamilton's proposal for a treaty of commerce till they had first taken all necessary precautions for the security of the nation's rights, liberties, and independence. Accordingly, on the motion of Sir James Falconer, it was resolved that they would not proceed to the nomination of a successor till they had previously settled the treaty with England, and that they would not name the successor till the necessary limitations on the crown had been made. This was immediately followed by a motion of the duke of Athol, who was at the bottom of all this violent policy, demanding that her majesty should be desired to send down all the papers relating to the late conspiracy, in order that all those unjustly accused might be able to clear themselves. The object of the duke, however, was less to clear himself than to condemn the duke of Queensberry, who had been notoriously in secret intercourse with Frazer, who had before done Athol the most mortal injury, and ought to have been seized as a traitor the moment he had presented himself, whereas, on the contrary, he had been permitted to aim a still more ominous blow at the duke's head. The marquis of Tweeddale replied that he had already written for these papers, and would write for them again. Nothing, however, came of it: the people out of doors continued to cry that many of their countrymen had been unjustly condemned in England as accomplices in this conspiracy, and the queen's ministers as perseveringly ignored the demand, knowing that it could only tend to excite a great flame in Scotland. It was, however, deemed a matter of prudence to dismiss Queensberry from his office.

The duke of Hamilton only the more vehemently returned to the proposal to pass to the consideration of the limitations on the crown and the treaty of trade, naming commissioners to treat with England. Nothing was to take precedence of these subjects except the granting a land-tax to pay the forces necessary for Scotland. As Hamilton and Athol were strongly suspected of leaning towards the pretender, the earl of Marchmont at once moved that they should pass an act to exclude for ever all popish successors from the throne. This produced a violent retort from Hamilton and his party. The lord chief justice then brought up a bill of supply, but to this there was a particular provision, which had been brought forward as a separate act in the preceding session, but refused signature by the queen, namely, "that if the queen should die without issue, a Scottish parliament should presently meet, and should declare the successor to the crown, who should not be the same person that was possessed of the crown of England, unless before that time there should be a settlement made in parliament of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent of the English councils." Besides this there was another clause—that the Scotch should be at liberty to arm and train soldiers for the defence of the country; and the whole was agitated with so much vehemence and heat that, though the presbyterians were perfectly agreeable to the settling the protestant succession, they were overawed, the dukes of Hamilton and Athol keeping the whole nation in a state of furious excitement.



ST. JAMES'S PALACE IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

This popish and Jacobite faction had, in fact, now carried their insolence so far as to menace the crown with setting up a separate king if their unreasonable demands were not unconditionally complied with. For it was not a fair and temperate decision and cession of the real rights of Scotland which they wanted, and which they might have had, but their aim was to embarrass the English government and compel it to submit to a position of menace of a rival sovereign at any moment that they pleased. William would have lain quiet, as he did in similar difficulties in the commencement of his reign with that country, and have left the troops unpaid, and Scotland itself to feel the inconvenience of its position; but the ministers of Anne were alarmed. The people were parading the streets of Edinburgh, threatening to sacrifice all who should dare to prove traitors to their country and succumb to England's designs against their ancient independence; and Godolphin advised Anne to pass the supply bill with this extraordinary tack, which she did. Thus Scotland was, in fact, severed from England, and was authorised to set up a new monarch on the death of the queen in opposition to one chosen by England. So disgraceful a concession to the menaces of a faction had not been seen in England for generations. Godolphin would have certainly fallen a just victim of his baseness at this moment but for the wonderful news of the successes of Marlborough coming thick and fast, and filling the public mind. As it was, the English tories printed and circulated the Scottish Security Bill to show that the two countries were really separated in the most absolute manner. At the same time this disgraceful concession only encouraged the Jacobite faction, which returned again to the demand to have all the papers regarding the Frazer plot, and denounced the interference of the English house of lords in the matter as an encroachment on the independence of their nation. The only mode of putting a stop to the fierce demands of the faction was to prorogue the parliament, which was done.

Marlborough had left London for the Hague this year, on the 15th of January, whilst the English parliament was sitting. He was promised fifty thousand British troops under his own immediate command, and he was planning a campaign which gave the first evidence of a real military genius being at the head of the allied forces since these Dutch wars began. He saw that the elector of Bavaria, by his alliance with the French, was striking at the very heart of the empire, and that, if permitted to continue his plans, he would soon, with his French allies, be in possession of Vienna. Nothing could be more deplorable than the condition of Austria. Besides the successes of the elector of Bavaria, the insurgents of Hungary were triumphant, and between the two the empire was on the verge of ruin. The elector of Bavaria had possessed himself of all the places on the Danube as far as Passau, and should he come to act in concert with the Hungarians, Vienna would be lost. Prince Eugene put himself in communication with Marlborough, and these two great generals determined on striking a blow which should at once free Austria from its dangers. This was no other than a bold march of a powerful army to the Danube, and the destruction of the elector of Bavaria.

This was a design so far out of the mediocre range of Dutch campaigns that it was determined not to let its real character become known till it could be instantly put in execution, certain that the States-General, terrified at so daring a scheme, would prohibit it at once. To go securely to work, therefore, by the advice of Eugene, the emperor applied to the queen of England to send an army to his rescue. Marlborough supported the application with all his energy, and, having procured the queen's consent, he left England on the 14th of January, was in the Hague on the 19th, and put himself into secret communication with the grand pensionary Heinsius. He fully approved of the scheme, and promised to give it his most strenuous support. It was thought, however, imprudent to confide the real extent of the plan to any other persons, not only because it was sure to alarm the States-General, but because it had been all along observed that every proposal, once known to the government or heads of the army, was immediately, by concealed traitors, made known to the French. The proposal made to the States-General, therefore, was merely that the next campaign should be made on the Moselle, as if the design was along that river to penetrate into France.

The States-General, as was expected, appeared thunderstruck by even the proposal of carrying the war to the Moselle, and it was only by the zeal of Heinsius that they were brought to consent to it. That accomplished, they were induced to grant a subsidy to the prince of Baden, and another to the circle of Suabia, and to take into pay four thousand Würtembergers instead of the same number of Dutch and English dispatched to Portugal. There was a promise of money given to the prince of Savoy, with an assurance of so vigorous a campaign on this side the Alps, that the French should not be able to send many troops against him. Similar assurances of co-operation were given to the elector palatine and to the new king of Prussia. These matters being arranged, Marlborough hastened back to England, and persuaded the queen to remit a hundred thousand crowns to Suabia, and to make a large remittance to the prince of Baden out of the privy purse. He then put himself on a good understanding with the now partly whig ministry, himself as well as his indefatigable duchess coming out in whig colours. He then returned to the Netherlands in the beginning of April. He found in his absence that the terms of his design, little of it as was known, had been actively operating in the cautious Dutch mind, and the states of Zealand and Friesland in particular were vehemently opposed to so bold a measure as carrying the war to the Moselle. Marlborough, who had brought with him to support him in command his brother, general Churchill, lieutenant-general Lumley, the earl of Orkney, and other officers of distinction, told the States plainly that he had the authority of his queen for taking such measures as he thought best for the common cause, and that he was determined to march with his forty thousand men to the Moselle. This struck with silence the opposers of the measure: the States consented with a good grace to the proposition, and gave him such powers as they never would have done had they any idea to what an extent he meant to use them. Prince Eugene alone, who was commanding the allied army on the Upper Danube, was in the secret. Leaving Auverquerque with a strong force to guard the frontiers of Holland, he commenced at once his march to Utrecht, where he spent a few days with Albemarle, thence to Ruremonde, and so to Maestricht, and on the 8th of May advanced to Bedburg, in the duchy of Juliers, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous. There he found general Churchill with fifty-one battalions, and ninety-two squadrons of horse. He was there waited on by the prince of Saxe-Zeist, the envoy-extraordinary, M. Brianzoni, the bishop of Raab, and other dignitaries of the church from Cologne, and he sent by them to the elector of Treves, informing his highness that he should require to pass the Rhine at Coblentz, and requested him to see that a bridge of boats was laid across the river, so that his army might pass without delay, which would be an advantage to his highness's territory, while their detention would tend to exhaust it. Being joined by various detachments of Prussians, Hessians, Lunenburgers, and others, and also by eleven Dutch battalions, Marlborough, on the 19th of May, commenced his great expedition into the heart of Germany. The very next day, being at Kerpen, he received an urgent dispatch from Auverquerque, imploring him to halt and send him back reinforcements, as the French had crossed the Meuse at Namur, and were menacing Huy. The French, in fact, imagined that he meant to besiege Traerbach, and to attempt an entrance into France along the Moselle, and this movement towards Huy was to draw him off; but he took no notice of it, only encouraging Auverquerque to stand firm, assuring him he was in no danger. At the same time came an equally urgent express from the prince of Baden, desiring him to hasten his march towards the lines of Stollhoffen, as Villeroi was marching on the Rhine. Marlborough was not to be drawn from his own plans. He dispatched letters to Auverquerque and the prince of Baden to appease their alarms, and maintained his march to Kalsecken. He visited the fortifications of Bonn, where he received information that Tallard had passed the Rhine, sent forward to the elector of Bavaria ten thousand men, and then fallen back on his old position near Strasburg. This quickened his motions: on the 26th he was at Coblentz, and from the grand old fortress of Ehrenbreitstein he watched the passage of his army over the Moselle and the Rhine. He wrote to the States-General for fresh reinforcements in order to secure his most important movement, and marched along the banks of the Rhine to Broubach. There he also wrote to the king of Prussia, praising the Prussian troops, and entreating him to send him more of them. While he was at Mainz, he halted a day to rest his troops, and there received the agreeable news that the States were sending after him twenty squadrons, and eight battalions of Danish auxiliaries; but at the same time he was mortified to find that the prince of Baden had managed so badly as to allow the ten thousand troops forwarded by Tallard to join the elector of Bavaria without molestation, and had lost the most tempting opportunities, whilst the elector was marching through narrow defiles, of cutting off his march, and reducing him to extremities. In fact, thirty thousand German troops had allowed the elector to quit his camp at Ulm, to pass the narrow defile of Stochach, where he might have most easily been cut off, and to return to his old position with this powerful reinforcement. It showed the absolute need of some better heads than those of these German princes, to bring the conflict to a successful issue. Marlborough was not, however, discouraged. He pointed out to the neighbouring princes where they were to join him with their respective quotas, obtained from the landgrave of Hesse a quantity of artillery, and pushed on towards the Neckar, which he passed on the 3rd of June, and encamped at Ladenburg.

The French were filled with wonder at this march of Marlborough, out far from the usual scene of the English operations, and could not for some time realise the object of it. At one time they expected only an attack on the Moselle, but that river and the Rhine being crossed, they apprehended that his design was to raise the siege of Landau, and this was confirmed by the advance of the landgrave of Hesse to Manheim. But when he crossed the Neckar and advanced on Erpingen, and was continually strengthened by fresh junctions of Prussians, Hessians, and Palatines, they began to comprehend his real object. He waited at Erpingen for the coming up of General Churchill with the artillery and part of the infantry, and he employed the time in sending a dispatch to warn the prince of Baden that Tallard and Villeroi were about to unite their armies, pass the Rhine, and hasten to the support of the elector of Bavaria. He pressed on the prince the extreme consequence of preventing this passage of the French army. He told him that they must not trouble themselves about any damage that Villeroi might do on the left bank of the Rhine, if he could only be kept there, as in that case he felt assured that six weeks would see the army of the elector of Bavaria annihilated, the empire saved.

Marlborough was anxious to keep the prince of Baden engaged on the Rhine, so that he might himself have the co-operation of the far abler Eugene on the Danube. On the 9th he crossed the Neckar again, marched to Mendelsheim, and on the 10th met for the first time prince Eugene of Savoy, who was destined to be for ever connected with his name in military glory. At Hippach Marlborough reviewed his cavalry in the presence of Eugene, who expressed his utmost admiration at their appearance and discipline. He was equally struck with the lively and ardent expression of the countenances of the English soldiers, which Marlborough flatteringly assured him was caused by their pleasure in seeing so renowned a commander. To the mutual mortification of Eugene and Marlborough, the prince of Baden, whom they were anxious to detain on the Rhine, quitted the post where his presence was so much required, and came up and joined them. He was determined to be in the quarter where the greatest share of reputation was to be won, and from his princely rank he did not hesitate to claim the chief command.

This notion of their princely claims, combined with their mediocrity of military talent, has always been the mischief of a campaign in alliance with the small princes of Germany. The whole plan of Marlborough and Eugene was in danger of defeat, and Eugene was compelled to go to the Rhine, and Marlborough to admit of the prince of Baden taking the command on alternate days. He secretly resolved, however, that any actions of consequence should only be entered upon on his own day. Whilst chagrined by these mortifying circumstances, came the news that Auverquerque had been succeeding very indifferently against the French on the Meuse, and that a detachment of Prussian and Suabian troops, who ought to have joined them, had lost their way, and were not likely to be up for some days. On the other hand, Marlborough was consoled amid his vexations by the arrival of count Wratislaw, with a proposal to create him a prince of the empire, and thus give him a rank equal to those who were continually seeking to supersede him in his command, and to give him a place in the diet. Though nothing could be more flattering to Marlborough, he declined accepting this high honour until he had the consent of his sovereign, and intimated that it would be more properly merited by a victory.

Eugene had now taken his departure, and on the 15th of June was at Philipsburg, on the Rhine, and Marlborough felt it time to press on, for the States-General were now continually sending to him alarming accounts of the French, and entreating him to send back part of his army for their defence. Accordingly, on the 20th, he set forward, and passed successfully the narrow, dangerous, and troublesome pass of Geislingen, lying amongst the mountains which separated him from the plains of the Danube. This pass was two miles long, heavy with the deepest mud, and abounding with torrents swollen by the rains. Once through, he came into contact with the forces of the prince of Baden, which were posted at Wertersteppen. On the 24th the united armies reached Elchingen, near the Danube. The elector of Bavaria, who was posted at Ulm, retired, at his approach, along the banks of the Danube to a former encampment of himself and his French allies, in a low and swampy place betwixt Lawingen and Dillingen. Marlborough advanced to the little river Brenz, and encamped within two leagues of the enemy, with his right at Amerdighem and his left at Onderingen. There he waited till the 27th, when his brother, general Churchill, came up with the artillery and part of the infantry. The army now amounted to ninety-six battalions, two hundred and two squadrons, with forty-eight pieces of artillery, pontoons, &c. He still, however, judged it prudent to wait for the Danish horse under the duke of Würtemberg, which were daily expected.

During this delay the elector forestalled the allies in securing the fortress of the Schellenberg, situated on a lofty hill overhanging the town of Donauwerth. Marlborough saw the immense advantage thus gained, and determined, cost what it might, to drive them from this stronghold. It was held by the general count D'Arco, with twelve thousand men, and it was clear that it could not be forced without great loss. But there was no time to delay. So long as the elector held Schellenberg he kept them in check, and was enabled to wait for the arrival of French forces sent to relieve him. The prince of Baden was confounded at the daring of such an undertaking, and strongly opposed it; but Marlborough told him that every day's delay only enabled the enemy to strengthen himself by fresh entrenchments both there and in their swampy camp. On the 1st of July Marlborough, having the command for the day, ordered the assault of the Schellenberg.

The roads were deep and miry. The horses sunk often to their girths, and the artillery and heavy baggage wagons stuck fast, and it was the most terrible labour to get them along. They had defiled along the very front of the elector's camp, and it would have been thought a fine opportunity to attack them in the midst of their arduous passage; but the enemy lay still, and after a struggle, which nothing but the most dogged perseverance could have brought them through, towards evening they came out on fair ground at the foot of the hill on which the Schellenberg stood. Marlborough was quite satisfied, as he contemplated the difficulties of the ascent, that the encounter would be a bloody one, and he made preparations for immediate surgical attention to the wounded, which was rarely done to this time. He selected one hundred and thirty picked men from each regiment, amounting altogether to about six thousand foot and thirty squadrons of horse, and these, with three regiments of Austrian grenadiers, he put in front of the attacking column. At three o'clock in the morning this hardy attempt began. The picked troops advanced to the front of the Schellenberg, crossing, on bridges prepared for the occasion, the deep and rapid stream called the Wernitz, about noon. The Austrian grenadiers were far in the rear, and it was five in the afternoon before the order was given for the column to ascend. It was a murderous prospect for the assailants. The hill was steep and rugged; the ascent was rendered additionally difficult by a wood, a rivulet, and a deep ravine, whilst the summit of the hill was covered with soldiers ready to pour down the most destructive storm of shot, and that with the prospect of an unlimited supply of soldiers and ammunition from Donauwerth and the camp on the other side of the Danube, which was connected with this side by a bridge. Lord Mordaunt, with fifty English grenadiers, led the way as a forlorn hope. Then followed the main column under the command of the Dutch general Goor, but the first line was led on by brigadier Ferguson. Before Marlborough had delivered his last orders, the balls were flying about his ears, and as soon as the column came into range, they were swept down awfully by grape-shot. General Goor and a number of other officers were almost instantly killed, and their men staggered and paused as if ready to give back. But they were encouraged by other officers, and the column continued its ascent till it came to the ravine, where, whilst endeavouring to cross it, the ranks were mowed down by a general discharge of the whole artillery. This was followed by an impetuous charge of French and Bavarian infantry with the bayonet. The officers of the attacking column were nearly all killed, and it appeared likely to be swept down the hill, but a battalion of English guards stood its ground firmly, and restored the courage of the rest, and once more they advanced. D'Arco then gathered in his flanks and threw the whole weight of his soldiery upon them to annihilate them, still pouring murderous discharges of grape into them. It appeared impossible that any body of men could exist under such disadvantages, and the whole column seemed giving way, when general Lumley rushed forward at the head of a body of horse, rallied the failing ranks, and led them again to the charge. During this terrible conflict the assailants had not been sacrificed unavenged. They had exterminated their enemies almost as fast as they came, and at this moment a powder magazine exploding in the camp of the Bavarians, spread such consternation, that the allies, taking advantage of the panic, rushed forward, burst into the entrenchments, and threw the whole force into confusion. This confusion was put to the climax by the Bavarians observing the margrave of Baden ascending the hill from the side of Donauwerth, at the head of the imperial troops. The panic was complete; the French and Bavarians broke in every direction, and made the best of their way down the hill to secure the passage of the bridge over the Danube. The allies gave chase, and made a fearful carnage amongst the fugitives. By the time they reached the bridge, such was the rush and crush to cross it that it gave way. Numbers were plunged into the stream and perished; numbers were driven by the force behind over the banks; numbers were massacred on the spot. Of the twelve thousand troops who had ascended the Schellenberg, only three thousand ever rejoined the elector of Bavaria, but numbers came in as stragglers and joined the allies. There were seven or eight thousand destroyed on that bloody evening. On the part of the allies one thousand five hundred were killed and four thousand were wounded. But the murderous nature of this fearful struggle was, perhaps, more strikingly shown by the number of officers who perished, namely, eight generals, eleven colonels, six-and-twenty captains, amongst whom were the generals Goor and Beinheim, the prince of Bevern, and count Styrum. Amongst the spoils were sixteen pieces of cannon, thirteen pairs of colours, and all the tents and baggage. The conquering force remained in the camp all night, but the sufferings of their wounded were very great, for the night set in wet and stormy. Marlborough, having taken a necessary care for the dressing and comfort of the wounded, himself returned to his camp up the Wernitz.

What was to be expected, from the particular spirit which the prince of Baden had shown, took place. Though he deprecated the attack of the Schellenberg at all, and though he allowed the English to bear the terrible brunt of the ascent, and came up in the rear of the engagement, because he reached the entrenchments before Marlborough himself came up, he claimed the honour of the victory. Had he headed the attacking column, he would have had no other claim but that of a brave officer, for the whole plan of the campaign and the whole plan of the attack of the Schellenberg were Marlborough's. Had the prince had his way there would have been no battle at all. Marlborough repelled the mean attempt to steal his victory with contempt, and spoke some homely truths to the prince. It served the Louvestein faction in the Netherlands, however, with a pretext to injure Marlborough, by casting a medal bearing the portrait of the margrave, and on the reverse the lines of Schellenberg. But all over the world, not excepting Germany, justice was done to Marlborough, and from that moment his name became famous, celebrated in songs even by the French, dreaded by French children, whose mothers' stilled them with the terrible word Malbrouk.

But the French were hastening to prevent the destruction of their Bavarian ally. Marlborough received the news that they had promised to send to the elector, under Tallard, fifty battalions of foot and sixty squadrons of horse of the best troops in France, which should make him stronger than the confederates. These troops had already crossed the Rhine, and were making their way through the Black Forest. At the same time Eugene, though obliged to divide his forces, at once to watch Villeroi on the Rhine and to check the march of Tallard, promised Marlborough that he would do his uttermost to retard the junction. Meantime the elector, in too dangerous a proximity to the victorious army, abandoned Donauwerth, broke up his camp, and retreated towards Augsburg, leaving his own dominions open to the incursions of the allies. Marlborough lost no time in availing himself of the chance. He prepared to cross the deep and rapid river Lech, which was effected on the 7th of July at Gunderkingen.

Marlborough was now in Bavaria, and the garrison at Neuburg retreating to Ingoldstadt, he had the whole of the country at his mercy. He posted his camp at Mittelstetten on the 10th, and sent word to the elector that if he did not choose to come to terms he would do his best to ruin his country; but the elector, strongly encamped under the walls of Augsburg, and promised early succour by the French, made no sign of treating. Marlborough suffered his troops to levy contributions on the country round, and his army lived luxuriously at the expense of the unfortunate Bavarians. The true policy of the allies was to march on the elector, and dispose of him before the French could come up; but for this the margrave of Baden was in too ill a humour. In fact, the two generals were in the worst possible humour with each other, and the consequence was, the obvious interests of the campaign were sacrificed to the feud and jealousy of the generals. Marlborough proposed to march on Munich, the capital, and take it, but the margrave would not furnish the necessary artillery, and the thing was impossible. Marlborough spent five days in taking Rain, a fortress of little consequence. He also dispatched thirty squadrons to assist Eugene in obstructing the march of the French to join the elector. He contrived also to open negotiations with the elector of Bavaria. The envoy of the emperor offered to the elector to restore all his dominions, and pay him a subsidy of two hundred thousand crowns, on condition of his breaking with the French and assisting the emperor with twelve thousand men. But the negotiation came to nothing, for Tallard was now rapidly advancing with his army, and the elector, instead of keeping an appointment with the emperor's envoy, sent him word that since the king of France had made such powerful exertions to support him, he thought himself in honour obliged to remain firm to his alliance.

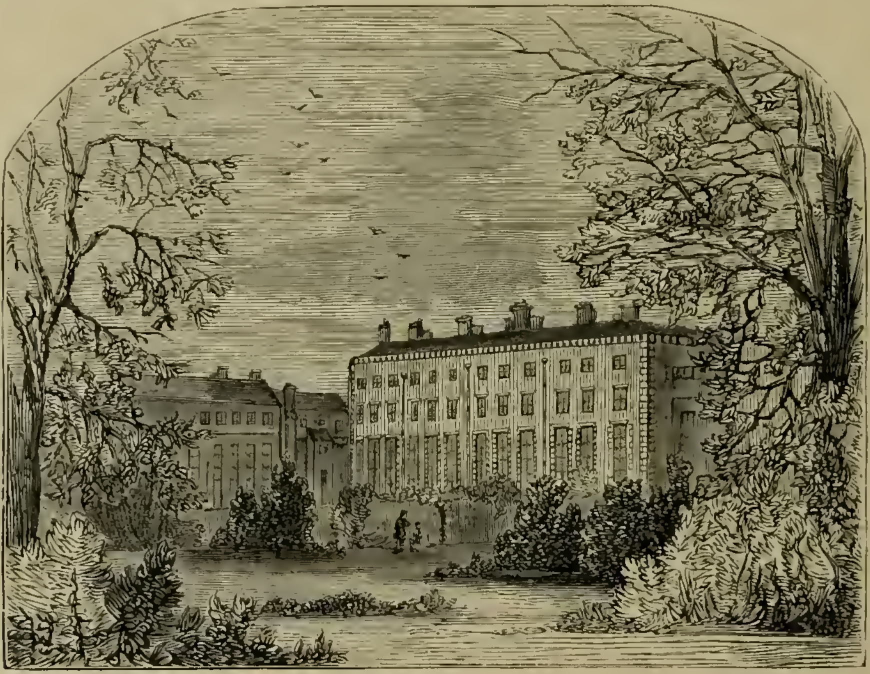
The allied generals were so much exasperated at this result, that they gave up the whole country, as far as the walls of Munich, to the ravages of the soldiery, and three hundred burning towns, villages, and castles marked the terrible fury of the allies, and left an indelible stain on the glories of that campaign. Marlborough professed to feel for the poor people. In writing to the duchess, he said: — "It is contrary to my nature, and nothing but absolute necessity could have obliged me to consent to it; for these poor people suffer for their master's ambition. There having been no war in this country for above sixty years, these towns and villages are so clean that you would be pleased with them." Yet all these innocent towns and villages were destroyed simply to compel the elector to treat. War in any shape is a direful calamity, but war carried on in this style is a war of devils, and not of Christians. The conduct of the allies here sunk them to an equality with the infamy of the French, for their like devastations in the palatinate. How infernal was the mode of war where the lives and homes of a whole country were sacrificed merely to compel terms from a prince, who was at hand for them to attack, and was himself alone the just object of punishment, for assisting the enemies of his country. The elector, horrified at this general destruction of the poor people's houses and property, implored Marlborough to put a stop to these horrible outrages; but Marlborough, notwithstanding his affected pity, only replied that it was in his own power to put a stop to them by coming to terms. The elector, enraged at this answer, declared that as they compelled him to draw his sword, he would now throw away the scabbard.

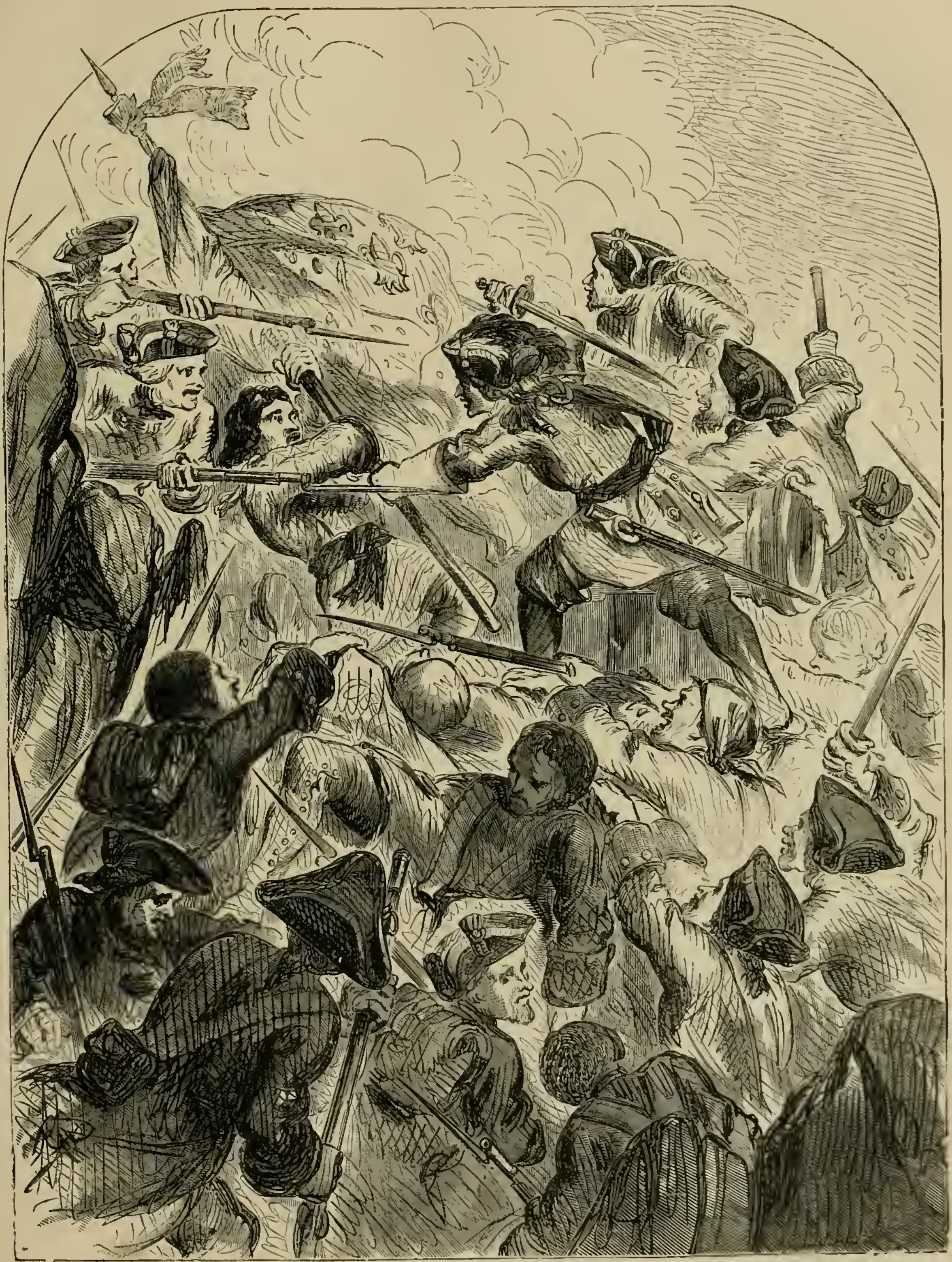
On reconnoitring the elector's camp, they found it so strong that they did not venture to attack it; but their great object should have been, failing that, to prevent the junction of the approaching French army with him. Instead, however, of so posting themselves as to effect their object, they withdrew, and contented themselves with laying siege to Ingoldstadt, to do which they had to cross the Paer, near Schrobenhausen, where they encamped with their left at Closterburg. Meantime, the French army under Tallard was steadily approaching, and, though watched by prince Eugene, was not checked by him, for he had only eighteen thousand men.

Scarcely had Marlborough removed from before Augsburg when the elector quitted his camp and marched to Biberach, and there effected a junction with Tallard.

On the 6th of August prince Eugene galloped into Marlborough's camp to announce this fact, and to take measures for competing with them. It was resolved between them to get rid of the fatal incubus of the margrave of Baden, with his pride and his jealousy, by leaving him to continue the siege of Ingoldstadt, for which purpose they left him twenty-three battalions and thirty-one squadrons. Marlborough then prepared again to cross the Lech and the Danube, and advanced to Exheim. Here prince Eugene, who had set out to bring up his force to form a junction with Marlborough, galloped back to inform him that the united French and Bavarian army was in full march towards Dillingen, evidently intending to fall on the little army of Eugene. It was, therefore, agreed that the troops of Eugene should fall back, and those of Marlborough should cross the Danube to make a speedy junction with them. Eugene took possession of the strong camp on the Schellenberg, and had his main position at Donauwerth. On the evening of the 10th Marlborough began to throw detachments of his army across the Danube—an operation of no little difficulty, owing to his having to cross the Aicha, the Lech, and the Wernitz, as well as the Danube, and all these floods swelled by the rains. The whole of the army, however, was got over at different points on the 11th, and on the 12th Marlborough's baggage and artillery came up.

The English guards were pushed forward towards Schweningen, and Marlborough and Eugene ascended together the tower of a village church, to get a view of the country. There they discovered the French and Bavarians busy marking out a camp betwixt Blenheim and Lutzingen. They saw at once the great advantage they should have by falling on the enemy before they had strongly entrenched themselves, and whilst in the confusion of encamping themselves. No sooner, however, did they issue their orders, than some of the general officers demurred as to the danger of attacking the allies in so strong a position as the one they had chosen. But Marlborough told them that circumstances compelled them to fight, and the sooner the better. Marlborough and Eugene were busy planning the order of the battle, and at two o'clock of the morning of the 13th of August, the forces were in full advance. In another hour they were across the Kessell, with a combined force of fifty-two thousand men, and fifty-two pieces of artillery.


MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, LONDON.



BATTLE OF SCHELLENBERG.

Tallard saw the march of the allied army with great satisfaction. He thought it would now be easy for him to interpose a strong force betwixt Marlborough and the army of the prince of Baden before Ingoldstadt. But the allies did not mean to give him any time for that. They pushed briskly forward over very difficult ground, intersected by rivulets and ditches; and as they were seen at seven in the morning steadily advancing, the French and Bavarians hastily abandoned the new lines which they were forming, and retreated towards their old camp. On still went Marlborough and Eugene, accompanied in advance by a Prussian officer who had fought there the preceding year, and knew well the ground. They found the enemy posted along the rising ground from Blenheim to Lutzingen, with a gap between the villages which they had endeavoured to render secure by posting there a strong body of cavalry At the same time, betwixt Blenheim and the Danube, was made a strong barricade of wagons, behind which were stationed a brigade of dismounted dragoons. Three brigades of cavalry took up their stand in the village, and barricaded all entrances or openings with wagons, felled trees, planks, or whatever could be found. Tallard was in command at Blenheim, the elector of Bavaria and general Marsin at Lutzingen. The castle and church tower at Blenheim were filled with soldiers, and the count Clerambault was ordered to defend the village of Blenheim by his artillery to the last.

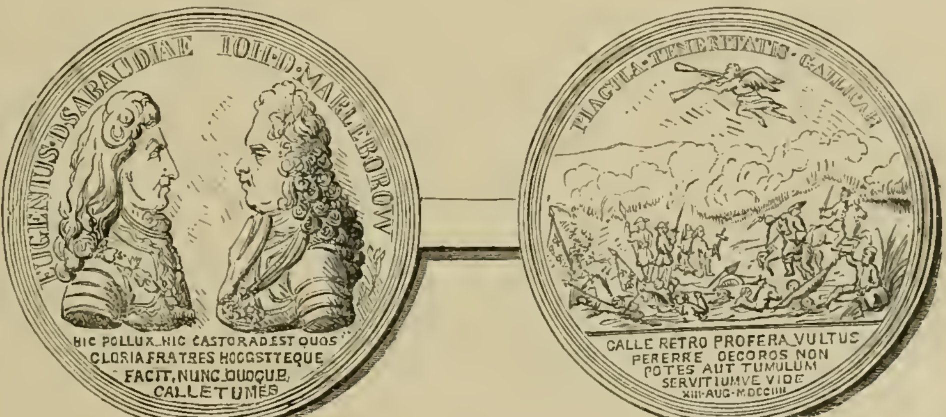
Against this position, defended by fifty-seven thousand men, or about five thousand more than the allies, advanced the confederate army. In front of the enemy also ran the little river Nebel, which was deep, and the bottom muddy. Marlborough led on the left wing against Blenheim, and Eugene the right against Lutzingen. The first of the army to cross the Nebel and advance against Blenheim was a body of English and Hessians under major-general Wilkes and lord Cutts. Cutts, who was famous for a storm, was ordered to make an impetuous attack on the village; and, getting across the Nebel by means of fascines, he led his horse under a terrible fire of grape right against the palisadoes and barricades. The French poured into the assailants, however, such a storm of grape. as mowed down great numbers of officers and men, amongst whom was general Rowe, who had advanced to the very face of the palisadoes, with his lieutenant-colonel and major. The English in the van were thrown into confusion and assailed by three squadrons of gendarmes; but the Hessians advanced to their aid, and the French were driven back to their lines. Lord Cutts then led on his horse, and maintained a desperate fight under the fire of the protected French. Whilst they were engaged in this deadly *melée*, the brigades of Hudson and Ferguson had crossed the stream, and marched right up to the village, silencing some batteries which commanded the fords of the river. The fight was maintained hand to hand, the opponents thrusting at each other through the insterstices of the palisadoes; but the contest was too unequal betwixt the covered and uncovered, and with the soldiers from the old castle and the church tops pouring down showers of musket balls on the allies.

During this time Marlborough had been leading another body of troops along the banks of the Nebel, and joining them under a terrible fire of grape opposite to the gap betwixt the villages, and only waiting to bear on that point for the artillery, under the prince of Holstein-Beck, getting over the river. The prince no sooner had got partly across the stream, than his advance was furiously attacked by the Irish brigade, which was in the pay of Louis XIV. They cut the advance nearly to pieces, and would have effectually prevented the transit of artillery, had not Marlborough himself hastened to the spot and beaten them off, as well as heavy bodies of French and Bavarian cavalry. He then posted a body of horse along the river to protect the crossing of the forces.

Lord Cutts during this had fallen back from the entrenchments of the village, finding it impossible to clear a way into it without artillery. But the artillery over, Marlborough united his forces with those of Eugene, which were bearing on Lutzingen, and was preparing for his grand design of cutting the French and Bavarians asunder, by throwing his whole weight on the cavalry posted betwixt the villages. It was not, however, till five in the afternoon that he was able to lead on the attack, consisting of two columns of horse supported by infantry. He dashed rapidly up the hill towards the important point, on which was concentrated Tallard's cavalry and part of the infantry from the village. Marlborough gained the summit of the hill under heavy loss, but there the enemy stood in such solid force, that he was driven back for a hundred paces. The heat of the battle was at this point, and if Marlborough had been compelled to give way, there was little chance of succeeding against the enemy, but he returned with all his vigour to the charge; by this time his artillery had gained the summit, and after a desperate struggle the fire of the French began to slacken. So soon as he perceived that, he made a grand charge, broke the horse, and cut to pieces or made prisoners of seven regiments of infantry.

Tallard, seeing his cavalry in flight, and his infantry fast overpowering, despatched messengers to call the elector to his aid, and to order up the rest of the infantry from Blenheim. But the elector was in full engagement with Eugene, and found enough to do to maintain possession of Lutzingen. Nor did Marlborough allow time for the coming up of fresh enemies. He attacked Tallard with such impetuosity, and such an overwhelming force of cavalry, that he was completely disorganised, and, turning his horse, galloped off towards Sonderheim, another part of his cavalry making for Hochstadt. Marlborough pursued Tallard at full speed, slaughtering his men all down the declivity towards the Danube, where they had thrown over a bridge between Hochstadt and Blenheim; but being so pressed, and at the same time attacked in the flank, numbers were forced into the river and perished. Tallard, being surrounded, and his son killed, was compelled to surrender near a mill behind the village of Sonderheim, together with the marquis of Montperous, general of horse, the majors-general de Seppeville, de Silly, de la Valiere, and many other officers. Those who fled towards Hochstadt fared little better. They became entangled in a morass, where they were cut to pieces, drowned in the Danube, or made prisoners, except the celebrated brigade of Grignan and some of the gendarmes, who regained the heights of Hochstadt.

Meantime prince Eugene had been sharply engaged with the elector of Bavaria at Lutzingen, and after receiving several repulses, had succeeded in driving the elector out of Lutzingen, and, turning his flank, he posted himself on the edge of a ravine to mark the condition of the field in general. He there received a message from Marlborough to say that he was now able to come to his assistance if he needed it; but the prince replied that he had no need of it, for the forces of Marsin and the elector were driven out of Lutzingen and Oberclau, and that his cavalry were pursuing them to Morselingen and Teissenhoven, whence they retreated to Dillingen and Lawingen. Marlborough dispatched a body of cavalry to Eugene near the blazing village of Lutzingen; but the darkness now settling down, the commander, amid the smoke of powder and of the burning village, mistook the troops of Eugene for the Bavarians and wheeled round, so that the opportunity was lost of inflicting fresh injury on the fugitives.


EUGENIUS·D·SABAUDIAE IOH·D·MARLEBOROW
HIC POLLUX HIC CASTOR ADEST QUOS GLORIA FRATRES HOCGSTTEQUE FACIT, NUNC QUOQUE CALLE TUMES
PLAGA·TEMERITATIS·GALLICAE
CALLE RETRO PROFER A VULTUS PERERRE DECOROS NON POTES AUT TUMULUM SERVITIUMVE VIDE
XIII·AUG·MDCCIIII

MEDAL STRUCK IN HONOUR OF MARLBOROUGH AND EUGENE, AFTER THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM.

There were still twelve thousand men unsubdued in Blenheim, and Marlborough began to surround the place. These troops had lost their commander, Clerambault, who had been carried away in the rush down the hill and was drowned in the Danube; but the troops still made a vigorous resistance. Every minute, however, they were become more hemmed in by troops and artillery. Fire was set to the buildings, and every chance of escape was cut off. For some time they maintained a killing fire from the walls and houses; but as the flames advanced they made several attempts at cutting through their assailants, but were driven back at every point. They finally offered to capitulate, but Marlborough would hear of nothing but of an unconditional surrender, to which they were obliged to assent. Besides these, whole regiments had laid down their arms, and begged for quarter. "Such," says Voltaire of this signal defeat of his countrymen, "was the celebrated battle which the French call Hochstadt, the Germans Plentheim, and the English Blenheim. The conquerors had about five thousand killed and eight thousand wounded, the greater part being on the side of prince Eugene. The French army was almost entirely destroyed; of sixty thousand men so long victorious, there never assembled more than twenty thousand effective. About twelve thousand killed, fourteen thousand prisoners, all the cannon, a prodigious number of colours and standards, all the tents and equipages, the general of the army and one thousand two hundred officers of mark in the power of the conqueror, signalised that day! The fugitives dispersed in all directions; more than a hundred leagues of country were lost in less than one month. The whole of Bavaria, falling under the yoke of the emperor, experienced all the rigour of the irritated Austrian government, and all the rapacity and barbarity of a victorious soldiery. The elector, flying for refuge to Brussels, met on the road his brother, the elector of Cologne, driven, like himself, out of his state; they embraced in a flood of tears. Astonishment and consternation seized the court of Versailles, so long accustomed to prosperity. The news of the defeat arrived there in the midst of the rejoicings for the birth of a great grandson of Louis XIV. Nobody dared to inform the king of so cruel a truth. Madame de Maintenon was obliged to tell his majesty *that he was no longer invincible.*"

Thus was annihilated at a blow the invincible army of France, which was to have seized on Vienna, destroyed the empire, and placed all Germany and the continent under the feet of Louis. The event had fully justified the bold design of Marlborough; instead of fighting the enemy in detail he attacked him at his very heart, and closed the campaign by a single master-stroke.

Soon after the battle three thousand Germans, who had been serving in the French army, joined the allies, and on the 19th of August, six days after the battle, Marlborough and Eugene began their march towards Ulm. Three days before that the garrison of Augsburg had quitted that city, and Marlborough and Eugene called on the prince of Baden to leave a few troops at Ingoldstadt to invest it, as it must now necessarily surrender, and to join him with the rest of his forces, that they might sweep the enemy completely out of Germany. Marshal Tallard was sent under a guard of dragoons to Frankfort, and Marlborough encamped at

Scfillingen, near Ulm. There he and Eugene were joined by Louis of Baden, and, leaving a sufficient force to reduce Ulm, the combined army marched towards the Rhine. At Bruchsal, near Philipsburg, the prince of Baden insisted that they should all stay and compel the surrender of Landau. This was opposed to the whole plans of Marlborough and Eugene, which were to give the French no time to reflect, but to drive them over their own frontiers. The margrave was now more than ever obstinate. The glory which Marlborough had won, and part of which he had tried to filch from him, was extremely galling to him, and especially that so much honour should fall to the lot of a heretic. The generals were obliged to follow his fancy; they allowed the prince to sit down before the place, and Marlborough and Eugene encamped at Croon-Weissingen to support him. This took place on the 12th of September, and the place held out till the 23rd of November, when it capitulated on honourable terms, and the king of the Romans characteristically came into the camp to have the honour of taking the place — so fond are these German princes of stepping into other people's honours instead of winning them for themselves. By this delay the precious remainder of the campaign was lost, and the French had time given them to recover their spirits, and to take measures for holding what was yet left them. After this the confederate army sate down before Traerbach, which surrendered to the hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel in the middle of December, which closed the campaign.

Marlborough had not waited for these insignificant operations, but had proceeded to Berlin to engage the king of Prussia to suspend his claims on the Dutch, and to enter more zealously into the alliance for the perfect clearance of the French from Germany. He prevailed on the king to promise eight thousand troops for the assistance of the duke of Savoy, and to be commanded by the prince Eugene; and he exerted himself with the emperor to effect a settlement with the insurgents in Hungary, but his own triumphs stood in the way of his success. The emperor, since Marlborough's victories, was so elated, that he would listen to no reasonable terms. The emperor, however, complimented Marlborough, and sent him a letter announcing that he was made a prince of the empire. What Marlborough, however, listened to far more eagerly than the honour, was an estate suitable to the dignity, and he did not hesitate to inform the emperor that it was impossible for him to take his seat in the diet without being in possession of an imperial fief.

From Berlin Marlborough proceeded to Hanover, and paid his court to the family which was to succeed to the crown of England. Thence he went to the Hague, where he was received with high honours by the States-General on account of the victories which he would never have achieved could they have restrained him He arrived in England in the middle of December, carrying with him general Tallard and the rest of the distinguished officers, with the standards and other trophies of his victories. He was received with acclaim by all classes except a few ultra tories, who threatened to impeach him for his rash march to the Danube! As parliament had assembled, Marlborough took his seat in the house of peers the day after his arrival, where he was complimented on his magnificent success by the lord keeper. This was followed by a deputation with a vote of thanks from the commons, and by similar honours from the city. But perhaps the most palpable triumph of Marlborough was the transferring of the military trophies which he had taken from the Tower, where they were first deposited, to Westminster Hall. This was done by each soldier carrying a standard or other trophy, amid the thunders of artillery and the hurrahs of the people; such a spectacle never having been witnessed since the days of the Spanish Armada.

Besides the victories of Marlborough, there had been successes at sea, and one of them of far more consequence than was at the time imagined, namely, the conquest of Gibraltar. An army had been dispatched to Portugal under the duke of Schomberg and the Dutch general Fagel. It was expected that the king of Portugal would have had all in readiness for a vigorous campaign, but it was found that nothing whatever had been done. The few Portuguese troops were raw, undisciplined peasants; the French had, moreover, managed to buy up all the best horses, so that the cavalry could not be properly mounted. To make matters still worse, Schomberg and Fagel were on the worst of terms. The king of Portugal was to be ready to march with the six thousand Dutch and English troops by the middle of May into Spain; but it was the beginning of June before they were in action, and they then found that, instead of being invaders, they were themselves invaded by the duke of Berwick, natural son of James II., and nephew of Marlborough.

Whilst the so-called king Charles of Spain and the king of Portugal were at Santarem, issuing proclamations and inviting the Spaniards to join the standard of their rightful monarch, Charles of Austria, the duke of Berwick entered Portugal and took the town of Segura, and in quick succession also mastered Salva-Terra, Cebreros, Zelredo, and Lhana la Viella. At the same time Portugal was also entered at different places by the marquis of Jeoffreville, prince De Tilly, and the marquis Villadarias. Two Dutch battalions surrendered to Berwick at Sodreira Formosa, and king Philip himself arriving in the army, he invested Portalegre, and made prisoners an English regiment of foot under colonel Stanhope. Soon after he besieged and took Castle Davide.

The marquis Das Minas, on the other hand, entered Spain with fifteen thousand men, and took Fuente Grimaldo, in Castille, defeated a body of French and Spaniards commanded by Don Ronquillo, and made himself master of Mansiento. During the intense heat of the summer both armies retired into quarters, and after the return of the cooler season little more was done. King Charles and the king of Portugal made, indeed, as if they would invade Spain; but, on arriving on the banks of the Agueda, they found them so well guarded that they did not attempt to force a passage. Such was the contemptible campaign for the throne of Spain. Schomberg was so disgusted with the service, finding that his advice was totally lost on the imbecile ministry of Spain, that he begged to resign his command, and the old Huguenot Ruvigny, the earl of Galway, was sent in his place.

The success in this quarter was achieved by the English, though its full value was not at once perceived. Sir George

Rooke having landed king Charles at Lisbon, sent rear-admiral Dilkes with a squadron to cruise off Cape Spartel, and himself, by order of the queen, sailed for the relief of Nice and Villa Franca, which were supposed to be in danger from the French under the duke of Vendôme. King Charles at the same time desired him to make a demonstration in his favour before Barcelona, for he was assured that a force had only to appear on that coast and the whole population would declare for him. Rooke, accordingly, taking on board the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, who had formerly been viceroy of Catalonia, sailed for Barcelona, and invited the governor to declare for his rightful sovereign, king Charles. The governor replied that Philip V. was his lawful sovereign. The prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, however, assured the admiral that there were five to one in the city in favour of king Charles, and Rooke allowed the prince to land with two thousand men, but there was no sign of any movement in favour of Austria. The Dutch ketches then bombarded the place with little effect, and the troops were re-embarked lest they should be fallen upon by superior numbers. On the 16th of June, Rooke being joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, they sailed to Nice, but found it in no danger, and they then went in quest of the French fleet, which Rooke in the preceding month had caught sight of on their way to Toulon. On the 17th of July a council of war was held in the road of Tetuan, and it was resolved to make an attempt on Gibraltar, which was represented to have only a slender garrison. On the 21st the fleet came to anchor before Gibraltar, and the marines under the command of the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt landed on the narrow, sandy isthmus which connects the celebrated rock with the mainland, and called on the governor to surrender. Though cut off from relief from the land, and with a formidable fleet in the bay, the governor stoutly replied that he would defend the place to the last extremity.

The next day Rooke gave orders for cannonading the town. On the 23rd, soon after daybreak, the cannonading commenced with terrible effect. Fifteen thousand shots were discharged in five or six hours; the South Mole head was demolished, and the Spaniards driven in every quarter from their guns. Captain Whitaker was then ordered to arm all the boats and assault that quarter. Captains Hicks and Jumper, who were nearest the mole, immediately manned their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. They were soon, however, treading on a mine, which the Spaniards exploded, and which killed two lieutenants, and about a hundred men were killed or wounded. But Hicks and Jumper seized a platform and kept their ground till they were supported by captain Whitaker with the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt between the town and the mole. Then the governor capitulated, and the prince of Hesse entered the place with his marines, amazed at once by the strength of the place and the ease with which it had been taken. In fact, this key of the Mediterranean, which has since defied all the united powers of Christendom, was taken in three days, one day of which was rendered almost useless by the fierceness of the wind.

Rooke left the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt and the marines to hold the fortress, and returned to Tetuan to take in wood and water, and again sailed up the Mediterranean. On the 9th of August he came in sight of the French fleet lying off Malaga, and ready to receive him. It consisted of fifty-two great ships and four-and-twenty galleys, under count de Toulouse, high admiral of France, and all clean and in the best condition; Rooke's fleet of fifty-three ships of the line, exclusive of frigates; but they were inferior to the French in number of guns and men, as well as in weight of metal, and, what was worse, they were very foul in their bottoms, and many of them very ill provided with ammunition. Nevertheless, Rooke determined to engage; and on Sunday, the 13th, at ten o'clock in the morning, the battle began and raged till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way. This result must have been much earlier arrived at, but several of the English ships had soon exhausted their powder, and had to draw out of the line. During the afternoon some firing at longer distances was kept up; but at night Toulouse bore away to leeward. The next morning the wind favoured the French, but they did not avail themselves of it, but bore away for Toulon, pursued by Rooke, as well as the foulness of his ships would let him. Not a ship was lost or taken by either side in the battle, but the loss in killed and wounded was great. On the part of the English the killed and wounded amounted to three thousand; on the French it was supposed to reach four thousand, including two hundred officers killed. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who led the van, said that he had never seen a sea-fight so furiously contested. The effect of the battle was to render the French shy of coming to any great engagement on the sea during the remainder of the war. Notwithstanding this, Louis XIV. claimed the victory, and the French academy struck a medal in honour of the occasion, which, if it tended to deceive the more ignorant French themselves, did not deceive the world.

Rooke, having chased Toulouse into Toulon, sailed to his grand conquest of Gibraltar to refit, and thence, leaving Sir John Leake with a squadron to protect the coast of Portugal, he returned to England. Towards the end of October Villadarias, who was sent by the Spaniards to retake Gibraltar, presented himself before it with an army, and began to invest it. The siege lasted four months, without making any impression. As Villadarias was unsuccessful, the marquis de Tessé was sent from France to supersede him, but with as little effect. The garrison was commanded with great spirit and ability by the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, and was supplied with provisions from Lisbon. To cut off these supplies, a fleet under admiral de Pointes was sent into the bay, but which quickly retired on the approach of Sir John Leake and admiral Vanderdussen, and the attempt to recover the place was abandoned.

The parliament of England met on the 29th of October, and the queen congratulated the two houses on the remarkable success which had attended her arms, and trusted that it would enable her to secure the great objects for which they fought—the liberty of Europe. She encouraged them to carry on their debates without contentions, and avowed her determination to be kind and indulgent to all her subjects. But nothing could prevent the animosity which raged betwixt the whig and tory factions showing itself. The lords congratulated her majesty on the glorious victories of Marlborough, without noticing at all those of Sir George

Rooke; and the commons, to whose party Rooke, an old tory, belonged, exalted his exploits to an equality with those of Marlborough. In fact, the conquest of Gibraltar was a far more substantial victory to England than that of Blenheim.

Notwithstanding the queen's promise of being kind and indulgent to all her subjects, there was a strenuous attempt again to carry the occasional conformity bill. At the suggestion of Mr. William Bromley it was tacked to the land-tax bill, and was so sent up to the peers. The queen went to the house of lords to hear the debate, where she heard Tenison, the archbishop of Canterbury, honestly and boldly denounce the illiberal and persecuting spirit which had suggested such a bill. "The employing of persons," he said, "of a religion different from that established in civil services had been practised in all countries where liberty of conscience had been allowed. We have already gone further in excluding dissenters than any country has done. Whatever reasons there were to apprehend our religion in danger from papists when the Test Act was passed cannot be applicable to the dissenters at present. On the contrary, manifest inconveniences result from this exclusion." This praiseworthy language was strongly echoed out of doors by De Foe, whose pen was never idle on such occasions, and the court now seemed to be convinced that it had gone too far. Godolphin, who had on former occasions voted for it, now opposed it, and the lords threw it out by a majority of one-and-twenty votes.

The conduct of the late Scottish session next came under discussion. The weakness of ministers in allowing them to pass the insolent security bill was commented on in no measured terms. They were taunted with having been afraid of rebellion, and, by encouraging the license of the Scots, in allowing them to pass such a bill, having made a rebellion all the more probable. Lord Wharton boasted openly that he had Godolphin's head in a bag ever since he allowed them to pass that traitorous act; and lord Haversham moved a vote of censure on the ministers in the peers, and was vehemently seconded by the earls of Rochester and Nottingham. Nothing but the favour of Marlborough, who was now all-powerful, bore up Godolphin. He and the rest of the ministers were obliged to join in a set of resolutions by the lords, praying the queen to fortify Newcastle, Tynemouth, Carlisle, and Hull, as if the Scots were really intending an invasion; to call out the militia in the northern counties; to send regular troops thither, and to allow the protestant freeholders to arm themselves. They also prayed the queen would nominate commissioners to carry out the union betwixt the two kingdoms; that the natives of Scotland should not enjoy the privileges of Englishmen until a union was effected, or the succession settled as in England; that the bringing of cattle from Scotland to England should be stopped; that the lord high admiral should be ordered to capture all such Scottish vessels as should be found trading to the ports of France or any other of her majesty's enemies;

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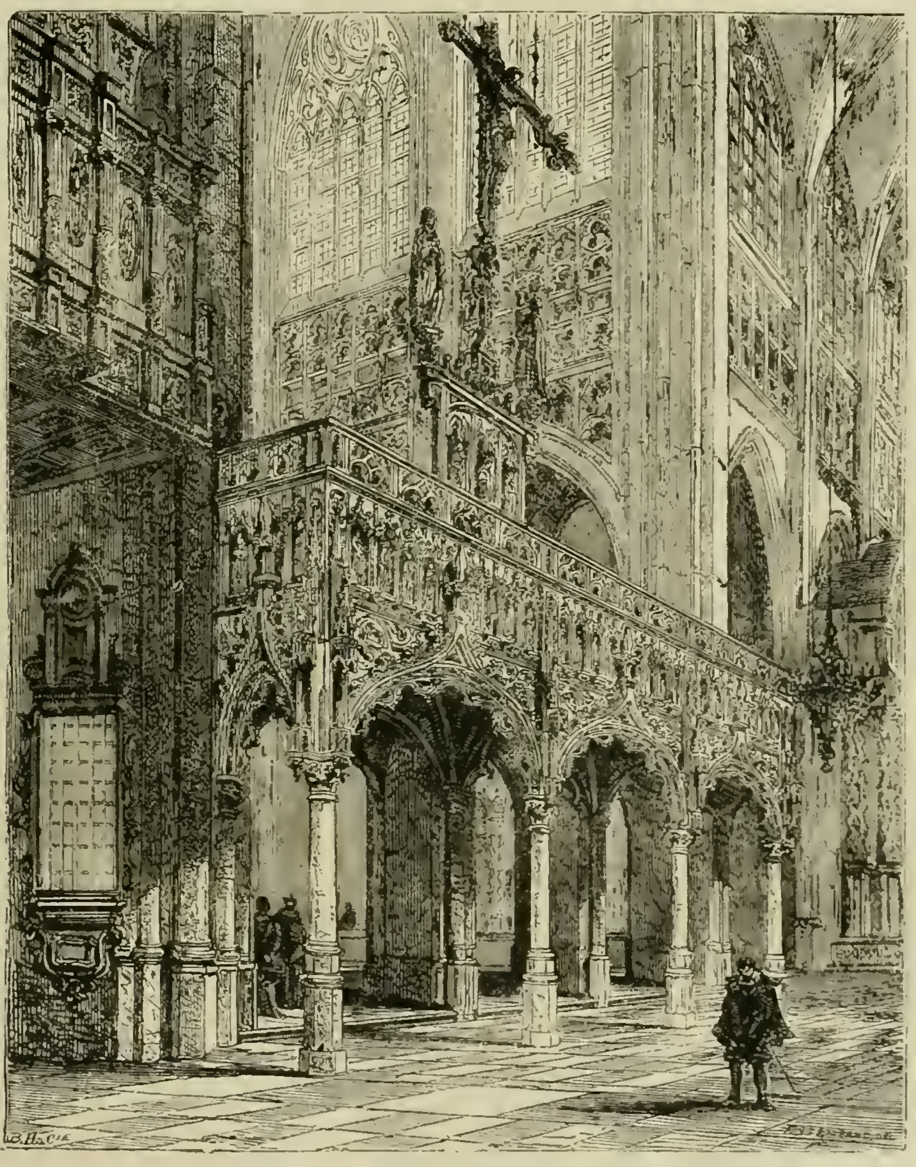
that the exportation of English wool into Scotland should be prohibited. The commons let the bill of the lords embodying these resolutions lie on the table; but they passed a similar one of their own, including a prohibition of Scottish linen in England or Ireland; and the lords were so satisfied with it that they accepted and passed it. The screw was thus put sharply on the Scots in their maritime interests.



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF LOUVAIN.

On the 17th of February, 1705, Anne informed the house that, in consequence of the great services of the duke of Marlborough, she proposed to bestow upon him the splendid crown estate of the manor and honours of Woodstock, with the hundred of Wootton, and requested the necessary grant for clearing off the incumbrances on that estate. These incumbrances consisted of a lease of the lieutenancy and rangership of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manors and hundreds, which were granted for two lives, and must be bought off before the favourites could enter on this fine old property of the crown of England. The two houses soon passed a bill enabling the queen to bestow these manors on the duke of Marlborough and his heirs for ever, and the queen was desired to advance the money for clearing off the incumbrances. This she not only complied with, but ordered the comptroller of the court to build a magnificent palace for the duke, and Vanbrugh, the architect of Castle Howard and Seton-Delaval—poet, also, and dramatist—was appointed to build this pile in honour of the hero of Blenheim.

Every admirer of England's historic remains must regret with the historian of our queens, "that thrice as much of the fattest lands in the island had not been granted, rather than the historical towers and honours of Woodstock." As it was, the lady historian truly says, "Woodstock, with all its Norman antiquities, its memories of the Plantagenets, its nymph-like baths, its mysterious labyrinths, and its haunted bowers, whispering of royal love and queenly vengeance; Woodstock, where the peerless chevalier of the black armour, first-born son of the third Edward, unclosed his eyes to the light; where his mother, Philippa the Good, spent her young married life; Woodstock, which Chaucer sung, and described, with topographical fidelity, every court, every pleasaunce, and every mighty tree therein, and every gothic nook and embrasure; and not only Chaucer, but elder poets of exquisite simplicity have told the tales pertaining to its glades in strains not even now effaced from English memory; yes, the Woodstock of Henry the Beauclerk, and of Henry Plantagenet; the Woodstock of his much-wronged Rosamond, whether wife or deceived *fiancée;* the Woodstock of Edward and Philippa, of the regal Elizabeth, and the beautiful Henrietta—was delivered to Vanbrugh and Sarah of Marlborough as a prey, to be defaced and destroyed; and worse—to load its green glades and lawns with heavy hideousness. The Dutch architect himself, struck with the grandeur of the royal ruins, spared them awhile, for 'the purpose of prospect,' as he said; but she, with the taste of a thorough *parvenue*, never rested until the towers of Woodstock were blasted with gunpowder, and their last vestige effaced from the sight."

Whilst Marlborough received this princely gift for his battle of Blenheim, Sir George Rooke narrowly escaped an impeachment for his winning Gibraltar for his country. As a tory, the whigs pursued him with all their acrimony. The lords, where the whigs prevailed, commenced an inquiry into alleged mismanagements in the admiralty and navy departments, and they found ground enough, or made enough, to get him dismissed and Sir Cloudesley Shovel appointed rear-admiral of England in his stead. Such were the disgraceful actions to which the whigs of that day could condescend in their party malice.

The prisoners of Marlborough, whom Louis XIV. left yet unredeemed—marshal Tallard and the other French generals taken at Hochstadt—were sent, under care of a detachment of the royal regiment of horse guards, to Nottingham and Lichfield, where they were treated with great respect, and permitted to extend their rides to ten miles round the places of their detention.

The two houses of parliament now continued fighting out the remainder of the session with the case of the Aylesbury election. Encouraged by the conduct of the lords and the declaration of lord chief justice Holt—that if any messengers of the commons dared to enter Westminster Hall to seize any lawyer who had pleaded in favour of the Aylesbury electors, he would commit them to Newgate—five fresh electors sued the constables on the ground of their having impeded the lawful exercise of their franchise. The house of commons committed these five persons to Newgate, who thereupon applied to the court of Queen's Bench for a *habeas corpus.* The court refused to interfere. Two of the prisoners then petitioned the queen to bring their case before her in parliament. The commons immediately prayed the queen not to interfere with their privileges by granting a writ of error in this case. She replied that she would not willingly do anything to give them just cause of offence, but that this matter relating to judicial proceedings was of such high importance to the subject, that she thought herself bound to weigh and consider everything relating to it. The commons, fearing from this answer that the queen might be induced to grant the prisoners a writ of error, sent and took them from Newgate, and kept them in the custody of their serjeant-at-arms, at the same time voting all the lawyers who had pleaded in favour of the prisoners guilty of a breach of privilege. The prisoners then appealed to the lords, and the lords, after seeking a conference with the commons to arrive at some conclusion as to the right in this case, but with no result, appealed to the queen, declaring that the commons were assailing the birthright of every subject, and violating Magna Charta by refusing these citizens the right of appealing to a court of justice; and they prayed her to give orders for the immediate issue of the writs of error.

Her majesty assured them that she would have complied with their request, but that it was now absolutely necessary to prorogue parliament, and, therefore, further proceedings, they would see, must be useless. The lords considered this as a triumph, the queen's words implying that they had right on their side, and thus equally implying a censure on the commons. In fact, the queen was glad to get rid of the dilemma and of this troublesome tory parliament at the same time. The same day that the lords waited on her she went to their house and prorogued parliament till the 1st of May; but on the 5th of April she dissolved it by proclamation, and writs were issued for calling a new one.

The queen, having dismissed parliament, went with her husband to Newmarket, and accepted an invitation to visit the university of Cambridge, where, amongst others, she knighted the celebrated mathematical professor, Isaac Newton.

In order to carry the measures in Scotland that were highly necessary, ministers there were changed. The marquis of Tweeddale and Johnstone, who had been found utterly incompetent, were dismissed, and the duke of Queensberry was again restored as lord privy seal, and the young duke of Argyll, who had many good qualities and much ability, as well as some mean traits, was made commissioner. The two great objects which he was instructed to carry was a bill settling the protestant succession, and another authorising a treaty with England for a union. From the violent spirit of opposition displayed during the last session, any one would have deemed these objects hopeless. The parliament was divided into three factions—the cavaliers, or Jacobites, the revolutioners, and the flying squadron, as it was called, who pretended to be independent, but sought their own ends by embarrassing or strengthening the other parties, as suited them. They were headed by the discarded marquis of Tweeddale.

No sooner was the session opened than the old manœuvres commenced. The marquis of Annandale proposed that the question regarding the limitations of government should take precedence of all others, and that a committee should be appointed to consider the condition of the coin and of commerce. The earl of Mar moved that the question of the treaty of England should come on first, but the house decided that the coin and commerce should be considered before it. In short, the oppositionists went through all the topics of obstruction. The object of the cavaliers was to prevent the settlement of the succession, and they, therefore, exerted themselves to carry the act for a treaty of limitation, and they succeeded. Then an act for triennial parliaments was attempted, but failed. Then Fletcher of Saltoun brought forward his republican theories, which would have reduced the crown to a mere nullity; and when the earl of Stair opposed it, Fletcher retorted that it was no wonder that he resisted such a scheme; for, had such an act existed, his lordship would long ago have been hanged for his concern in the massacre of Glencoe. Then they reverted to the conspiracy, and again demanded the documents concerning it; and copies of them being procured, they did nothing with them, except that the duke of Athol again reiterated his charges against the duke of Queensberry for attempting, in conjunction with Simon Frazer, to stamp disloyalty on her majesty's faithful subjects.

After having run the round of these stock complaints, they finally addressed themselves to the subject of the treaty for a union; and though some difficulties were raised as to the act in no way derogating from the rights and privileges of the people of Scotland, and demanding that no proceedings should be taken till the English parliament had rescinded their resolution that the subjects of Scotland should be adjudged aliens after the 25th of December; yet it was soon discovered that the ministers had a majority for the treaty of union; and all at once, to the extreme astonishment of every one, the duke of Hamilton moved that the nomination of the commissioners should be left to the queen. This was a wonderful *finale* of his continued and determined opposition. The fact was that every one now saw that the treaty would be carried, and was anxious to have the honour of being in the commission. The duke of Argyll promised Hamilton that he should be nominated; and when the queen did not consent to this, Argyll refused to allow his name to stand, and threatened to resign. Means, however, were found to appease him, as means had been found to appease the rancour of so many others. The great question of the treaty was carried; the parliament granted a supply of fifty thousand pounds, and the house adjourned to the 20th of December. This being done, the queen declared the earl of Mar secretary of state in the room of the marquis of Annandale, who was made lord president of the council; and thus wonderfully dissipated the angry clouds which for several sessions had hung so menacingly over Scotland.

Marlborough this year went early to the continent. On the 13th of March he embarked for the Hague. He had a splendid plan of operations for this campaign on the Moselle, but he found, notwithstanding his now grand reputation, the usual obstacles to daring action in the Dutch phlegm. Having conquered that, and obtained leave to convey the troops to the Moselle, he was met by a still more mortifying difficulty in the conduct of the prince of Baden, who was at the head of the German contingents. This man had never been cordial since the first successes of Marlborough. He was consumed with a deadly jealousy of his fame, and thought it no use fighting in company with him, as Marlborough would be sure to get all the honours. He therefore hung back from co-operation in Marlborough's plan, pretending illness; which, had the illness been real, should, at such a crisis for his country, have induced him to delegate the command of the forces for its defence to some other general. To add to the difficulties of Marlborough, the inferior French generals, Villeroi and others, who had risen into prominence through the interest of Madame de Maintenon and her priests and Jesuits, were removed from this quarter, and Villars, the most able commander now of the French, sent instead.

At this time died the emperor Leopold. This prince was praised as a very amiable and benevolent man; but his mind was feeble, and, like nearly all that family to the present time, he was the slave of Jesuits and confessors, who led him into persecutions of the protestants, which, with all his professed benevolence, never excited any pity in him. Under the sway of priests, his territories were most wretchedly governed, and his court and government were in the depth of poverty. The atrocities which were perpetrating in Hungary in the endeavour to put down a general insurrection excited by the worst of government, were a scandal to the empire. These circumstances had brought the empire to the very verge of ruin, and the best thing for the nation would have been to let Louis XIV. overrun Austria, and break up the whole imbecile family. In fighting to maintain Austria, we were fighting, not for protestantism, but for the most bigoted and desolating popery; and the only thing to have regenerated the Germans would have been to have allowed them to be trodden on and insulted by the French till their national spirit was aroused, as in after-days at Leipsic. They were numerous enough to defend themselves had they had independence of spirit enough, and princes honest and brave enough. But we were, in fact, endeavouring to prop up trees rotten at the root, and buildings without foundations. Joseph I., who succeeded to the empire, was equally celebrated for amiability, and was equally the weak tool of the Jesuits.

On the 15th of June the English troops under general Churchill crossed the Meuse and advanced towards the Moselle, whilst Marlborough posted to Kreutznach to try what he could do with the unwilling prince of Baden. In the end he seemed to have overcome his backwardness, and in a conference at Rastadt it was agreed general Thungen should be left to defend the lines at Lauterburg and Stollhoffen, and that the prince should join the duke with the main army on the Moselle. The confederate army, therefore, passed the Moselle in this confidence, and the Saar, also, in the beginning of June, and encamped at Elft in sight of the enemy, who retired with the greatest precipitation, and entrenched themselves in the neighbourhood of Königsmarcheren. The intention was to besiege Saar-Louis, but the wretched prince of Baden did not keep his engagement. He had advanced, not with a strong army, but only a small body of imperial troops, to Kreutznach, where he feigned illness, went off to the baths at Schlangenbad, and left the troops in the command of the count Friez. The defection was so barefaced that many began to suspect him of being corrupted by the French; but he was really sick—of Marlborough's renown.

The duke, thus deceived, was unable to carry out his enterprise, and fell back instead of attacking Villars. In his contempt of the prince of Baden, before retreating he sent a trumpet to Villars, saying, "Do me the justice to believe that my retreat is entirely owing to the failure of the prince of Baden; but my esteem for you is still greater than my resentment of his conduct." But though forced to this mortifying expedient, Marlborough saw that he could quickly vindicate his reputation by uniting with the army of the Netherlands, and carrying operations against the enemy there. General Auverquerque had not been able to stand his ground. The French had invested and taken Huy, and Villars had commenced the siege of Liege. Marlborough marched to Triers, where he called a council of war, and it was resolved to drive Villars from the walls of Liege. On the 19th of June the army commenced its march, and proceeded with such expedition that it passed the Meuse on the 1st of July. Villars, on Marlborough's approach, abandoned Liege and retired to Tongres, and thence retreated behind his lines, which extended to Marche aux Dames on the Meuse, along the Mehaigne as far as Lenuève. No sooner did Marlborough come up with Auverquerque than he determined to recover Huy, and sent general Scholten, who reduced it in a few days. To wipe out as quickly the impression of his retreat from the Moselle, he dispatched general Hompesch to the States-General, to demand permission to attack the French lines, which was granted him.

Marlborough then detailed his plan of operation in two successive councils of war, where it was generally approved, but still opposed as rash by some of the Dutch generals. The enemy had manned his lines with a hundred battalions and forty-six squadrons; the forces of the confederates were something more than that in amount, and in order to weaken the enemy on the point where he contemplated his attack, the duke directed Auverquerque to make a feint, as though he were about to attack the lines on the Mehaigne. The ruse succeeded. The French weakened their lines where Marlborough really contemplated the attack, in order to strengthen them in the direction of Namur. All being ready, Marlborough marched in the night betwixt the 17th and 18th of July, to force the lines at Heyselem, the castle of Wange, and the villages of Wange, Neerhespen, and Oostmalen. This succeeded, and after some hard fighting, the duke extended his forces within the French lines as far as Tiylemont, capturing the marquis D'Alegre, count Horne, a major-general, two brigadier-generals, and many other officers, besides ten cannon, and numerous standards and colours. In consequence of this defeat, the elector of Bavaria and marshal Villeroi retreated across the Geete and the Dyle in all haste. Marlborough marched after them, capturing twelve hundred prisoners who could not keep up with the retreating force, and on the 15th was at Mildert, whence he marched the next day to Genappe, and thence to Fischermont, driving in the enemy's post as he advanced. He was now on ground destined to become much more famous in our time. On the 17th Auverquerque had his headquarters at Waterloo, the enemy lying in their front across the roads to Brussels and Louvain, near the wood of Soignies. Here Marlborough proposed to come to a general engagement with them, which would probably have given Waterloo a great name before the duke of Wellington knew it, but here again he was thwarted by the Dutch officers and deputies, and most determinedly by general Schlangenburg. The duke, indignant at this dastardly obstruction of his operations, wrote very plainly to the States-General, complaining of the uselessness of pursuing the campaign if they had yet no confidence in his prudence and military talent. To secure his complaints reaching the Dutch people, he took care that the letter was published in the papers at the Hague, and that similar complaints reached his own court and government. These being made public, roused a storm of indignation against the meddling Dutch field-deputies, who presumed to justify their conduct to the States-General in several letters. But the indignation of both England and Holland soon roused the States-General to a sense of their folly. Hearing that the queen was about to dispatch the earl of Pembroke, the president of the council, as envoy extraordinary to the Hague, to remonstrate on their suicidal conduct, the States-General hastened to apologise to the duke, and to remove Schlangenburg from his command. The opportunity, however, of a decisive blow on the French had been missed, and little was achieved this campaign.

Marlborough, at the earnest entreaty of the emperor, made a journey to Vienna, to concert fresh plans for the war. On his way he was received with great honour by the elector palatine, the authorities of Triers, the magistrates of Frankfort, where he also met the recreant prince of Baden. He was most cordially received at Vienna, where his son-in-law, the earl of Sunderland, was ambassador; and the emperor, receiving hopes of a substantial loan from England, the determination was made to continue the war with vigour. The emperor now conferred on Marlborough the lordship of Mindelheim in Suabia, which was erected into a principality of the empire. Marlborough obtained a promise that prince Eugene should be better supported in Savoy, otherwise he was very poorly supplied with means of defence, much less of aggressive action. In returning the duke again visited Berlin and Hanover, where he endeavoured to excite a more active interest in the great contest; and on the 14th of December he reached the Hague, where the States-General endeavoured to make up their past deficiencies by high personal honours, and promised to furnish an additional ten thousand men to the army of Eugene in Savoy.

On the Upper Rhine, the prince of Baden this summer had the opportunity of showing whether he was a Marlborough or not. Villars passed the Rhine at Strasburg in August, besieged and took Homburg, in the face of the great imperial army under the prince. The prince compelled him to retire, and forced his lines at Hagenau, took Hagenau and Drusenheim, but there his operations ceased, though he had a force amply capable of coping with Villars, and though the emperor endeavoured to arouse him by severe expostulations to the endeavours that were expected from him. The Marborough that he envied in another was not in himself.

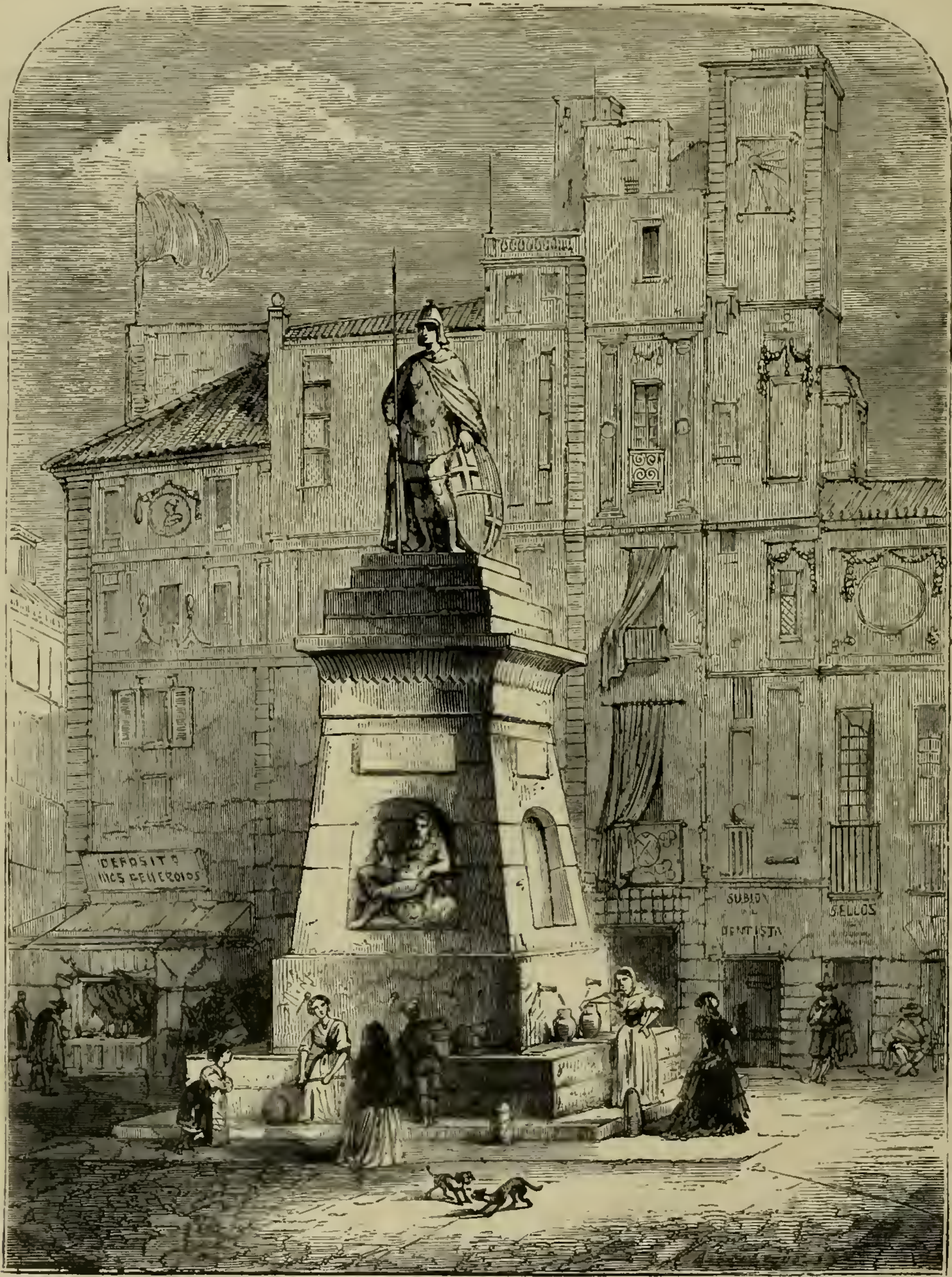
In Italy prince Eugene was left to struggle with a handful of men against numerous French forces under the duke of Vendôme and Feuillade. A battle was fought at Cassano betwixt Vendôme and Eugene, which was indecisive; but the duke de Feuillade took Chivas and Nice. No town of any account was now left to the duke of Savoy but Coni and Turin, his capital; his army was reduced to twelve thousand men, and his duchess, the clergy, and the people generally, implored him to come to terms with France. Nothing, it was evident, but powerful reinforcements on the part of the allies, could save Savoy.

In Portugal the allies had far more brilliant success. The court of Philip had committed a great blunder in sending back to France the duke of Berwick, who had begun to display great talents as a general. On the part of the allies, they, too, were weakened by a want of unity betwixt the earl of Galway, who commanded the English forces, Fagel, who commanded the Dutch, and Das Minas, the general of the Portuguese. These generals invaded Spain by the different frontiers of Beyra and Alantejo. The Conde das Galveas, another general, operated principally from Alantejo. He besieged Valencia and Alcantara in May, and took them by assault. Albuquerque afterwards capitulated, and then the troops went into quarters during the heat. Das Minas, the leader of the Portuguese in the province of Beyra, took Salva-terra, burnt and plundered Sarca, but was obliged to fall back on Panamacos.

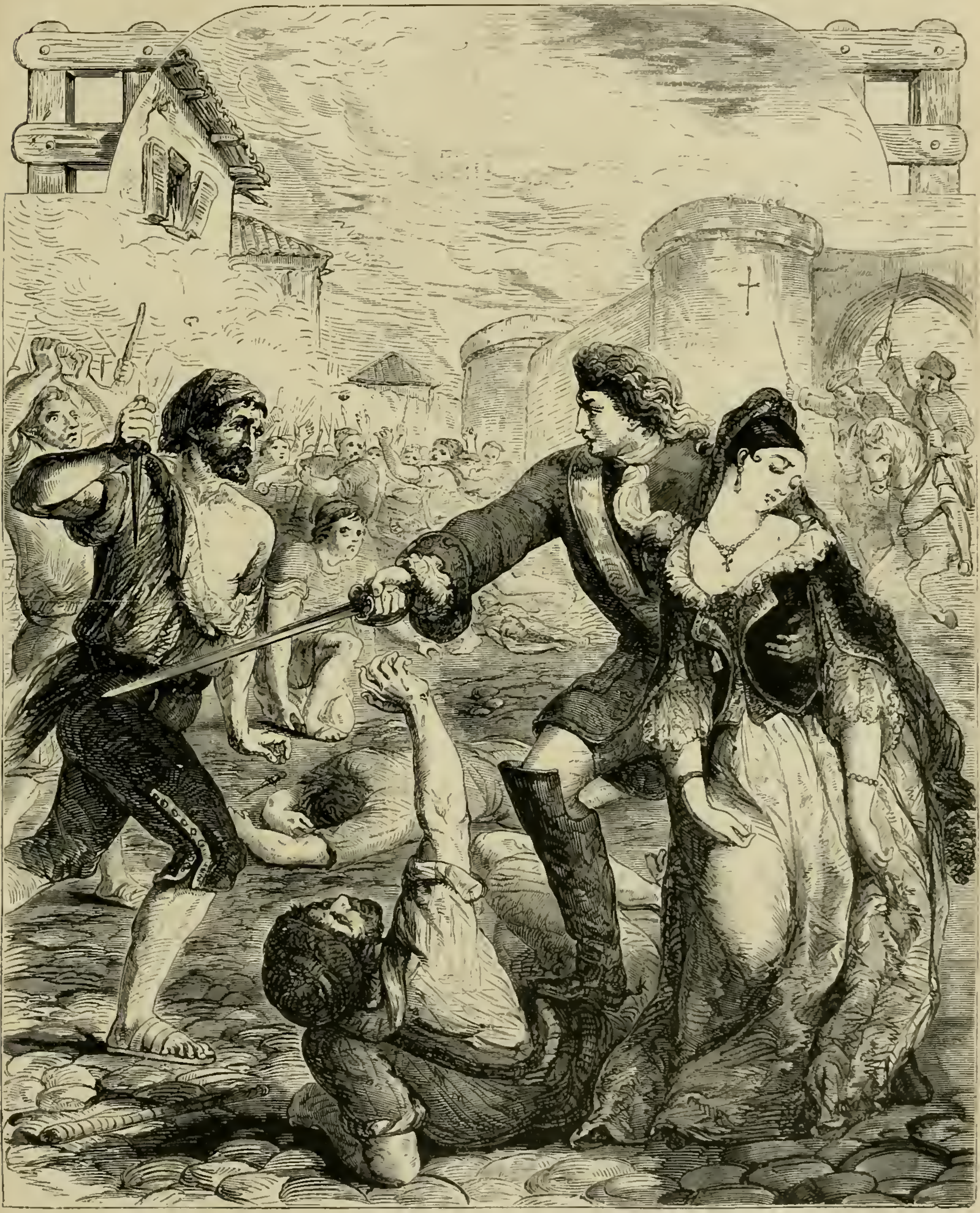
Meantime the Spaniards were making a desperate effort for the recovery of Gibraltar. Marshal Thessé laid siege to it, whilst De Pointes blockaded it by sea. These French officers pushed on the siege with great vigour, and the prince of Hesse Darmstadt sent a despatch to Lisbon, desiring Sir John Leake to hasten to his assistance. Sir John set sail at once with five ships of the line and a body of troops, and on the 10th of March came in sight of five ships of De Pointes, who was evidently aware of him and getting out of the way. Leake gave chase, took one, and drove the rest on shore to the west of Marbella. The rest of the French ships, in the bay of Malaga, made the best of their way for Toulon. The place being thus again open from the sea, the marquis de Thessé withdrew the greater part of his forces, leaving only sufficient to maintain the blockade on land. His presence was needed in another quarter, for the confederates, uniting their forces in Spain, were assuming a more menacing attitude. The earl of Galway had crossed the frontier of Estramadura to support Das Galveas, who, after the capture of Valencia, Alcantara, and Albuquerque, advanced to Badajoz. In the attack on that place, the hand of lord Galway was shot away, and the Spaniards made a desperate resistance until De Thessé could come up in force; and as Das Minas, who should have arrived, did not appear, the confederates were compelled to retire.

But a far more striking demonstration was made from another quarter. This was made on Valencia and Catalonia by the witty and accomplished, and equally unscrupulous earl of Peterborough, formerly known to the reader as lord Mordaunt. This dashing nobleman, become earl of Peterborough by the death of his uncle, was dispatched with reinforcements amounting to five thousand soldiers and a strong fleet under command of Sir Clondesley Shovel. On the 20th of June they arrived at Lisbon, where they were joined by Sir John Leake and the Dutch admiral Allemonde. They proposed to put to sea with eight-and-forty ships of the line, and cruise betwixt Cape Spartel and the Bay of Cadiz to prevent the junction of the Toulon and Brest fleets. But the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who had arrived from Gibraltar, assured them that the people of Catalonia and Valencia were strongly attached to king Charles, and only required the presence of a sufficient force to declare themselves. The adventure was just of the kind to charm the active spirit of lord Peterborough. It was proposed that king Charles should sail with them on board the fleet, and that they should make a descent on Barcelona. Charles, like his brother the emperor Joseph, was the very poorest of kings, but that mattered not: lord Peterborough was rich and equally munificent, and he willingly bore the charge of him and his suite. They sailed with the earl on board the Ranelagh, quitting the Tagus on the 28th of July. The earl of Galway by this time could spare them two regiments of English dragoons. At Gibraltar they put out two newly-raised battalions, and took, instead of them, the English guards and three old regiments. On the 11th of August they anchored in the bay of Altea, and issued a proclamation in the Spanish language, and found that the people flocked in to acknowledge king Charles. They took the town of Denia and garrisoned it for Charles with four hundred men under major Ramos.

Such was the enthusiasm of the inhabitants, that Peterborough proposed to make a forced march right for Madrid at once, and set Charles on the throne without further delay, declaring that he was confident of taking the capital by a *coup de main;* and there is little doubt but he would have succeeded had he had the sole command. But such daring projects, the flashes of genius, only confound matter-of-fact men; the plan was looked on as little short of madness, the adventure was overruled, the fleet sailed, and on the 22nd arrived in the bay of Barcelona. There was a garrison of five thousand men within the town and castle of Barcelona, and the English force amounted to little more than six thousand. But the inhabitants displayed the utmost loyalty to the new king; they received him with acclamations, and the English landed and invested the town. Here again, however, the erratic genius of lord Peterborough startled more orthodox commanders. By all the rules of war the town ought to be taken first, and the castle afterwards; but Peterborough saw that the castle commanded the town, and must be continually inflicting injury on them in the course of the siege. He determined, therefore, not by the laws of war, but of common sense, to take the castle first. None but the brave prince of Hesse Darmstadt took his view of the matter, and to none but him did he, therefore, communicate his plans; but he took a close survey of this strong castle of Montjuic, convinced himself that it was not so well garrisoned as was represented, and that it might be taken by address and promptitude. He instantly began to re-embark some of his troops, as if about to abandon the enterprise, so as to throw the Spaniards off their guard, and then suddenly, on the night of the 3rd of December, dispatched about fourteen hundred by two different routes to attack the castle. He himself, accompanied by the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, led the first of these bodies, general Stanhope the other. It was not till about daybreak that the earl made his attack on the outworks of the castle, and established himself on a platform with a few small fieldpieces and mortars. There they awaited the coming up of general Stanhope, but he had missed his way and did not arrive in time. The governor of the castle, seeing the small number of the assailants, made a headlong sally from the castle, thinking to sweep the rash detachment down the hill, but he found himself mistaken; and whilst lord Peterborough was in close engagement with him, general Stanhope came up, and the governor withdrew within the walls. The English then began to throw bombshells into the castle, and one of these speedily ignited a magazine, and blew it up with a tremendous explosion. The governor himself



VIEW IN BARCELONA: OLD MAN'S FOUNTAIN.



RESCUE OF THE DUCHESS OF POPOLI.

was killed by it, and the garrison in consternation surrendered.

Lord Peterborough could now not only invest the city without annoyance from the castle, but could turn the guns of the castle on the Spaniards, showing the correctness of his ideas in opposition to the red-tape of war. He pursued the siege with such effect, that Velasquez, the governor, agreed to surrender in four days if he did not receive relief in that time; but he was not able to hold out even these four days, for the country swarmed with Miquelets, a sort of lawless Catalans, who declared for the Austrians. Numbers of these, who had assisted the seamen in throwing bombs from the ketches into the city, and in other operations against the town, now clambered over the walls, and began plundering the inhabitants and violating the women. The governor and his troops were unable to put them down. They threatened to throw open the gates and let in whole hordes of the like rabble, to massacre the people and sack the place. Velasquez was, therefore, compelled, before the expiration of the four days, to call in the assistance of the earl of Peterborough himself, who rode into the city at the head of a body of troops with general Stanhope and other officers, and amid the random firing of the Miquelets, by his commands, and by the occasional use of the flat of their swords, they reduced the marauders to quiet. General Stanhope told bishop Burnet that they were in far more danger in this chivalrous adventure, than they had been either in the siege of the town or castle, though they had lost in the assault of the castle the brave prince of Hesse Darmstadt, the most gallant, sensible, and devoted of all the Germans who figured in the war. Amongst other occurrences, they rescued a beautiful lady from the hands of the rabble, who turned out to be the duchess of Popoli, and restored her safe and sound to her husband, the duke de Popoli, who was in the place. Having quelled this frightful riot, lord Peterborough and his attendants again quitted the city, and awaited the rest of the four days, much to the astonishment of the Spaniards, who had been taught to look on the English as a species of lawless and heretical barbarians. The city of Barcelona surrendered on the day appointed, and immediately the whole of Catalonia, and every fortified place in it, except Rosas, declared for Charles.

The earl of Peterborough did not, however, pause in his movements. He marched for St. Matteo, at a distance of thirty leagues, to raise the siege carried on by the forces of king Philip. Through roads such as Spain has always been famous for down to the campaigns of Wellington, he plunged and dragged along his cannon, appeared before Matteo in a week, raised the siege, and again set forward towards the city of Valencia, which he speedily reduced, and took in it the marquis de Villa-Garcia, the viceroy, and the archbishop. A council of war was held, and it was resolved that the king Charles and the earl of Peterborough should continue in Catalonia; that Sir Cloudesley Shovel should return to England, leaving twenty-five English and fifteen Dutch ships at Lisbon for the winter under the command of Sir John Leake, and admiral Wassenaer and four English and two Dutch ships should remain at Barcelona. King Charles wrote, by the admiral, letters of warm acknowledgments to the queen of England for her brilliant aid, and Velasquez was sent to Malaga with a thousand men of his garrison. Don Raphael Nevat revolted from Philip with a regiment of horse, and joined general Ramos at Denia. The count de Cifuentes, at the head of the Miquelets and Catalans, kept sundry other towns in order.

The earl of Peterborough, still active as ever, purchased horses and mounted a body of cavalry, and was ready to march to any quarter that might demand aid. Soon every place in Catalonia and Valencia acknowledged the authority of king Charles except the seaport of Alicant. The whole campaign resembled more a piece of romance than a reality. The earl's own officers could scarcely believe their senses; and as for the Spaniards, they said he had a devil in him, and was master of all magic and necromancy.

The only misfortune which attended the English arms during this campaign was the taking of the homeward-bound Baltic fleet, convoyed by three ships of war. The French, however, paid dear for the capture, which was made by overwhelming force, by the loss of the ablest admiral of France, count de St. Paul, who was killed in the action. On being told of the success of this action, Louis replied, "Very well; I wish the ships were safe in any English port, and that I had St. Paul alive again."

The war of whig and tory had been going on as fiercely at home as the war of arms in the Netherlands or Spain. But the Marlboroughs were now determined against the tories, and every day their struggles of opposition only sunk that party deeper in the royal disfavour. The queen gave the great seal to Mr. William Cowper, a man of good family, of great talents, and oratorical powers, and a most enthusiastic admirer of the principles of the revolution, but a man of loose moral principles, which are pointed out by Sir Walter Scott in his notes to the life of Swift:—"Some unfortunate stains," he says, "are attached to this ingenious family. Lord chancellor Cowper (he was yet only made lord keeper) was branded with bigamy because he had written a work on plurality of wives,—had, adds Voltaire, actually two lady Cowpers in his domestic *régime*. His brother, the judge, had been previously tried for the murder of a young woman, one Sarah Stout, whom he had deluded into a feigned marriage while he had a wife alive. The poor creature, a beautiful quakeress, was found drowned in a pond, and he was the last person seen in her company under circumstances of great suspicion."

But lord keeper Cowper had the favour of lady Marlborough, and that was enough. Besides this, the whig duke of Newcastle received the privy seal, which was taken from the duke of Buckingham—the same man who was the earl of Mulgrave in Charles II.'s reign, was afterwards marquis of Normanby, and in his youth had had the presumption to make the princess Anne an offer of his hand. This, however, was clearly not remembered by Anne amongst his offences, for, on her accession, he was made a cabinet minister, lord privy seal, and duke of Buckingham. He is described as a man of "learning and good natural points" by a contemporary, "but of no principles; very proud, insolent, and ready to take all advantages; in paying his debts unwilling, and neither esteemed nor beloved," &c.

The dismission of these noblemen made them violent oppositionists, which showed itself immediately on the opening of parliament. When the parliament met on the 25th of October, it was found that a strong majority of whigs had been returned; and, in the struggle for the speakership, the nominee of the tories, Mr. Bromley, was rejected, and that of the whigs, Mr. John Smith, was appointed by a majority of two hundred and fifty to two hundred and seven. The speech of the queen was said to be the composition of the new lord keeper, Cowper, but to have undergone considerable revision in the council. In this the whig policy shone strongly forth. She expressed her determination to continue the war till the Bourbon prince was driven from the throne of Spain, and the Austrian one firmly established. She went over the old ground of the balance of power, and asserted that no peace with France was of any avail so long as that power could corrupt any of the allies and turn them against the rest; which was tantamount to saying, no peace with France was of any use at all. She complimented the duke of Savoy on his stanch resistance to France under great discouragements, and she informed them that she had appointed commissioners to treat for a union with Scotland; but, she added, "there is another union I think myself obliged to recommend to you in the most earnest and affectionate manner; I mean a union of minds and affections amongst ourselves." She then again strongly exhorted the two houses to mutual concession for the public advantage—most salutary advice, but, in a great measure, lost on the ears of furious factions. She alluded to the report that the church of England was in danger, and especially to a violent pamphlet called "The Memorial of the Church of England." She declared that whoever accused her of not being the strenuous supporter of the rights of the church were enemies both to her and the kingdom, and conceived designs that they dared not to avow. At the same time she declared her resolution to *maintain inviolate the principle of toleration*—a clear whig enunciation, and in great contrast to the endeavours of the late parliament, which she herself had unequivocally favoured, to crush the liberties of the dissenters by the occasional conformity bill.

In the addresses of both houses there was, for the first time for years, a perfect consonance on this topic. Both lords and commons denounced as incendiaries all who raised the cry of the church being in danger. The opposition did not venture to touch on this topic, but selected one certainly open to animadversion—the conduct of the late campaign on the Moselle and in the Netherlands. This opposition was led on in the lords by lord Haversham, who represented that we were spending enormous sums for the benefit of the emperor, and yet the imperial troops deserted us at the most critical moments. Instead of being the first to lead the way, as the cause was their own, they paralysed our efforts and endangered our whole army by breaking their most important and most solemn engagements. He instanced the non-appearance of the prince of Baden on the Moselle, according to agreement, by which the duke of Marlborough's whole plan of operations had been rendered abortive, and the credit of our army damaged. He instanced, in the next place, the conduct of the Dutch, who had completely tied the duke's hands when he was ready to annihilate the whole French army at Waterloo, and thus to finish the war at a single blow; but, he observed, "The Dutch held our hands and would not let us give the deciding blow. Therefore, let our supplies be never so full and speedy, let our management be never so great and frugal, yet, if it be our misfortune to have allies that are as slow and backward as we are zealous and forward—that hold our hands, and suffer us not to take an opportunity that offers—that are coming into the field when we are going into winter quarters—I cannot see what we are reasonably to expect in this war."

In all this there was only too much truth, and little less in what he added, that the Dutch were practising a selfish policy through the war, and were enriching themselves at our expense. "There is a word," he said, "that we are very fond of, which we call the *balance of power;* but the Dutch, who are a very wise people, have a double view, and take as much care of the *balance of trade* as they did of the balance of power, and are as much afraid of our power by sea as of the power of France by land; that trade begets wealth, and wealth power; and that it is very hard for England that, while the Dutch live at peace under the protection of our arms, if we would have any part of trade with them, we must have it under the protection of French passes; that the Dutch, indeed, complain of poverty, but I cannot see how they have been out of pocket one shilling by this war, for they get more by remittances from England than all the money that goes out of Holland to Portugal, Savoy, and the German princes."

Having given our allies a castigation by no means undeserved, at the same time not allowing the duke of Marlborough to escape without his share of the blame, Haversham came to the gist of his speech, which was that, for the security of the protestant succession, of the church, &c., the house should address the queen, praying her to invite over the heir-presumptive to the crown, that is, the electress Sophia of Hanover. The tories trusted that, if they could get over the princess Sophia and her son George, they should be able to play off one court against the other; that, though the whigs had got possession of the queen, they should then be able to ingratiate themselves with the successor, and thus prepare to supersede the whigs altogether in the new reign. At the same time, they should be favouring the popular feeling regarding the protestant succession, and annoying the queen, who had dismissed them from her favour. There had been for some time a party called the Hanoverian tories, who were bent on securing their interest with that house, and the Jacobites joined this party, hoping, under cover of a pretence for the protestant succession, they might yet find an occasion for securing the interests of the pretender. But this was a hazardous policy for both parties; for, as Anne was mortally jealous of her successor, as is generally the case with princes, the tories only more completely lost all chance of regaining her favour; and, as the electress Sophia, knowing Anne's feeling, was obliged to disclaim all wish to come to England during the queen's life, she was thus, in fact, obliged to disclaim the efforts of the tories. Sophia, indeed, wrote to the queen herself, informing her that an agent from the discontented party in England had come to her court to invite herself and the electoral prince, her son George, into England, assuring them that a party there was ready to propose it; but that she had caused the said person to be acquainted that she judged the message to come from such as were enemies to her family; that she would never hearken to such a proposal but when it came from the queen herself; and that she had discouraged the attempt so much that it was believed nothing more would be said on it.

The displaced faction, however, led on by Haversham, Rochester, Buckingham, and the earl of Nottingham, pushed on the question, regardless of all warning and all decency. Buckingham went such a length, that he put the case of the queen falling into a state of dotage, and being thus the complete tool of others—meaning the Marlboroughs—and therefore justified their endeavours to secure the protestant succession by having it already in the country. He argued that, had Charles of Austria been in Spain at the time of the late king's death, he need not now be fighting for his proper inheritance. The tories thought that they had now placed the whigs on the horns of a dilemma; that they must either offend the house of Hanover and the popular feeling of the country by opposing the motion, or must lose the favour of the queen by conceding this specious measure; for Anne would have resented above everything the least idea of seeing her successors waiting for her throne in England, and courted by whichever party was in opposition.

But the whigs had weighed all the dangers of the dilemma, and were prepared with special remedies for them. So far did they profess themselves from wishing to weaken the certainty of the protestant succession, that, without adopting the very dubious measure recommended, they proposed to appoint a regency to hold the government in case of the death of her present majesty, for the successor, till he or she should arrive in this country. By this adroit measure, the queen was spared the annoyance of seeing her successor converted into a rival, and yet the prospects of this succession were strengthened. Accordingly, a bill was brought in, appointing the seven persons who should at the time possess the offices of archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor or lord keeper, lord treasurer, lord president, lord privy seal, lord high admiral, and lord chief justice of the Queen's Bench, as a regency, who should proclaim the next successor throughout the kingdom, and join with a certain number of persons, named also regents by the successor, in three lists, to be sealed up and deposited with the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord keeper, and the minister residentiary at Hanover. These regents were to conduct the administration, and the last parliament, even though dissolved, should reassemble and continue to sit for six months after the decease of her majesty; and this bill, notwithstanding the opposition of the tories, was carried though both houses.

To prevent any unpleasant feeling at Hanover, the whigs immediately passed another bill, naturalising not only the princess Sophia, but all her descendants, wheresoever or whensoever born, and they sent over to Hanover the earl of Halifax, furnished with letters from lord Somers, Cowper, and other leading whigs, but, above all, from the duke of Marlborough, and conveying to the prince George the order of the garter from the queen. By these measures the whigs completely turned the stratagems of the tories against them; rendered their attempts to damage them a perfect triumph, not only retaining the warm favour of the queen, but establishing an alliance with the house of Hanover, which, with few interruptions, continued to the commencement of the reign of George III.

To leave the tories not an inch of ground to stand on, the earl of Halifax moved that a day might be fixed for inquiring into this alleged danger of the church. The 6th of December was named, and the most vehemently-contested debate of the session took place. Rochester declared that the church was in danger, because presbyterianism without toleration was established in Scotland; because the protestant successor was not resident in England; and because the occasional conformity bill had been rejected. He declared the protest made in the queen's speech against the church being in danger gave him no more assurance than had the law in Charles II.'s time against calling the king a papist, when he was in reality a papist. The earl of Halifax, in reply, reminded Rochester of his far more passive character to the danger of the church under James II., when he, moreover, sate in the high commission court, which was endeavouring to destroy the independence of the church altogether. He ridiculed the plea of any danger to the church from Scotland, considering how much the power of England had of late years increased, and that Scotland and England were about to become one. As to the danger from the absence of the protestant heir, that, he said, was a danger of eight days' standing, for that no one, till the late motion of the tories for calling to England the protestant heir, dreamed of any danger from the absence of the princess Sophia; and that, finally, the occasional conformity act, so far from its giving any strength to the church, had it been carried, it would have done it essential injury. Compton, the old bishop of London, who in his earlier days had taken arms, and had conducted the princess Anne down to Nottingham at the head of a troop when she was in opposition to her father, now complained of sermons being preached inculcating the doctrine of resistance, and of the difficulty he found of punishing a refractory person in his diocese. He particularly alluded to a sermon of this kind preached by Mr. Hoadly, lecturer of St. Mildred's, in London, who was afterwards bishop of Winchester. Burnet declared that the bishop of London was the last man who ought to have complained of that sermon, reminding his lordship of his own former practice of the very doctrine in the princess Anne's case. He contended that the church was every day taking stronger hold on the public by its endeavours to root out profligacy and irreligion. He mentioned the society established in London and other cities for the suppression of vice; the co-operation for the propagation of the gospel, which had done much for the church by distributing great numbers of books on practical divinity, by erecting libraries in country parishes, by sending many able divines to the foreign plantations, and by founding schools for the education of children in Christian knowledge, though very little had been contributed to these ends by those who now appeared so wonderfully zealous for the church.

The archbishop of York expressed much apprehension of danger from dissenters, and especially from the number of seminaries they had set up, and prayed that the judges might be consulted as to putting the laws in force against such seminaries. But this only called up the witty lord Wharton, who desired that the inquiry of the judges might be extended also to the schools and seminaries held by nonjurors, in one of which the sons of a noble prelate had been educated. This was a sharp blow for the archbishop, who was obliged to confess that his sons *had* been educated with a Mr. Ellis till he refused the oath of abjuration, when they were taken away. Lord Wharton went on to say that he had read "The Memorial of the Church of England," which had created so much alarm; but all that he could learn from it was that the duke of Buckingham and the earls of Rochester and Nottingham were *out of place*.

Other bishops, as Patrick of Ely, Hough of Lichfield, and Hooper of Bath and Wells, complained of the undutiful conduct of the clergy to the bishops, and of the universities encouraging this disposition; and the duke of Leeds regretted that the occasional conformity bill had not passed; but lord Somers, recapitulating all the arguments used on both sides, contended that the nation was happy under a wise and just administration, and that for men to raise groundless jealousies at this moment was only to promote faction at home, and paralyse the exertions of the allies abroad. The motion being put whether the church really was in danger, it was carried by a large majority that it was not, and that whoever insinuated such a thing under her majesty's administration was an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom. The commons came to a similar conclusion, and the queen issued a proclamation embodying these resolutions of the two houses. Edwards, the printer of the "Memorial," was brought to the bar of the house of commons, and called on to declare the author of it. He named Sir Humphrey Mackworth and other members of the house: but, as he received the manuscript through a third person, he could not prove this, and the matter was let drop.

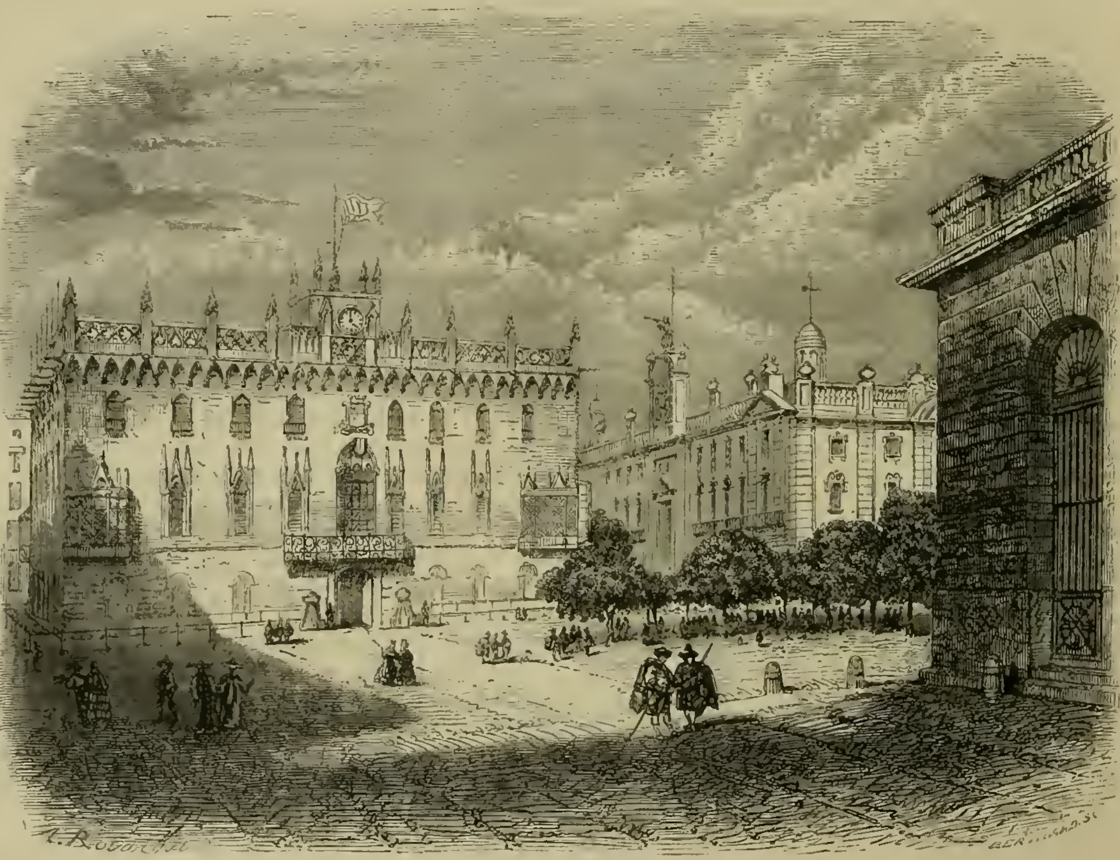
During these important debates the convocation exhibited the same unedifying scenes of bickering and unreasonableness. The two houses could not agree on any single topic. The upper house voted an address to her majesty, thanking her for her care of the church; the lower house refused to concur in it, but drew up a very different one. This the archbishop returned to them. They then passed resolutions declaring their right of having what they offered received by the archbishop and the upper house. Thus the address was quashed altogether. The dean of Peterborough protested against the conduct of the lower house, and the queen, in a letter, intimated her resolution to maintain her supremacy and the due subordination of presbyters to bishops, and she required the archbishop to prorogue convocation at such times as appeared most convenient. This plain speaking from the throne greatly disconcerted the lower house, but it persisted in its contumacy, and, though prorogued, continued to sit in defiance of the primate and of her majesty.

On the 19th of March, 1706, the queen prorogued parliament till the 21st of May. Towards the end of April Marlborough proceeded to Holland to commence the campaign. The severe defeat which the troops of Louis had received in Germany the last year nerved him to fresh exertions. He had little fear of dealing with the prince of Baden on the Upper Rhine; but Marlborough in the Netherlands, Eugene in Savoy, and Peterborough in Spain demanded all his vigour, and he determined to act with decision on all these points, and especially against Marlborough. He heard that the Danes and Prussians had not yet joined the confederate army, and he ordered Villeroi to attack it before these reinforcements could come up. In consequence of this order, Villeroi and the elector of Bavaria—who, spite of his severe chastisement, still adhered to France against his own country—passed the Dyle, and posted themselves, on the 19th of May, at Tirlemont. They were there joined by the cavalry under marshal Marsin, and encamped betwixt Tirlemont and Judoigne.

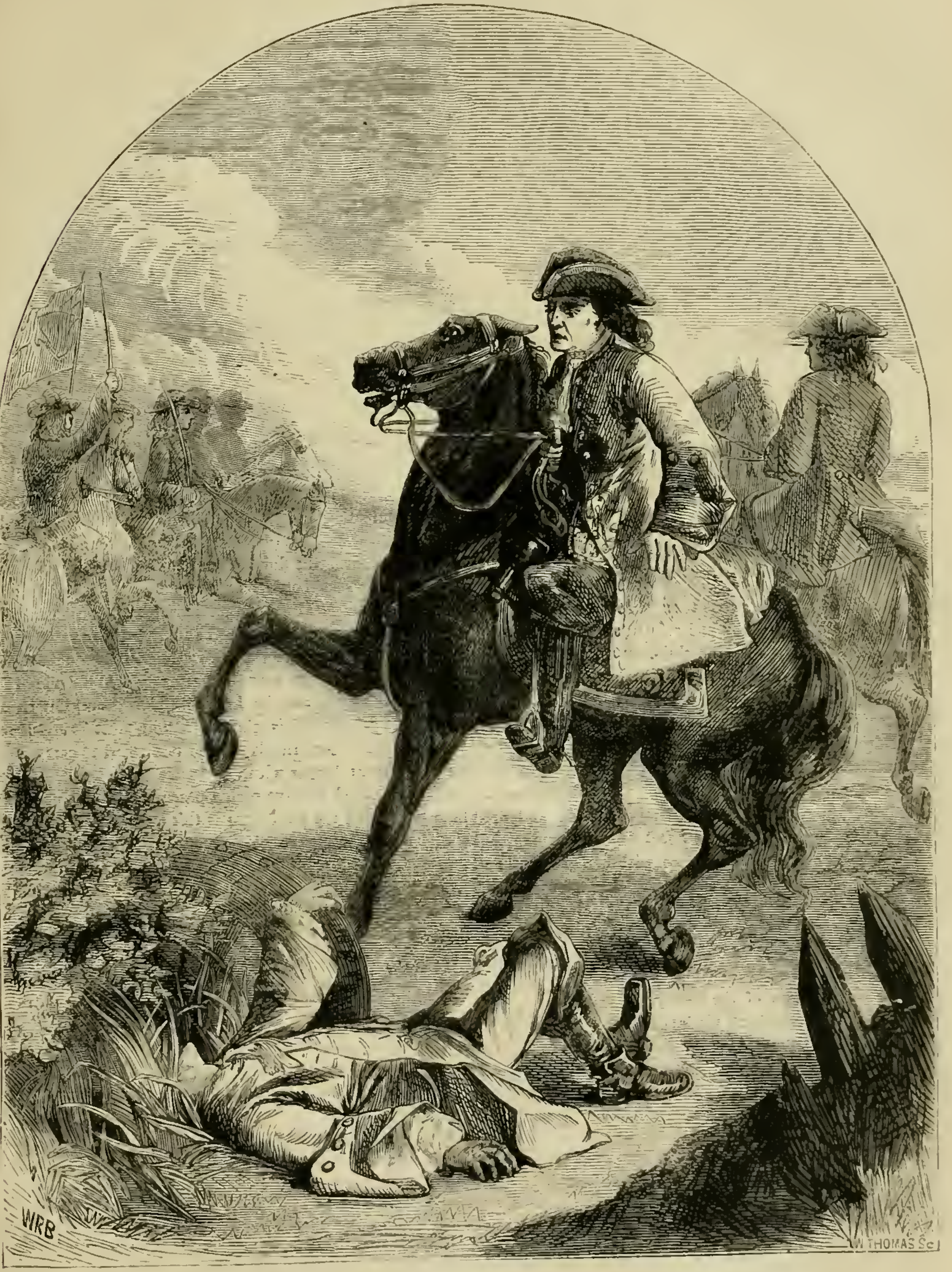
Marlborough assembled his army betwixt Borschloen and Gros-Waren, and found it to consist of seventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three squadrons of horse and dragoons, well supplied with artillery and pontoons. Hearing that the French were advancing towards him, and being now joined by the Danes, Marlborough set forward and appeared in eight columns before the village of Ramillies. The French, who had already taken possession of Ramillies, and strongly fortified it, entrenched themselves in a strong camp, the right extending to Hautemont, on the Mehaigne, and their left to Anderkirk, Ramillies constituting the centre. The duke posted his right wing near Foltz, on the brook of Yause, and his left at the village of Franquenies. Villeroi had committed the capital blunder of leaving his wings sundered by impassable ground, so that they could not act in support of each other. The fatal error was obvious to all his officers, and lieutenant-general Gassion boldly pointed it out to him. Villeroi, with a stupid conceit, paid no attention to the warning, when Gassion exclaimed in alarm, "You are lost if you do not change your order of battle. If you delay a moment all will be over." The other officers gave the same decided opinion, but Villeroi remained immovable, and he was immediately attacked in his centre with such impetuosity by Marlborough, that there was no longer any chance of retrieving his error.

It was about half past one o'clock when Marlborough ordered general Schulz, with twelve battalions, to attack Ramillies, whilst Auverquerque attacked Franquenies on the left. Schulz, who had twenty pieces of cannon, opened fire on Ramillies, but met with so warm a reception, that he had great difficulty in maintaining his ground; but Marlborough supported him with column after column, and the fight there was raging terribly. In the midst of it, Marlborough seeing some of the men driven from the guns, galloped up to encourage them. He was recognised by the French, who made a dash and surrounded him. He broke through them, however, by a desperate effort, but in endeavouring to regain his own ranks, his horse fell in leaping a ditch, and the duke was thrown. As the French were hotly upon them, another moment and he must have been taken, but captain Molesworth, one of his aide-de-camps, mounted him on his own horse. As he was in the act of springing into the saddle, a cannon ball took off the head of colonel Breanfield, who held the stirrup; but Marlborough himself escaped, and regained the main body unhurt, except for a few bruises. Meantime Auverquerque, with the Dutch guards, and by help of the Danes, had succeeded in driving the French from the enclosures of Franquenies, and cut off the communication betwixt the two wings, and drove numbers of the French into the Mehaigne. The Bavarians under the elector fought bravely, more so than the French, for they were become dispirited by their repeated defeats, and especially the rout of Blenheim. Their veteran troops were extremely reduced in numbers, and Louis, to fill the ranks, had forced the unwilling peasantry into the army, sending them even in chains to the campaign to prevent their deserting on the way. Such troops were not likely to do much good against the victorious allies, under a general like Marlborough.

On Marlborough regaining the ranks, he led up the attack with fresh vigour, the village of Ramillies was carried, and most of the French who defended it were cut to pieces. The prince of Würtemburg and the prince of Hesse Cassel got into the rear of Villeroi, and the panic became general. The infantry began to retreat, at first in tolerable order, protected by the cavalry, which were posted betwixt Ossuz and Anderkirk; but the English cavalry, under general Wyndham and general Ward, having managed to get over a rivulet which separated them, fell on them with such vigour near the farm of Chaintrain, that they were thrown into confusion. The Bavarians suffered severely, and the elector had a narrow escape for his life. Villeroi himself with difficulty made good his flight. In the midst of the rout, a narrow pass through which the French were flying suddenly became obstructed by the break down of some baggage wagons. The cavalry pressing on in their rear, then made terrible havoc amongst them. The flight was continued all the way to Judoigne, and lord Orkney, with some squadrons of light horse, never drew bit till they had chased the fugitives into Louvain, nearly seven leagues from Ramillies. The baggage, cannon, colours, everything fell into the hands of the allies. There were one hundred and twenty colours, six hundred officers, and six thousand private soldiers captured. Besides these, it was calculated that eight thousand were killed and wounded. Of the allies, Marlborough declared that only one thousand fell, and two thousand were wounded. The prince Maximilian of Bavaria and prince Monbason were among the slain; amongst the prisoners were major-generals Palavicini and Mezieres, the marquises de Bar, de Nonant, and de la Baume, the son of marshal Tallard, Montmorency, nephew of the duke of Luxembourg, and many other persons of rank.


PALACE OF BARCELONA.

Villeroi had fled to Brussels, but Marlborough was soon at the gates, the French general took his departure, and Marlborough entered that city in triumph, amid the acclamations of the people. The whole of the Spanish Netherlands was recovered by the battle of Ramillies: Louvain, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, threw open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NARROW ESCAPE OF MARLBOROUGH

their gates. Ostend, Menin, Dendermonde, and Aeth, made some resistance, but successively surrendered and acknowledged king Charles. The delighted emperor and king Charles offered to make Marlborough governor of Flanders, which he willingly accepted, but was compelled to relinquish the honour by the indomitable jealousy of the Dutch. At the beginning of November Marlborough sent his army into winter quarters—the English at Ghent, the Danes at Bruges, and the Germans along the river Demer, and betook himself to the Hague, to hold consultations on the plan of the next campaign, and to receive some proposals from the French court, which, however, ended in nothing.

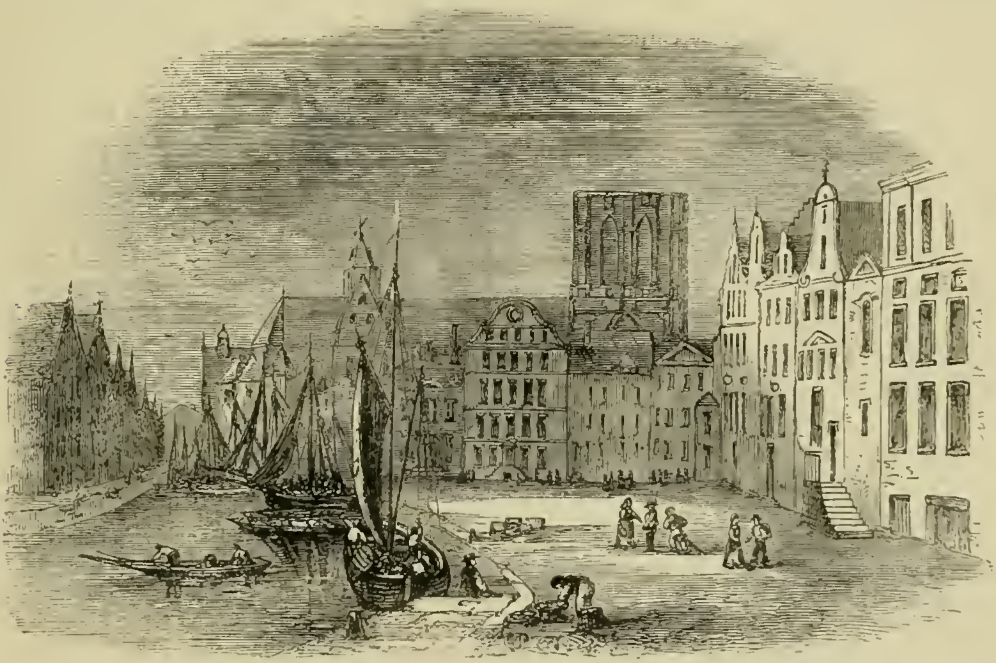
As to the French king, he was now reaping the just fruits of his lawless ambition. The prestige of victory had abandoned his arms. The days of Turenne and Luxembourg were over, and nothing but news of one disaster and overthrow after another poured into the proud Versailles. He is said to have received Villeroi without a reproach, but it is difficult to conceive a more refinedly keen one than lay in the remark with which he accosted him. "Monsieur Maréchal, you and I are too old to be fortunate."

On the heels of Ramillies came the tidings of a still less expected defeat in Savoy. The duke de Vendôme was recalled from Piedmont after the defeat of Ramillies to supersede Villeroi, and the duke of Orleans, under the direction of marshal de Marsin, was sent to Piedmont, with orders to besiege Turin. This siege was carried on through the summer; and when the duke of Savoy had refused all offers of accommodation made by France, the duke de Feuillade, having completed his lines of circumvallation, made the last offer of courtesy to the impassive duke of Savoy. This was a presentation of passports sent by a trumpet for the duchess and children, that they might retire to a place of safety before the storming commenced. The duke replied that he had no intention of removing his family, whereupon the marshal Feuillade began the assault in earnest, and fired red hot balls into the city. The effect was so alarming that the duchess soon quitted the place with her children, and after many difficulties and dangers reached Genoa. The duke himself was compelled to quit his capital and join his cavalry; but even there he was pursued from place to place by the French under count D'Aubeterre. The prospects of the duke were now most unmitigatedly gloomy. He could only escape the activity of the enemy, who were in numbers overwhelming, by constant vigilance, and his capital was apparently approaching its fate. The defences were ruined, the ammunition of the besieged began to fail, and there was no expectation of relief except from prince Eugene. That appeared a very remote one, for the duke de Vendôme, before quitting Italy, had taken every care to secure all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio, and thrown out such lines and intrenchments betwixt Eugene and the capital as appeared quite certain to prevent his succouring the city. Eugene was beyond the Adige, and knew the formidable obstacles in his way; but, at the call of the distressed duke, he forced his way in the face of every opposition, crossed river after river, threaded his way between the lines, and at length formed a junction with the duke of Savoy. After this union they advanced undauntedly on Turin, and reached its vicinity on the 13th of August. They crossed the Po between Montealier and Cavignan, and on the 5th of September captured a convoy of eight hundred loaded mules. They then crossed the Doria, and encamped with their right wing on that river, and the left on the Stura. The intrenchments of the enemy had the convent of the Capuchins, called Notre Dame, in their centre opposite. The duke of Orleans proposed to march out of their intrenchments and attack the army of Savoy, but Marsin showed him an order from the court of Versailles forbidding so much hazard. The prince did not leave them long time to deliberate, but attacked them in their intrenchments, he himself leading up the left wing, and the duke the centre. After some hard fighting both commanders forced the intrenchments, and drove the French in precipitation over the Po. The duke entered his capital in triumph, and remained master of it after killing five thousand of the French, amongst whom was the marshal Marsin, the duke of Orleans himself being severely wounded. Upwards of seven thousand of the French were taken prisoners, with two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, one hundred and eight mortars, vast quantities of ammunition, all the tents and baggage, ten thousand horses, and five thousand mules and other beasts of burthen. The Savoyards had about three thousand men killed and wounded. Prince Eugene pursued the duke of Orleans and the duke de Fuillade to the very borders of Dauphiné. The news of so complete a defeat of France produced equal consternation at Paris and rejoicing in England and over the greater part of the continent. Marlborough, writing to the duchess, said, "It is impossible to express the joy which the victory of Eugene has given me; for I do not only esteem, but I really love that prince. This glorious action must bring France so low that, if our friends can be persuaded to carry on the war one year longer with vigour, we cannot fail, with the blessing of God, to have such a peace as will give us quiet all our days; but the Dutch are at this time unaccountable."

The most unbroken gloom hung over Versailles. Louis affected to bear his reverses with indifference; but the violent restraint which he put upon himself so much endangered his health that his physicians were compelled frequently to bleed him. The only gleams of comfort which broke through the ominous silence and brooding gloom of the usually so gay court of France were afforded by an advantage gained by the count de Medavi-Grancey over the prince of Hesse-Cassel in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and the forcing him to the Adige with a loss of two thousand men. Besides this, the mismanagement of king Charles in Spain, which prevented the success of the earl of Peterborough, was calculated in some degree to solace the confounded French court.

King Philip had made a great effort to recover the city of Barcelona. Early in the spring he appeared before that city with a considerable army of French and Spaniards, and invested it. He was supported by a fleet under the count de Toulouse, and succeeded in retaking the castle of Montjuic; and king Charles, who was cooped up in the town, sent urgent dispatches to lord Peterborough at Valencia to come to his assistance. Peterborough immediately marched to his relief with two thousand men, but found Philip's besieging army too numerous to engage with. On the 8th of May, however, Sir John Leake, who had sailed from Lisbon with thirty ships of the line, showed himself in the bay, and the count de Toulouse sailed away for Toulon without attempting to strike a blow; and Philip no sooner saw himself abandoned by the French fleet, and in danger of an attack from both land and sea, than he made as hasty a retreat, leaving his tents with the sick and wounded behind him.

Philip had recalled the duke of Berwick to his service, who had only been dismissed because he was no favourite with the queen, and he was posted on the Portuguese frontiers. But, notwithstanding this, the earl of Galway crossed these frontiers with an army of twenty thousand men, took Alcantara, and made prisoners of the garrison, amounting to four thousand men. He then advanced on Madrid, lord Peterborough engaging to meet him, with king Charles, at the capital. At his approach Philip fled with his queen to Burgos, carrying with him all the valuables he could convey, and destroying what he could not take. About the end of June the earl of Galway entered Madrid without resistance, and, had the earl of Peterborough, with the king, met him, according to agreement, the war would have been at an end. But Peterborough, who, had he been at liberty to act as he pleased, would have soon been in Madrid, was sorely hampered by the imbecile king Charles had reached Saragossa, and been acknowledged sovereign of Aragon and Valencia; but he was afraid of advancing towards the capital, lest they should be cut off by the enemy. In vain did Peterborough urge and entreat, and show the necessity of dispatch to meet Galway. The wretched monarch had made his chief councillor the prince of Lichtenstein, who had none of the brilliant, dashing qualities of Peterborough, and against that dead German weight Peterborough strove in vain. The timid, stupid king remained immovable; till Galway, finding himself unsupported in Madrid, and that the Spaniards looked with indignation on an army of Portuguese with a heretic general in possession of their capital, took his departure. Meantime king Philip and the duke of Berwick had met, and, on the frontier, had received fresh reinforcements from France. They, therefore, returned, and availed themselves of Galway's unfortunate position to recover the capital Galway evacuated the place on their approach without a blow, and retreated towards Aragon to form a junction with Peterborough and the king. On the 6th of August Charles and Peterborough came up with Galway at Guadalaxara; but, notwithstanding this increase of force, nothing could persuade the dastard Austrian prince to advance. Peterborough, who had all the fiery temperament of a hero of romance instead of the patience of Marlborough, which had so often triumphed over German pride and Dutch phlegm, lost all patience and gave up the enterprise. He returned to the coast of the Mediterranean, and with him went all chance of Charles of Austria securing the Spanish throne. Peterborough set sail with a squadron to endeavour to aid the duke of Savoy, the victory of Eugene not yet having occurred.



VIEW OF GHENT (1706).

When Peterborough was gone, nothing but distraction raged in the camp of the confederates. Lord Galway could assert no supreme command against the prince of Lichtenstein and the Portuguese general; every one was at variance with his fellow officer, and all were disgusted with the Austrian councillors of Charles, and with his inert and hopeless character. The duke of Berwick, availing himself of their divisions, marched down upon them, and they made a hasty retreat towards Valencia and the mountains of New Castile. After incredible sufferings they reached Requena, the last town of New Castile, where, considering themselves secure from the nature of the country, they went into winter quarters at the end of September, and Charles and his attendants proceeded to Valencia, where he wrote to the duke of Marlborough, recounting his misfortunes, the result of his own incapacity, and vehemently entreating for fresh forces and supplies from England and Holland. Could a large army have been sent under the earl of Peterborough, with authority for his undisputed command, there is no doubt but that he would very speedily have cleared Spain of the French; but against this was supposed to operate the influence of Marlborough himself, who did not wish to see another English general raised to a rivalry of glory with him. And, indeed, had the English succeeded in setting up such a poor, soulless sort of monarch, nothing could have kept him there against the power of France but the whole power of England. For such miserable purposes was England then wasting her energies.

The victory of Prince Eugene rendering the presence of the earl of Peterborough unnecessary in Piedmont, he made a second voyage to Genoa, to induce that republic to lend king Charles and his allies money for his establishment. The English fleet in the Mediterranean continued sailing from place to place with six or eight thousand men on board, seeking some occasion to annoy the coast of France, whilst these men might have been of the utmost service in Spain if commanded by Peterborough. As it was, half of them are said to have perished in this objectless cruise, and another squadron under the earl of Rivers, sent to join lord Galway at the siege of Alicante, suffered as much. In short, no campaign ever appears to have combined more kinds of mismanagement than this of Spain, including the movements of the fleet to support it.

But whilst these various fortunes of war were taking place on the continent, a victory greater than that of Ramillies or of Turin was achieved at home. This was the accomplishment of the union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, and with it the extinction of all those heartburnings and embarrassments which were continually arising out of the jealousies of Scotland of the overbearing power of England. In the last session nothing appeared farther off; nay, a bill—the bill of security—had passed, which threatened to erect again two thrones in this island, with all the rivalries and bloodshed of former years. The commissioners, however, appointed by England and Scotland to decide the terms of this agreement, met on the 16th of April in the council-chamber of the cockpit near Whitehall, and continued their labours till the 22nd of July, when they had agreed upon the conditions, and on that day mutually signed them. As this is one of the most important measures which ever was transacted in this kingdom, we shall present the names of the commissioners for both Scotland and England. Those for England were:—The archbishop of Canterbury; William Cowper, lord keeper; the archbishop of York; lord Godolphin, high treasurer; the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord president of the council; the duke of Newcastle, lord privy seal; the duke of Devonshire, steward of the household; the duke of Somerset, master of the horse; the duke of Bolton; the earls of Sunderland, Kingstone, Carlisle, and Oxford; viscount Townshend; lords Wharton, Grey, Powlet, Somers, and Halifax; the marquises of Hartington and Granby; John Smith, speaker of the house of commons; Sir Charles Hedges and Robert Harley, secretaries of state; Henry Boyle, chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer; Sir John Holt, chief justice of the Queen's Bench; Sir Thomas Trevor, chief justice of the court of Common Pleas; Sir Edward Northey, attorney-general; Sir Symon Harcourt, solicitor-general; Sir John Cook, advocate-general; and Stephen Waller, doctor of laws. To the English commissioners Daniel Defoe, the celebrated writer, was secretary.

The commissioners for Scotland were:—The earl of Seafield, lord chancellor; the duke of Queensberry, lord privy seal; the earls of Mar and of Loudon, secretaries of state; the earls of Sutherland, Morton, Wemys, Leven, Stair, Roseberry, and earl of Glasgow, deputy treasurer; lord Archibald Campbell, brother of the duke of Argyll; viscount Duplin; lord Ross; Sir Hugh Dalrymple; Adam Cockburn of Ormestoun; Sir Robert Dundas of Arnistoun; Robert Stuart of Tullicultrie; Francis Montgomerie; Sir David Dalrymple; Sir Alexander Ogilvie of Forglen; Sir Patrick Johnstone, lord provost of Edinburgh; Sir James Smollett of Bonhill; George Lockhart of Carnwath; William Morrison of Preston-Grange; Alexander Grant, younger of that ilk; William Seton, younger, of Pitmedden; John Clark, younger, of Pennicook; Hugh Montgomerie, late provost of Glasgow; Daniel Stuart, brother to the laird of Castlemilk; and Daniel Campbell of Ardintennie.

In discussing the proposed plans of this union, the Scots were found to incline to a federal union, like that of Holland; but the English were resolved, that if made at all, the union of the two kingdoms should be complete, a perfect incorporation of Scotland, so that there should be for ever an end of the troubles and annoyances of the Scottish parliament. The last reign, and the present, too, had shown too clearly the inconveniences of that parliament, the means it gave to disaffected men, and especially such as were disappointed of their ambitious aims by the government, of fanning up violent feuds and entirely stopping the business of the country; nay, of threatening, as of late, to establish again their own independent state, and their own king. Therefore, the English commissioners would listen to nothing but a thorough amalgamation. The lord keeper proposed that the two kingdoms should for ever be united into one realm, by the name of Great Britain. That it should be represented by one and the same parliament, and that the succession to the crown should be such as was already determined by the act of parliament passed in the late reign, called an act for the further limitation of the crown, and the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject. The Scots, whilst seeming to comply with this proposal, endeavoured to introduce various clauses about the rights and privileges of the people of Scotland in England and of the English in Scotland, and that the crown should be established in the same persons as those mentioned in the act referred to; but the lord keeper declined entering into any consideration of any proposals, but simply for a full and complete union of the two kingdoms into one, with the same universal rights, declaring that nothing but such solidification would effect a perfect and lasting harmony. The Scots gave way, and the terms agreed upon were mutually signed on the 22nd of July, 1706.

The conditions of this famous treaty were—That the succession to the throne of Great Britain should be vested in the princess Sophia and her heirs, according to the act passed by the English parliament for that purpose; that there should be but one parliament for the whole kingdom; that all the subjects should enjoy the same rights and privileges; that they should have the same allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, and lie under the same regulations and restrictions as to trade and commerce; that Scotland should not be charged with the temporary duties on certain commodities; that the sum of three hundred and ninety-eight thousand, one hundred and three pounds should be granted to the Scotch as an equivalent for such parts of the customs and excise charged upon that kingdom in consequence of the union, as would be applicable to the payment of the debts of England, according to the proportion which the customs and excise of Scotland bore to those of England; that as the revenues of Scotland should increase, a fair equivalent should be allowed for such proportion of the said increase as should be applicable to payment of the debts of England; that the sums to be thus paid should be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the English coin, in paying off the capital, stock, and interest due to the proprietors of the African company, which should be immediately dissolved; in discharging all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland; in promoting and encouraging manufactures and fisheries under the direction of commissioners to be appointed by her majesty, and accountable to the parliament of Great Britain; that the laws relating to public right, policy, and civil government, should be alike throughout the whole kingdom, and that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for the evident benefit of the people of Scotland. The court of session and all other courts of judicature in Scotland should remain as constituted, with all authority and privileges as before the union, subject only to the power of the parliament of the united kingdom; that all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life should remain the same as rights and properties as then enjoyed by the laws of Scotland; that the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland were to remain unaltered; that Scotland should be represented in parliament by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in a manner to be settled by the present parliament of Scotland; that all peers of Scotland and the successors to their honours and dignities should, from and after the union, take rank and precedency next and immediately after the English peers of the like orders and degrees at the time of the union, and before all English peers of the like orders and degrees as should be created after the union; that they should be tried as peers of Great Britain, and enjoy all privileges of peers of England, except that of sitting in the house of lords and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trials of peers; that the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls, and registers whatsoever should still remain as they were in Scotland; that all laws and statutes in either kingdom inconsistent with these terms of union should cease and be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms.

But though the articles of the union had received the sanction of the commissioners, they had yet to receive that of the Scottish and English parliaments; and no sooner did the matter come before the Scottish one than a storm broke out in Scotland against the union which convulsed the whole country and threatened to annihilate the measure. The Jacobites and discontented, because unemployed, nobles set to work in every direction to operate on the national pride, telling the people they would be reduced to insignificance and to slavery to the proud and overbearing English, and arousing the *odium theologicum* by representing that, no sooner would the union be complete, than the English hierarchy would, through the English parliament, put down the presbyterian religion and set up episcopacy again, and that the small minority of Scotch members of either house would be unable to prevent it.

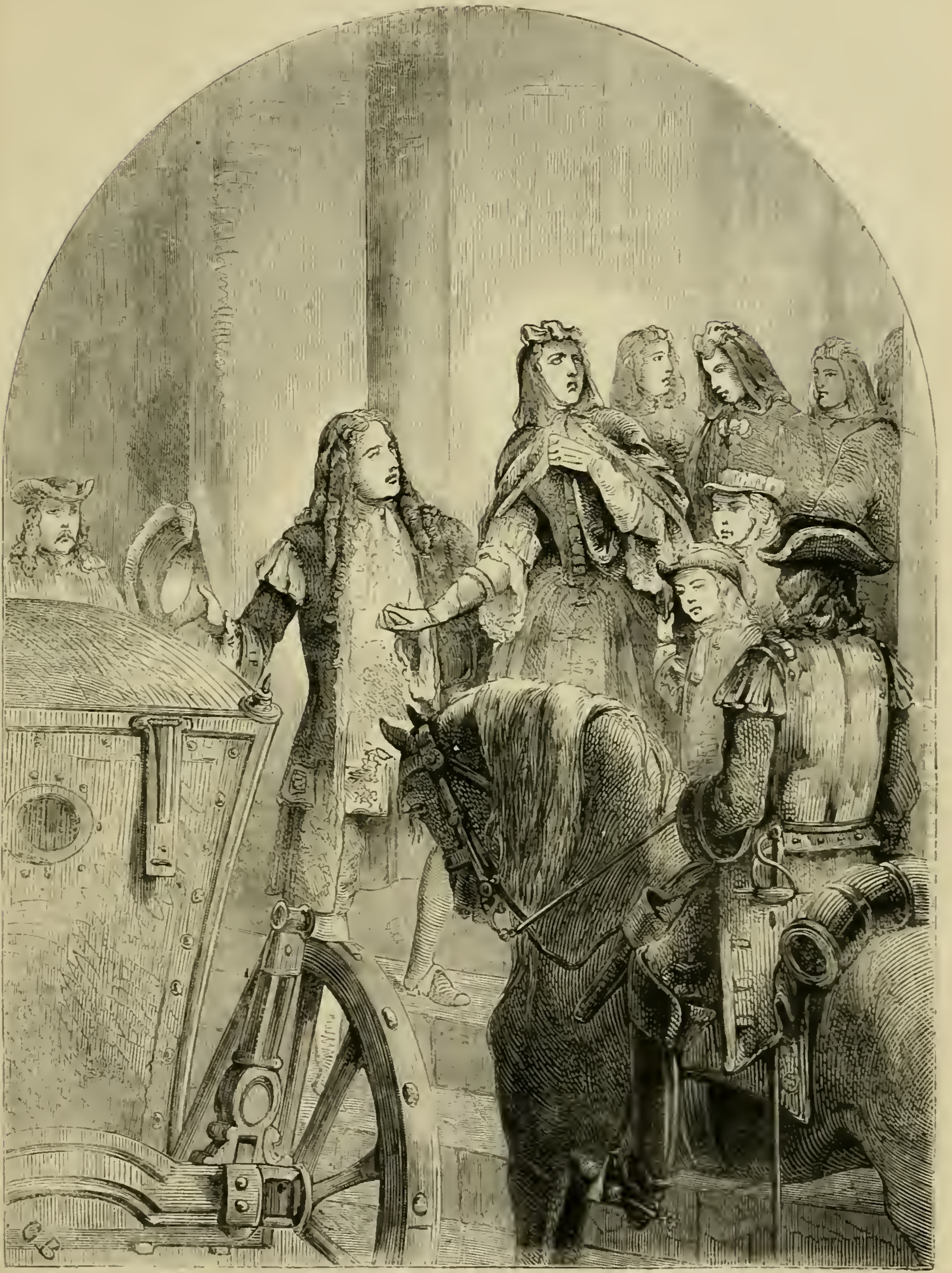
On the 3rd of October the duke of Queensberry, as lord commissioner for the queen, opened the last session of the last parliament that ever sate in Scotland. Queensberry, who with the earl of Stair, had been on the commission, and had laboured hard to bring it to a satisfactory issue, now laid the articles of the treaty before the parliament, expressing his conviction that the queen would take care to have it carried out with the utmost impartiality and care for the rights of all her subjects. He read a letter from her majesty, assuring them that the only way to secure their present and future happiness and to disappoint the designs of their enemies and her majesty's, who would do all in their power to prevent or delay their union, was to adopt it with as little delay as possible. The commissioner then said, to appease any fears on account of the kirk, that not only were the laws already in existence for its security maintained, but that he was empowered to consent to anything which they should think necessary for that object. He then read the treaty, and it was ordered to be printed and put into the hands of all the members of parliament. No sooner were the printed copies in the hands of the public than the tempest burst forth. The dukes of Athol, of Hamilton, the lords Annandale, Belhaven, and other violent Jacobites, represented the whole affair as most injurious and disgraceful to Scotland; that it had at one blow destroyed the independence and dignity of Scotland, which for two thousand years had defended her liberties against all the armies and intrigues of England; that now it was delivered over by these traitors, the commissioners, bound hand and foot, to the English; that the few members who were to represent Scotland in the English parliament would be just so many slaves or automata—have no influence whatever; that all Scotland did but, by this arrangement, send one more member to the house of commons than Cornwall, a single county of England; and that the Scotch must expect to see their sacred kirk again ridden over rough-shod by the English troopers, and the priests of Baal forcibly installed in their pulpits.

Defoe, who had the curiosity to go to Scotland and watch the circumstances attending the adoption of this great measure, has left us a very lively account of the fury to which the people were worked up by these representations. Mobs paraded the streets of Edinburgh, crying that they were Scotchmen, and would be Scotchmen still. They hooted, hissed, and pursued all those whom they knew to be friendly to the treaty, and there was little safety for them in the streets. "Parties," he says, "whose interests and principles differed as much as light and darkness, who were contrary in opinion, and as far asunder in everything as the poles, seemed to draw together here. It was the most monstrous sight in the world, to see the Jacobite and the presbyterian, the persecuting prelatic nonjuror and the Cameronian, the papist and the reformed protestant, parley together, join interests, and concert measures together; to see the Jacobites at Glasgow huzzahing the mob, and encouraging them to have a care of the church; the high-flying episcopal dissenter crying out, the overture was not a sufficient security for the kirk."

DORIA PALACE, GENOA.

A Mr. Hodges issued a book against it, denouncing England as a faithless, wicked, and abominable nation, declaring that the interests of the two nations were diametrically opposed and irreconcilable; that the trade of England to the West Indies was carried on by exclusive companies, and, therefore, the pretence of equal privileges in commerce was a cheat and a delusion; that the Scottish members of the English parliament would have to take the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England; that the kirk would be put entirely under the foot of the English hierarchy; and that to incorporate the two countries was, in fact, to swamp Scotland altogether.

From the 3rd of October, when the parliament opened, to the 1st of November, the fury of the people continued to increase, and the utmost was done to rouse the old Cameronian spirit in the west of Scotland by alarming rumours of the intention of England to restore episcopacy by force. The whole country was in a flame. Under such circumstances the articles of the treaty had to be discussed in the Scottish parliament. The opponents did not venture to



DUCHESS OF SAVOY AND HER CHILDREN QUITTING TURIN.

denounce any union at all, but they insisted that it ought only to be a federal one, by which they contended Scotland would still, whilst co-operating with England in everything necessary for the good of the realm at large, maintain her ancient dignity, retain her parliament, her constitution, and ancient sovereignty. When they found themselves in a minority even on this point, they contended that it was not in the power of parliament to settle so momentous a question; that the session ought to be adjourned for a short time, in order that the members might go down to their constituents, and thus learn what was really the mind of the nation. Failing in this, they exerted themselves to get a host of petitions sent up from the boroughs, claiming to have a right on the part of the constituents to instruct and limit their representatives, and warning them, above all things, to go no further than a federal union.

In order to lead to a popular demonstration, the opponents moved that there should be a day set apart for public prayer and fast, therein seeking the will of God as to the union. The parliament did not oppose this, and the 18th of October was settled for this purpose; but it passed off very well both in town and country, and the incendiaries were disappointed. Another mode of overawing the parliament was then resorted to. Rumours were set afloat that the people would turn out altogether, and come to the parliament house, and cry "No union!" They would seize on the regalia and carry them to the castle for safety. And, in fact, a great mob followed the duke of Hamilton, who was carried to and from the house in a chair, owing to some temporary lameness; but the guards stopped them at the gates of Holyrood, whereupon they declared that they would return the next day a thousand times stronger, and pull the traitors out of their houses, and so put an end to the union in their own way. And the next day, the 23rd of October, they did assemble in dense crowds, filling the Parliament Close, and crowding the door, so that members had much difficulty in getting out at the close of the sitting. As soon as the duke of Hamilton entered his chair, they raised loud hurrahs, and followed his chair in a body. Hamilton, instead of taking his usual route to the abbey of Holyrood, went up the High Street to the Lawn Market, and to the house of the duke of Athol, his great coadjutor in opposition. This was supposed to be done to bring the mob directly to the spot where lived also one of the most zealous advocates of the union, Sir Patrick Johnstone, the late lord provost, and one of the commissioners of the treaty. At all events, as Sir Patrick lived exactly opposite to the duke of Athol, it had the effect of bringing the fury of the mob upon him; for, no sooner had the duke of Hamilton entered Athol's house, than the crowd turned, and attacked the house of Sir Patrick. They assaulted it with clubs and stones, and endeavoured to beat in the door with sledge hammers. Had they succeeded, Sir Patrick and his family would undoubtedly have been massacred. But the alarm was given, a troop of soldiers appeared, cleared the street, and seized half a dozen of the ringleaders. More soldiers were obliged to be called out, and a rumour being abroad that a thousand seamen were coming up from Leith to join the rioters, the city guards were marched into the Parliament Close, and took possession of all the avenues. A battalion of guards was also stationed at the palace, the garrison in the castle was kept in readiness for action, and a troop of dragoons guarded the ministers wherever they went.

Defeated in their object of overawing the parliament, the opposition now cried mightily that the parliament was overawed by soldiers, and that the treaty was being crammed down the throat of the public by bayonets; that this was the beginning of that slavery to which the country was about to be reduced. But Queensberry and his friends replied that there was much greater danger of coercion from an ignorant and violent mob, than from the orderly soldiery, who made no attempt whatever to influence the deliberations. Whilst these scenes were passing in Edinburgh, the same stimulus to riots was applied all over the country, and news came flying in that there were disturbances now in the north, now the south, now the east, now the west. Thus the country was kept in continual alarm. It was declared that all the Cameronians were up to a man in the west, and the act of some two or three hundred of that sect who marched into Dumfries and burnt the articles of union at the market-cross, and then dispersed, was exaggerated into the most fearful excesses. On the whole, however, the intentions of the opponents to involve the country in chaos and bloodshed, and so to ruin the treaty, were defeated. The presbyterians kept quiet. They saw too many of their real enemies, the Jacobites, the nonjurors, the papists, busy in these incendiary manœuvres, to believe that it meant any good; and though it was daily declared in Edinburgh that at least twelve thousand men from the west were ready, horse and foot, to march down upon the city and compel the parliament to abandon the union, no such force appeared, and the deliberations went on.

Every article, indeed, was resisted *seriatim.* Hamilton, Athol, Fletcher of Saltoun, Belhaven, were vehement and persevering in their opposition; but still, with some modifications, the articles were carried one after another. In the midst of the contention, Hamilton was confounded by receiving a letter from lord Middleton, at the court of St. Germains, desiring, in the name of the pretender, that the opposition to the union should cease; for that his grace (the pretender) had it much at heart to give his sister this proof of his ready compliance with her wishes; nothing doubting but that he should one day have it in his power to restore Scotland to its ancient weight and independence. Hamilton was desired to keep this matter, however, a profound secret, as the knowledge of it at this time might greatly prejudice the cause and the interests of his master both in Scotland and England. Hamilton was thus thoroughly paralysed in his opposition, and, at the same time, was in the awkward position of not being able to explain his sudden subsidence into inaction.

On the other hand, the English government saw the advantage of distributing a liberal sum of money amongst the patriots of Scotland. Twenty thousand pounds were sent down for this purpose, and the passage of the union, aided by a still more liberal distribution of promises of places, honours, and of compensation to those who had been sufferers in the Darien scheme. By these means the opposition was sufficiently soothed down to enable the ministers to carry the treaty by a majority of one hundred and ten. An act was prepared for regulating the election of the sixteen peers and forty-five commoners to represent Scotland in the British parliament; and on the 25th of the following March, 1707, the Scottish parliament rose, never to meet again.

Amongst those who contributed mainly to the carrying of this great measure, and that against an opposition which at one time appeared likely to sweep everything before it, were the dukes of Queensberry and Argyll, the earls of Montrose, Seafield, and Stair, assisted by the earls of Roxburgh and Marchmont, who had come over from the opposite party through promises of favour and distinction. No change ever took place under more violent or general opposition, none in which more evils and calamities were prognosticated. The Scotch believed that their trade would be destroyed, their nation oppressed, and their country altogether ruined through the overwhelming influence of England. But if we look at the condition of Scotland now—at the increase of its population, the increase of its wealth and comfort, the growth of its towns, the extension of its trade and manufactures—there is scarcely anything so striking in the history of the world as the wonderful advance of Scotland since and in consequence of the union. If we look at the vast numbers of Scotch who have settled in England and in all the colonies, at the numbers who have located themselves in eminent places in the literature, law, and government of England, how wonderful is the contrast betwixt the outcry against the union and the results! But to all parts of the empire the union has been scarcely less beneficial by the peace, unity, and strength which it has conferred, and by the infusion of Scotch enterprise, industry, and perseverance into the texture of the English character. What Defoe says of the treaty is undoubtedly true. It is one of the greatest measures and most ably framed which ever distinguished any reign or country. "I shall not," says that great writer, "descend to encomiums on the persons of these treaters, for I am not about to write a panegyric here, but an impartial and unbiassed history of fact. But, since the gentlemen have been ill-treated, especially in Scotland—charged with strange things, and exposed in print by some who had nothing but their aversion of the treaty to move them to maltreat them—I must be allowed on all occasions to do them justice in the process of this story. And I must own that, generally speaking, they were persons of the greatest probity, the best characters, and the stoutest adherents to the true interests of their country; so their abilities will appear in every step taken in so great a work: the bringing it to so good a conclusion, and that in so little time, the rendering it in so concise a form, and so fixing it that, when all the obstruction imaginable was made to it afterwards in the parliament of Scotland, the mountains of objections at first aroused the world proved such molehills, were so easily removed, raised so much noise, and amounted to so little in substance that, after all was granted that could in reason be demanded, the amendments were so few and of so little weight, that there was not one thing material enough to obtain a negative in the English parliament."

In fact, almost all the alterations in or additions made in the Scotch parliament in the articles as we have already given them, related to some trivial bounty on oats, which Scotland grew largely, and regulations relating to salted meats and salted fish, and the encouragement of the herring fishery. The establishment of the presbyterian religion was also guarded in Scotland, with a proviso that it should not at all concern the established religion of England; each in the respective country was to maintain its acknowledged ascendancy.

So ended the year 1706; and the English parliament was informed by the queen on the 28th of January, 1707, that the articles of the treaty, with some alterations and additions, were agreed upon by the Scottish parliament, and should now be laid before them. She said, "You have now an opportunity before you of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms, which, I hope, will be a lasting blessing to the whole island, a great addition to its wealth and power, and a firm security to the protestant religion. The advantages which will accrue to us all from a union are so apparent that I will add no more but that I will look upon it as a particular happiness if this great work, which has been so often attempted without success, can be brought to perfection in my reign."

But the tories did not mean to let it pass without a sharp attack. They saw the immense accession of strength which the whigs, the authors of the measure under king William, would obtain from it. Seymour and others denounced it, not merely with vehemence, but with indecency. The high churchmen took particular offence at presbytery being established in Scotland, and insisted much on the contradiction of maintaining one religion in Scotland and another in England, and the scandal of the queen, who was a churchwoman, being sworn to maintain presbyterianism in opposition to it. But when the queen mentioned the money which would have to be paid over to Scotland by the articles of the treaty, all parties seemed to resent that, and the tories derived increased acrimony from it. Lord Haversham fell with all his fury on the treaty. He contended that above a hundred Scottish peers and as many commoners were excluded from sitting and voting in parliament as they had been accustomed to do, and that this was an ominous precedent for England; for what was to prevent a government from carrying, under favourable circumstances, such a measure of exclusion against English peers? He declared that the bishops could not, with any regard to their own church, ratify the act for establishing the presbyterian church, against whose constitution they protested, and, by so doing, give up all that they and their predecessors had so long been contending for. The union was, he contended, such a thing of contradictory shreds and patches, that it would need an army to keep it together; that it was notorious that it had been carried against the whole people of Scotland by bribing, intimidation, and undue influence; that it was contrary to the whole sense and will of the nation; that the murmurs of the people had been so loud as to fill the whole kingdom, and so bold as to reach even the doors of the parliament; that the parliament itself had suspended its beloved clause in the act of security for arming the people; that the government had issued a proclamation, pardoning all slaughter, bloodshed, and maiming committed upon those who should be found in tumults. He therefore asserted that the whole Scottish nation was averse to this incorporating process.

As queen Anne was said to be present with the duchess of Marlborough, Haversham did not neglect to give both the queen and favourite a rub about the monstrous influence which the duchess and her husband exerted over the queen. "The articles of this treaty," he said, "came to their lordships with the greatest countenance of authority; but this authority was pretty much like that made use of by the Romish church, where there were ten Ave-Marias for one Paternoster, which he thought just as reasonable as if ten times the application and address should be made to *a she-favourite* as to the person of a sovereign, which was a kind of state idolatry."

The lords Grey, North, Stowell, Rochester, Howard, Leigh, and Guildford, protested against the low rate of the land-tax charged in Scotland, complaining, with great reason, that it was fixed at only forty-eight thousand pounds, which was never to be increased, however the value of property might rise in that country; and lord Nottingham said that it was highly unreasonable that the Scots, who were by the treaty let into all the branches of the English trade, and paid so little towards the expense of the government, should, moreover, have such a round sum by way of equivalent. The lords North, Grey, Guernsey, Granville, Abingdon, and others supported that view.

But the discussions on the various articles were cut short by a clever stratagem adopted by government in the house of commons. There, as the same arguments were being urged, and Sir John Packington was declaring that this forced incorporation, carried against the Scottish people by corruption and bribery within doors, by force and violence without, was like marrying a woman against her consent, Sir Scriven Harcourt, the solicitor-general, introduced a bill of ratification, in which he enumerated the various articles in the preamble, together with the acts made in both parliaments for the security of the two churches, and, in conclusion, wound up with a single clause, by which the whole was ratified and enacted into a law. The opposition was thus taken by surprise. They had not objected to the recital of the articles, which was a bare matter of fact; and when they found themselves called upon

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to argue merely on the concluding and ratifying clause, they were thrown out of their concerted plan of action, and of arguing on each point in detail, and lost their presence of mind. The whigs, on the other hand, pressed the voting on the clause of ratification with such vehemence, that it was carried by a majority of one hundred and fourteen before the opposition could recover from their surprise, occasioned by the novel structure of the bill. Being then hurried up to the lords, the fact that it had passed the commons seemed to abate much the chances of opposition. The duke of Buckingham, indeed, expressed his apprehensions—very different to those of lord Haversham—that sixteen Scottish peers, thrown into a house where there were rarely a hundred peers in attendance, might have occasionally a very mischievous effect on English interests. Lord North also proposed a rider, purporting that nothing in the ratification of the union should be construed to extend to an approbation or acknowledgment of presbyterianism as the true protestant religion; but this was rejected by a majority of fifty-five. The bill passed, but under protests from Nottingham, Buckingham, and seventeen other lords.

On the 4th of March Anne gave the royal assent to the bill, and expressed, as well she might, her satisfaction at the completion of this great measure, the greatest of her reign or of many reigns. She said, "I consider this union as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island, and at the same time as a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that, till now, all attempts which have been made towards it in the course of above a hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and, therefore, I make no doubt but that it will be remembered and spoken of hereafter to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. I desire and expect from all subjects of both nations that, from henceforth, they will act with all respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the world they have hearts disposed to become one people. This will be a great pleasure to me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the great effects of this union." On the 11th of March, both houses waited on her majesty to congratulate her on the "conclusion of a work that, after so many fruitless endeavours, seemed designed by providence to add new lustre to the glories of her majesty's reign." In dismissing this subject we may add that we believe no man had more contributed, by his wise suggestions and zealous exertions, to the completion of this great national act than lord Somers.

As the act did not come into effect till the 1st of May, numbers of traders in both kingdoms were on the alert to reap advantages from it. The English prepared to carry quantities of such commodities into Scotland as would entitle them to a drawback, intending to bring them back after the 1st of May; and the Scotch, as their duties were much lower than those of England, intended to import great quantities of wine, brandy, and similar articles, to sell them into England after the union. Some of the ministers were found to have embarked in these fraudulent schemes, which so alarmed the English merchants that they presented a remonstrance to the commons. The commons began to prepare a bill on the subject, but it was discovered that the previous resolutions of the house sufficiently provided against these practices; and, as the 1st of May was now so near, the matter was dropped.

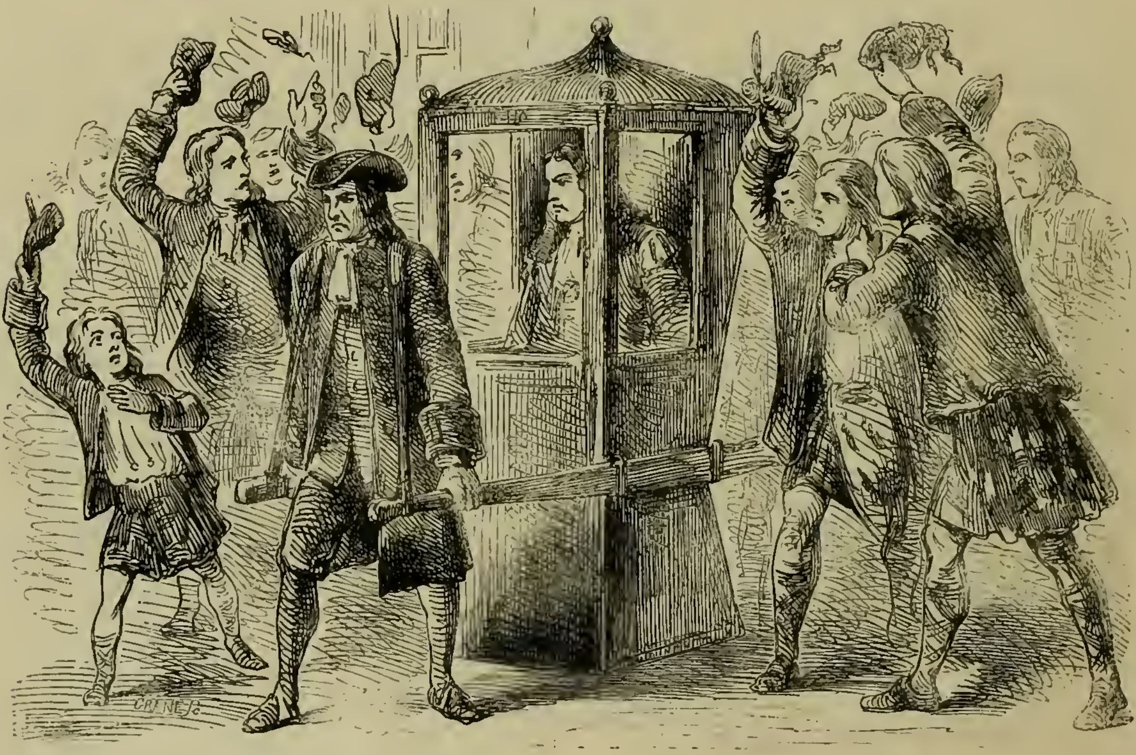
CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE (Continued).

Overtures by Louis XIV. for Peace, but rejected—France threatened with total Ruin—Defeat of the Allies at Almanza—Abortive Attempt on Toulon—Wreck of Sir Cloudesley Shovel on the Scilly Rocks—Interview of Charles XII. of Sweden and Marlborough—Inactive Campaign in the Netherlands—Meeting of the first British Parliament—Inquiry into the Conduct of the War in Spain—Harley resigns—Pretender embarks at Dunkirk for Scotland—His Design defeated—Parliament dissolved—French take Ghent and Bruges, but are routed at Oudenarde—Defeat of the French at Wynendale—Bavaria besieges Brussels—Lisle surrendered to the Allies; Ghent and Bruges retaken—Conquest of Minorca—Rupture betwixt the Pope and the Emperor—Death of George of Denmark—New Parliament—Abortive Negotiations for Peace—The Allies take Tournay—Victory of Malplaquet—Surrender of Mons—The Spanish Campaign—Offers of Peace by France rejected by the States-General—Dr. Sacheverel impeached by the Commons—His Trial—Debates upon it in the House of Lords—He is silenced for three Years—Conferences at Gertruydenburg—Seizure of Douay, Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant by the Allies—Charles of Austria defeats Philip and enters Madrid—Battle of Villaviciosa—Fall of the Whig Ministry—Dissolution of Parliament and Meeting of a new one—Marlborough coolly received in England.

The great event of the union of the kingdoms has carried us somewhat past the course of general events. After the last disastrous campaign, Louis XIV., humbled to a degree that he was hitherto unacquainted with, employed the elector of Bavaria to propose a congress to the duke of Marlborough and the States-General. He had already presented a memorial to the Dutch government through the marquis D'Alegré; and he besought the pope to use his influence to this end. The terms which Louis offered in the moment of his alarm were such as well merited the attention of the allies. He proposed to cede either Spain and the West Indies to king Charles, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily; to grant a barrier to the Dutch of fortified towns on the frontiers of the Spanish Netherlands, and to indemnify the duke of Savoy for the ravages committed on his territories. Never since the commencement of the war had the allies such an opportunity of closing the war triumphantly. They could thus balance the powers of France and Austria by dividing the Spanish monarchy, and give to the Dutch all they asked—a secure frontier. But the great doubt was whether Louis was in earnest, or only seeking to gain time during which he might continue to divide the allies. Long experience had impressed on all men the utterly slippery character of the man, and his very proposals seemed of themselves to produce this effect; for the emperor, alarmed at the idea of the allies acceding to such terms, determined to make himself master of Naples before any terms for its cession to France in exchange for Spain should be entered into. This was further seen in the circumstance of the emperor in the following winter concluding a separate treaty with Louis, by which he evacuated Milan, and thus liberated his troops to use them against the allies in Spain and the Netherlands.

But the allies were by no means eager to accept Louis's offers. The Dutch were greatly elated by Marlborough's astonishing victories, and Marlborough himself was in no humour to stop in the mid career of his glory. He is said to have induced the grand pensionary, Heinsius—who was now as much devoted to him as he had formerly been to king William—to keep the Dutch high in their demands; whilst Marlborough induced the English court to demand indemnity for the immense sums which England had expended in these wars. Under these circumstances the offers of France were declined under the plea that England could not enter into any negotiations except in concert with the allies; and no means were taken to summon a congress. Had the English people known of the offers, there would have probably been a loud demand for peace; but these were kept secret, and the attention of the nation being then greatly engrossed by the question of the union, the matter was passed over. This was not, however, without exciting fresh resentment against Marlborough amongst the tory leaders, who came at some knowledge of these affairs. They looked on Marlborough with sufficiently hostile eyes for having deserted their ranks, and they now regarded him as a selfish man, who was endeavouring to protract the war for his own interested purposes, reckless of the pressure of taxation and the sufferings of the people.

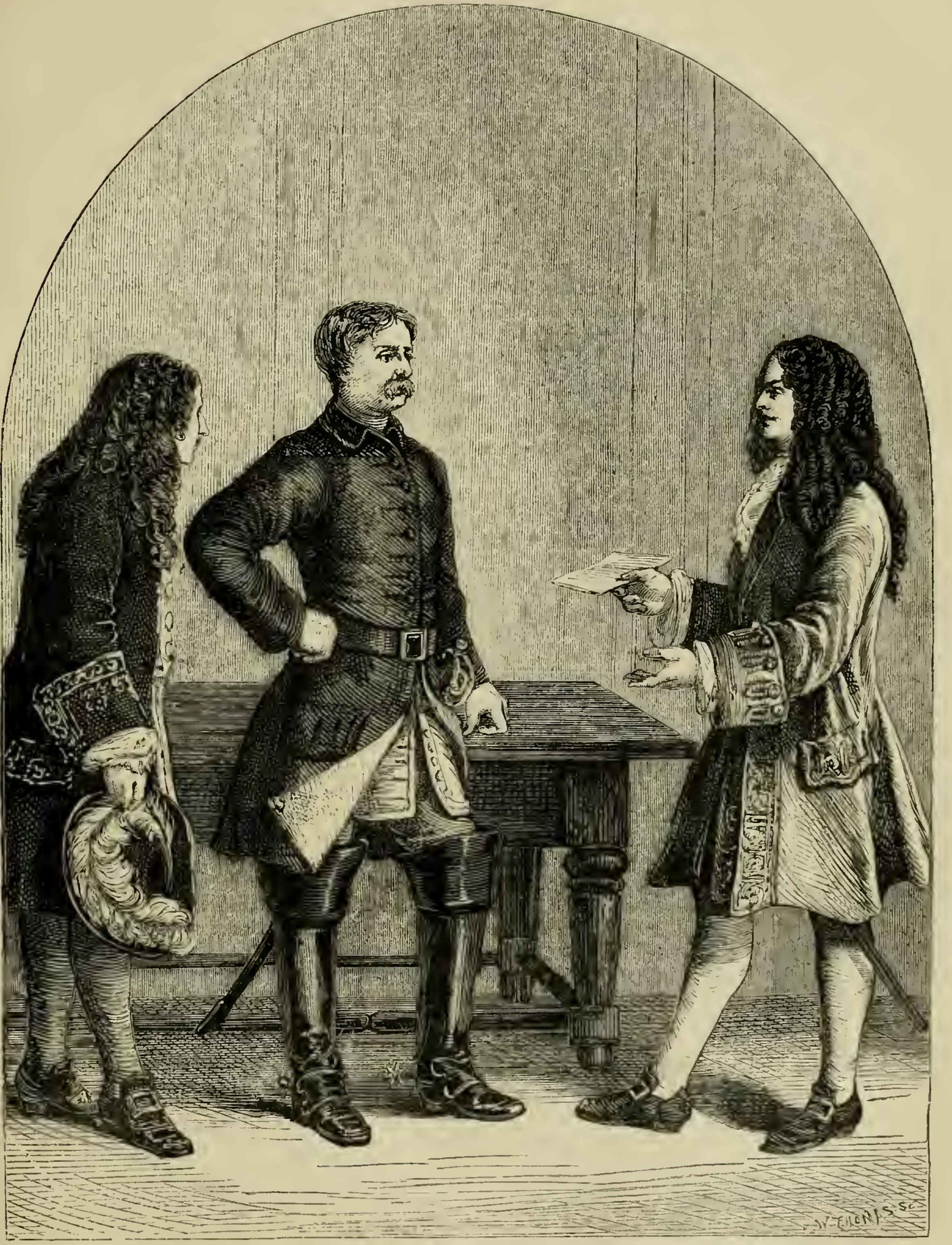


DUKE OF HAMILTON GOING TO THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

In opening parliament on the 3rd of December, 1706, the queen had dwelt much on the glorious successes of her arms, and especially in the battle of Ramillies, and asserted that the war only now required continuing with vigour to compel France to submit to terms which should secure the peace of Europe for a very long time. Not a word was whispered of the liberal offers made by Louis; on the contrary, the queen and government were so elated by their successes that they now imagined that France might not only be resisted but conquered, and even compelled to give up so many of its provinces as should disable her for ever from troubling the peace of Europe. Both the lords and commons presented addresses to her majesty advocating the vigorous pursuit of the war, and intimating that nothing but the restoration of Spain to Austria ought to satisfy the allies.

Both houses voted thanks to the duke of Marlborough for his magnificent services. The lords delivered to him their formal compliments through the lord keeper; and now parliament was in haste to confer on him those substantial marks of their approbation which they had rejected when the queen solicited them prematurely. They not only granted him the pension of five thousand pounds a year which they had before refused, and which Anne had, however, bestowed on him for life out of the post-office, but they made this permanent to his posterity. They also brought in a bill to settle the honours and manor of Woodstock and the house of Blenheim, by consent of her majesty, with all the duke's honours and titles, on his heirs for ever, whether male or female. The duke had lost his only son, the marquis of Blandford, and, therefore, the female line was introduced, these honours and estates descending to the daughters according to priority of birth, and to the heirs male of their bodies.

During this session the queen was prayed by the commons to resettle the islands of St. Nevis and St. Christopher, which had been ravaged by the enemy; and to take measures for extirpating a nest of pirates which had located itself in Madagascar, and impeded our commerce in those seas. Likewise to recover and preserve the ancient posses-



INTERVIEW BETWEEN MARLBOROUGH AND THE KING OF SWEDEN.

sion, trade, and fisheries of Newfoundland, invaded by the French. The French refugees also entreated her majesty to assist their brethren the protestants of the south of France, who were horribly persecuted by the government and the priests. The Russians also entreated the queen's good offices with the king of Sweden on behalf of their minister, count Patkull, who had been treacherously surrendered to Charles XII. by Augustus of Saxony on making peace with that monarch; but the queen's interference was not successful, for the Swedish king put the count to death, contrary to the usages of civilised nations.

The convocation all this time had continued its wranglings, and the lower house, whilst the union with Scotland was under discussion by parliament, intimating its intention to urge the commons to resist it at the instance of the queen, the archbishop prorogued it, much to its indignation. On the 24th of April, 1707, the queen prorogued the parliament, informing them that she would continue the lords and commons already assembled as members in the first British parliament, which would be summoned to meet on the 23rd of October. The Scots on the completion of the union repaired to London, where they were received with much courtesy by the queen. The duke of Queensberry was met by a great body of noblemen and gentlemen in coaches and on horseback, and conducted into London. The title of duke was conferred on the earls of Roxburgh and Montrose; and that the change of government might not appear too abrupt in Scotland, the queen appointed a new privy council, to be in force till the meeting of the first British parliament.

During this session, too, the ministry had been growing more completely whig. Through the influence of lady Marlborough rather than of the duke, who was strongly averse to the free principles and free language of his son-in-law, the earl of Sunderland, that nobleman was made one of the secretaries of state in the place of Sir Charles Hedges. This change was equally repugnant to Harley, the other secretary, who was now the only tory minister left in the cabinet. The three tory commissioners of the board of trade—Prior, the poet, being one—were removed, and three whigs were introduced. Sir James Montague, the brother of the earl of Halifax, was made solicitor-general; and Sir George Rooke and the few remaining tory privy councillors had their names erased. Harley was thus left, apparently without support, a tory in a cabinet all besides himself whig. But Harley was that kind of man that he not only managed to maintain his place, but eventually ruined and scattered the whole whig party. He was a man of low stature, rather deformed, of a heavy countenance, and of awkward manner. He was by no means a man of genius, though he affected the company of such men. Pope, Swift, Bolingbroke, Arbuthnot, and Prior were his friends and associates. His intellect was narrow and commonplace, but it was persevering; and though he was a wretched and confused speaker, yet he continually acquired more and more influence in the house of commons, and ultimately raised himself to the peerage, and for many years to the chief direction of the national affairs. The secret of this was that he had made himself thoroughly master of the laws and practices of parliament, and on all disputed questions could clear up the point past dispute, so that he came to be regarded as far more profound than he was. He had the art, too, of reticence of mind; of keeping his plans to himself, and of wearing a mysterious and reserved air, as though he were charged with deep and momentous secrets. In short, he was a thorough, plodding, scheming, and persisting politician, and thus contrived to secure much influence by a very ordinary show of understanding. No man, says Mackay, "knew better all the tricks of the house." He was brought up a regular roundhead and whig; helped with his father to bring in king William, and then took a deep hatred to him, because he did not consider himself sufficiently favoured by him. While professing still to be a whig, he was constantly found acting with the tories, and at length became, by imperceptible degrees, an arrant tory. Yet, adds Mackay, though "bred a presbyterian, he joins with the church in everything. He never fails to have a clergyman of *each sort* at his table on Sunday; his family go generally to the meeting." Such was the man destined, with his ally, St. John, to grind to powder the whole closely-compacted whig party; to become the prime minister of England, and, by the peace of Utrecht, to wipe out all the results of the victories of Marlborough, and of the blood and money expended by England in almost every quarter of Europe.

The duke of Marlborough, relying on the support of the whig cabinet which the influence of his contriving wife had created, set out in the month of April for the continent. The condition to which his successes had reduced France was such that the allies were in the highest spirits. The French treasury was exhausted; and, in the absence of real money, Louis endeavoured to supply the deficiency by mint bills, in imitation of the bank of England bills; but they were already at a discount of fifty-three per cent. The lands lay uncultivated, manufacturers were at a pause for want of capital, the people were perishing with famine, and nothing could be more deplorable than the state of France. Nothing could have saved Louis at this crisis but want of unity amongst the allies, and already the artful Louis had contrived to get in the wedge of disunion. The emperor, allured by the prospect of the evacuation of Italy, and of seizing Naples for himself, had come to a secret understanding with the French king, which was equally treacherous and suicidal; for the direct result, as any man but the stolid emperor would have foreseen, was to liberate the French forces from the north of Italy, to reinforce those in the Netherlands and those endeavouring to drive his brother Charles from Spain.

Marlborough, on his part, did everything that he could to keep the allies together, and to combine them into a victorious strength; but it had always been his misfortune, as it had been that of William, to have to suffer from their regard rather to their own petty jealousies than to the grand object in view. He set out directly from the Hague to visit Hanover, and stimulate the young elector to active assistance. He then set out to pay a visit to Charles XII. of Sweden, who was encamped at Alt Ranstadt, only a few marches from the court of Hanover. The Swedish military madman, neglecting the Czar Peter, who was making continual inroads on his Finnish and Esthonian territories, and was now actually laying the foundations of a new capital and seaport on the shores of the Baltic, had pursued, with blind and inveterate hatred, Augustus, the elector of Saxony, who had presumed to allow himself, in spite of the Swedish king, to be elected king of Poland. He had succeeded in dethroning Augustus, and setting up Stanislaus in his stead. But not contented with this, he had now pursued Augustus into Saxony, and was laying that state under contributions. Such a firebrand in that quarter was only too sure to attract the attention of Louis of France. He was just the character to turn against the emperor, who had always favoured Augustus; and accordingly his agents were at work to turn the arms of this victorious Swede against Austria, which would be the most advantageous circumstance for Louis which at this time could be conceived. Marlborough determined, therefore, to visit the Swedish king, and endeavour to avert this evil. He carried with him a letter from queen Anne, and reached his camp on the 28th of April. The eccentric monarch was in the habit of refusing bluntly to see ambassadors sent to him, when he thought they were seeking to draw him from his own self-willed schemes; but he had a great curiosity to see the hero of Blenheim and Ramillies. It was immediately, however, evident to Marlborough that those about the king were already tampered with by the French. On arriving, he first demanded an audience of count Piper, Charles's chief counsellor, but he was suffered to wait half an hour before the count came down to him, on the plea that he was then engaged. This was not what Marlborough was accustomed to, even from crowned heads themselves, and therefore, when the great Piper did appear, the duke coolly put on his hat, walked past the count without saluting him, and after having taken a turn or two, came up and addressed him. He was soon issued into the presence of Charles, whom he found in that uncouth and even sordid dress, his huge jack boots and coarse coat with huge buttons, which he never changed. Marlborough, who rightly conceived that this "madman of the north" was most easily accessible on the side of his martial vanity, addressed him in a strain of high-flown adulation, which would have disgusted a less egotistic person. "Sire," he said, "I present to your majesty a letter, not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen, my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented her taking so long a journey, she would have crossed the sea to see a prince admired by the whole universe. I esteem myself more happy in this particular, of being able personally to assure your majesty of my regard, and I should think it a greater happiness, if my affairs would allow me, to learn under so great a general what I yet want to know in the art of war."

Marlborough's flattery appeared to produce the intended effect. The rough Swede assured him that he had a great regard for the queen of England, and for the objects of the grand alliance, and should do nothing contrary to it. That he detested the domineering spirit of the French, and that no good need be expected till they were reduced to the condition they were in at the peace of Westphalia. That he was come into Saxony to demand certain satisfaction, and that when he had obtained it he should go away, and not sooner. All this passed through interpreters, for Charles either could not speak French or refused to do it. Marlborough did not, however, depend on Charles's word, he kept his eyes and ears open, and found that he was beginning to think of chastising the Czar, from which the duke drew the most satisfaction, as it showed that his mind was not turned towards affairs in the south. Marlborough, also, perceiving that the chief ministers were very poor, and that all in the camp lived in a rude style, offered Piper, Hermelion, and Cjederholm, good English pensions. Piper made some difficulty in accepting his, but Marlborough succeeded better with his wife, and all the three councillors not only accepted the pensions, but received a year's in advance. To make all sure, however, Marlborough left an English diplomatist, Mr. Jeffreys, to accompany the army, a rare favour, for Charles had always refused to allow any foreign minister to attend him in the field. By this means Marlborough was kept in constant knowledge of all that passed in the Swedish camp. But notwithstanding Charles's profession, he continued to harass and alarm the emperor, until he had obtained from him all that he chose to demand, when he marched away into Poland to encounter the Czar. Marlborough himself returned by way of the courts of Prussia and Hanover to the Hague, giving everywhere the utmost satisfaction by his arrangements with Charles XII., who had made every neighbouring court uneasy, lest he might turn his erratic arms against them.

But the campaign in the Netherlands this year bore no relation to the great expectations formed of it. Louis, in the very depth of his poverty and difficulties, had found the means of paralysing the allies. When the duke mustered the confederate allies at Andulach, near Brussels, about the middle of May, he found the French forces so far preponderating, that though he had advanced to Soignies, intending to come to an engagement with them much on the same ground, the plain of Fleurus, as he hoped to have met them upon in the previous autumn, he did not think it safe to fight. The French were commanded by the duke de Vendôme and the elector of Bavaria, and they had called out all the garrisons round to swell their army. Marlborough, therefore, fell back towards Brussels, and encamped at Mildert, and the French advanced to Gemblours. The two armies lay thus still till the duke found that the French had been obliged to send off a large detachment to oppose the attempts of the duke of Savoy and Eugene in Provence, when he determined to come to action. But the French were now no longer in the mind for fighting. They decamped, and continued to retreat from one post to another with such adroitness and celerity, that Marlborough could not come up with them till they were safely encamped under the cannon of Lisle, with the Scheldt before them, and their flanks well protected by intrenchments. Marlborough pitched his camp at Helchin, and foraged under the cannon of Tournay, within a league of the enemy, but found it impossible to draw them into action. The French plan was not to fight in the Netherlands this year, but to drive the allies out of Spain, and both armies went into winter quarters towards the end of October. Marlborough, thus compelled to pass a blank campaign, set off for Frankfort to confer with the electors of Maienz, Hanover, and the Palatinate, on their future plans, after which he returned to the Hague.

to consult with the States-General, and reached England in the beginning of November, to find affairs there assuming as unsatisfactory a shape as they had done on the continent. The people and the queen were both beginning to tire of the whigs, and a new favourite was undermining the influence of the great duchess with Anne.

In Spain the adroit manœuvre of Louis by which, through his treaty with the selfish and short-sighted emperor, he had liberated his troops from Italy to throw them upon that country, and the want of unity betwixt Charles and his auxiliaries, quite changed the face of affairs. The whigs had studiously left the reinforcements in Spain insufficient, from the idea that it was better to continue to distract the attention of Louis in that direction than by a bold and vigorous effort to drive him from the country. They had a vain idea of conquering France, and thought this more easy to achieve while the French arms were demanded in various quarters. But the astute Louis was not so readily dealt with. He contrived, as we have seen, to amuse the allies in Flanders without coming to blows. He coped without difficulty with the Germans on the Rhine, and, though fiercely attacked at Toulon by the Savoyards, he defeated the allies in Spain, to the great astonishment of Europe.

By this time the opinion formed of king Charles when he was in England by those who had opportunity of observing him was now become that of all who had come near him in Spain—that he was a very poor creature. The earl of Peterborough, who had been travelling about with little success to borrow money for such a contest, and was returned to Spain, but without any command, did not hesitate to say that people were great fools to fight for such a couple of simpletons as Charles and Philip. Charles was surrounded by a set of Austrians who were utterly incapable of commanding, and who made it equally impossible for any one else to command. The great plan of the campaign was to march boldly on Madrid; but Charles was, as before, too timid to venture on such a step. He remained in Catalonia, and ordered the earl of Galway, with the Dutch and English forces, and Das Minas, with the Portuguese, to defend the frontiers of Arragon and Valencia, and thus he contrived to wait for fresh troops from England, or from Italy, where they were no longer wanted. Whilst Das Minas and Galway, who was only second in command, were laying siege to Velina, in Valencia, and were in want of almost everything—food, clothes, and ammunition—they heard that the duke of Berwick was hastening, by forced marches, to attack them. They therefore drew off towards the town of Almanza, and there fell in with the enemy, who proved to be considerably stronger than themselves. They came to an engagement, however, on the 14th of April. The battle began about two in the afternoon, and the whole force of each army was engaged. The centre of the allies, consisting of Dutch and English, fought most valiantly, and repeatedly threw back the forces of the duke of Berwick. For six long and bloody hours they maintained the fight; but the two wings were beaten and dispersed, the Portuguese horse on the right at the first charge, but the Dutch and English, on the left, only after a brave but unequal resistance. When the gallant centre was thus exposed on both flanks, they formed themselves into a square and retired from the field, fighting doggedly as they went. But at length their ammunition was spent, they were worn out with fatigue, and they surrendered, to the amount of thirteen battalions. The Portuguese, part of the English horse, and the infantry who guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira, where the earl of Galway joined them with about two thousand five hundred horse, and they escaped. It was a complete triumph for the French and Spaniards. The allies lost five thousand men, besides the wounded and the large force which surrendered. The earl of Galway received two deep cuts in the face; the marquis Das Minas was run through the arm; and his mistress, fighting at his side in the costume of an Amazon, was killed. The lords Tyrawley, Mark Ker, and colonel Clayton were amongst the wounded. All the cannon, with a hundred and twenty colours and standards, were lost. The enemy, however, did not obtain a bloodless victory—they lost about two thousand men.

Nothing now could stop Berwick, who won great reputation by this decisive action. He marched into Valencia, taking town after town, whilst Saragossa at the same time surrendered, without a shot, to the duke of Orleans. Berwick marched for the Ebro, which he crossed on the 4th of June, and at length pursued and shut up the flying confederates in Lerida. Whilst he was waiting for artillery and ammunition to commence the siege of this strong place, he received orders to hasten into Provence, where the duke of Savoy had penetrated, and to assist the duke of Burgundy, who was marching to the relief of Toulon, which Savoy was besieging. On approaching Beziers he learned that Burgundy did not want his services, and he hastened back and joined the duke of Orleans in the siege of Lerida. The siege commenced on the 2nd of October, and was continued till the 12th of October. Both the besiegers and besieged were in a nearly equal state of wretchedness, destitute of almost everything, such was the poverty of Spain; and, had any tolerable force marched up, the siege must have been raised. But Charles was too inert or too dastardly to lead thither his troops, though they lay at no great distance; and the place was taken by storm, and given up to all the licence of the soldiery. After this Manilla surrendered so late as the 17th of December, and with that the campaign closed. The duke of Orleans returned to Paris, and the duke of Berwick remained with the army till towards spring, when Louis sent for him in haste into France, ordering him to quit Spain unknown to Philip, lest he should endeavour to detain him. The earl of Galway and Das Minas embarked at Barcelona for Lisbon, leaving general Carpenter with the English forces remaining in Catalonia, the only portion of Spain now left to the pusillanimous Charles.

The operation, however, which the most alarmed the French court was that of the duke of Savoy against Provence. This had been planned by Marlborough and prince Eugene, and would undoubtedly have had a brilliant success, had not the emperor been secretly planning his attempt on Naples instead of sending all his forces into Italy to the support of this enterprise. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, though abandoned by this selfish and small-souled emperor, on whose account the great powers of Europe were expending so much life and wealth, crossed the Alps by the

Col di Tende with twenty thousand men, whilst Sir Cloudesley Shovel appeared on the coast of Provence with the united fleet of England and Holland to support them. Eugene crossed the Var on the 10th of July, Sir John Norris and his English sailors clearing the way for him in their gun-boats. But the French were fast marching towards Toulon from various quarters, Villars having been dispatched with a large force, as we have stated, from the army of Flanders. The duke of Savoy, on the other hand, instead of pushing on to Toulon with all speed, halted his army to rest, and then marched leisurely forward. By this means, not only had the French been able to collect a very powerful army, but had had time to strengthen greatly the fortifications of Toulon. When the practised eye of prince Eugene took a survey of the formidable heights of Toulon, and of the great force on the outworks, with the power of the batteries, he advised the duke not to attempt the siege of the place with the forces at his command. The duke, however, would persist, and an assault was made on the outworks on the hill of St. Catherine's, and on two small forts near the harbour. These were carried, but at a great cost of life, including that of the gallant prince of Saxe-Gotha. But fresh French troops kept pouring in; it was impossible to maintain even this advantage. On the 15th of August the hill of St. Catherine was recovered by the French, and the Savoyards were even attacked in their own camp. On this an order was given to bombard the place, both from sea and land, in retaliation for the ravages committed by the French on Turin; the bombardment, especially from the sea, was made with terrible effect. A great part of the city was destroyed, and the English and Dutch sailors destroyed eight ships of the line in the harbours, and utterly destroyed two batteries. In the night of the 25th of August, the army of Savoy retired; on the 31st it crossed the Var without any pursuit of the French, and then laid siege to Suza, an old and strong town at the foot of the Alps, which surrendered after a fortnight's investment.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, leaving a squadron with Sir Thomas Dilkes in the Mediterranean, sailed for England, and on the night of the 22nd of October closed his brave career in a sudden and melancholy manner. By some miscalculation his vessels got amongst the rocks of Scilly. His own ship struck on a rock about eight o'clock at night, and went down, drowning him and every soul on board. Three other vessels shared the same fate, only the captain and twenty-four men of one of them escaping. Sir Cloudesley Shovel had risen from a humble origin in Suffolk, and raised himself to the head of the maritime service of his country by his bravery, skill, and integrity. His body, when cast ashore, was stripped by the wreckers and buried in the sand; but was afterwards discovered and interred in Westminster Abbey.

Whilst the Savoyards had been engaged at Toulon, the imperial forces, who should have supported them, were marching, under the command of general count Daun, to the invasion of the Neapolitan territory. The Austrian forces crossed the frontier eight thousand strong—namely, five thousand foot and three thousand horse—and were immediately welcomed by the citizens of Capua, who opened their gates. Aversa and Naples itself did the same The garrisons, both Spaniards and Neapolitans, declared for king Charles. The prince of Castiglione in the passes of the Appenines, and the duke of Atri in the Abruzzi, endeavoured to maintain the cause of king Philip, but in vain. That monarch had completely alienated the population by his heavy demands on them for the war in Spain; and thus easily was the kingdom of Naples taken possession of by Austria, and retained for twenty-seven years.

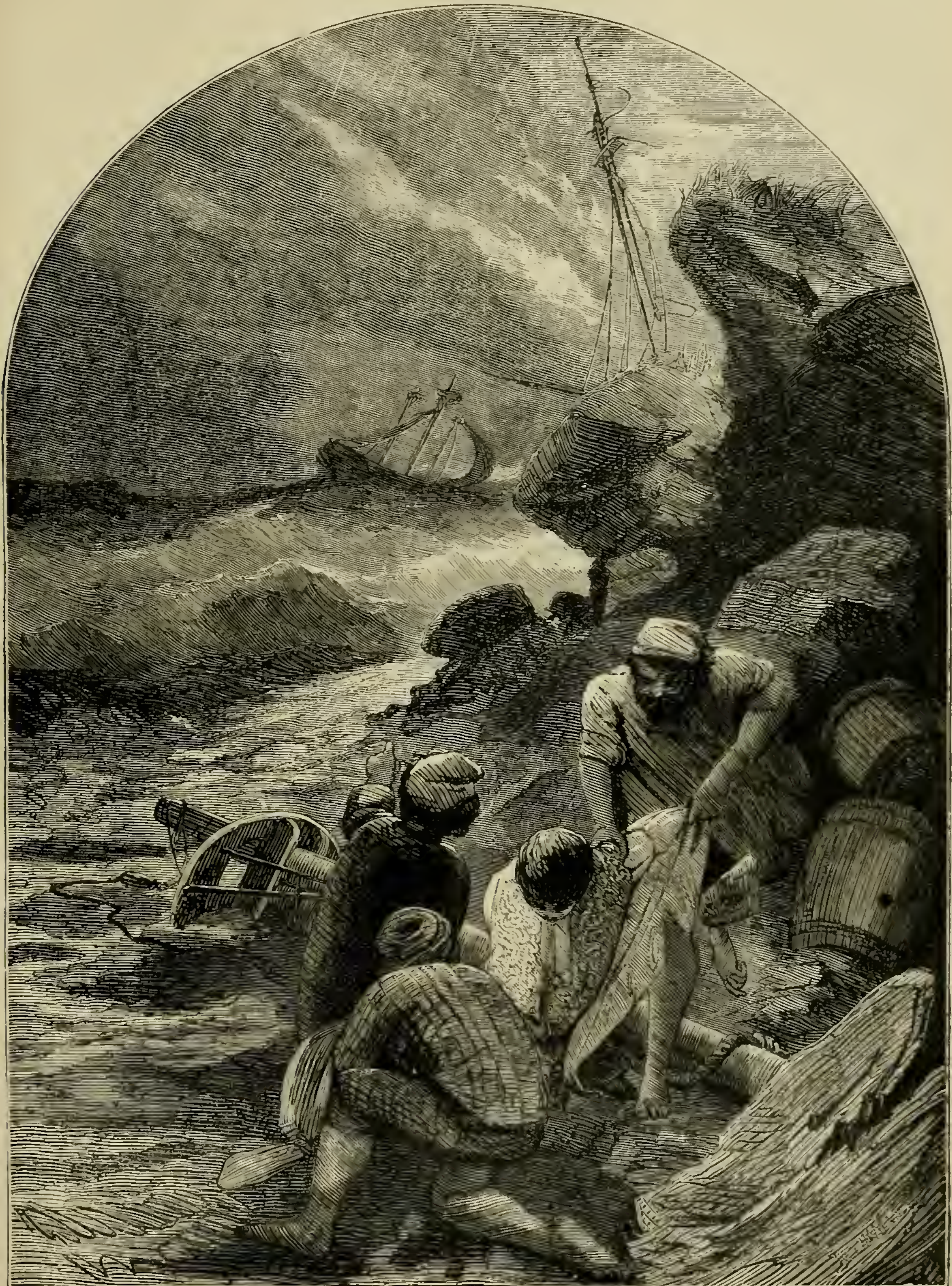
The only part of the campaign of 1707 which remains to be noticed is that of the Upper Rhine. The prince of Baden was dead, being really no loss to the allies. The German army, owing to the emperor's all-absorbing idea of seizing Naples, was so small that it could not stand its ground even against the moderate force which the French had on the Upper Rhine under Villars. That general crossed the river at Strasburg, broke through the lines at Buhl, which were regarded as the rampart of Germany, reduced Rastadt, penetrated into Würtemberg, took Stutgard and Schorndorff, and routed three thousand Germans under general Janus at Lorch. There appeared every probability that Villars would win back the territories of the elector of Bavaria, and nullify the great victory of Marlborough at Blenheim; but he was stopped in his career by the immediate demand of a considerable number of his troops to march into Provence. The imperial army took post at Heilbronn, and the command was intrusted to prince George of Hanover—afterwards George I. of England—who, though no brilliant military genius, yet showed more tact and activity than the late prince of Baden. Villars, weakened by the removal of so many of his troops, gave George no opportunity of showing his ability in a fight, but recrossed the Rhine, and quartered himself at Strasburg.

Whilst these transactions were taking place abroad, the spirit of discontent was raging through the whole summer in Scotland. The people there were more than ever indignant on reflection at the carrying of the union. Besides the wound to the national pride—a feeling always high and sensitive in Scotland, and which led the people to reflect with deep mortification on the loss of their ancient constitution and their self-importance derived from their independence and management of their own affairs—the English government had rather been at pains to embitter these sentiments than to soothe them. In the debates on the union in the English parliament, many things had been said extremely contemptuous of Scotland. It was described as a poor and beggarly country, likely to draw great advantages from the union with England, and to bring none in return. The payment of money to the Scots, and the grant of certain exemptions regarding the land-tax, and other matters, were loudly denounced. When the union came to be initiated by practice, there appeared a disposition on the part of the English authorities to vex and overbear the Scots, as if to retaliate for the fierce opposition they had made to the union. Three months elapsed before the equivalent money was paid, and when this took place it was distributed in a manner which appeared to the Scots extremely partial and corrupt in practice. The wines and spirits which had been imported into England in anticipation were seized with the utmost rigour, and all trade for two months was thrown into a stagnation.

The Scots exclaimed aloud that they had been betrayed by their parliament, which had been basely bribed by England, and now they were to be treated with every injustice and trodden under foot with the most haughty contempt. Religious differences arising out of the terms of the union added fuel to the general flame, and the Jacobites seized on this temper of the public mind to forward their own views. The very presbyterians, incensed at the treatment of Scotland, were ready to listen to the representations of the emissaries and adherents of the old Stuart dynasty, and to recur to the hope that in that line they might yet find the means of recovering their independence of the proud English.

VIEW IN SAXONY BETWEEN WELHEN AND RATHEN.

There had been for some time in Scotland a very zealous emissary of the court of St. Germains, one colonel Hooke, a brother, as supposed, of Nathaniel Hooke, author of a well-known Roman History, and also the compiler or reviser of the duchess of Marlborough's account of her life, for which labour she is said to have paid him five thousand pounds. Colonel Hooke transmitted to Chamillart, the minister of Louis XIV., flaming accounts of this state of things in Scotland, and represented that never was there so auspicious an opportunity of introducing the king of England (the pretender) again to his ancient throne of Scotland—a circumstance than which nothing could be more advantageous to France. A civil war created in Great Britain must completely prevent the English from longer impeding the affairs of Louis on the continent. All the power of England would be needed at home; and on the king of England succeeding in establishing himself on the throne of the united kingdom, France would be for ever relieved from the harassing antagonism of England—the only real obstacle to the amplest completion of all France's plans for continental dominion.



WRECKERS STRIPPING THE BODY OF SIR C. SHOVEL.

These representations fully confirmed those of other agents who had been sent over to Scotland during the struggle for the union. A Mr. Scott had made a very close and extensive observation of the country, of its army, its resources, of the well and ill affected amongst its nobility and gentry in almost all parts of the country; and in his letters to lord Middleton had assured him that in all the northern shires, the nobility, gentry, and people were devoted heart and soul to the pretender, and that the hatred to the union was fast producing the same effect in almost every other quarter. A captain Stratton, in the autumn of 1706, also informed Middleton, that the Scots were longing for a French army under their own king; that they were making every effort to reject the union, and did not doubt to succeed, provided the Scottish parliament was not actually bought up by English money.

Hooke now informed Middleton that the carrying of the union, and the subsequent conduct of the English, had so exasperated the whole country, that the different parties seemed to have lost all care about their particular interests, and burned only to throw off the English yoke. Formerly the greater part of the Scottish people were favourable to the king of England (the pretender), but that now even the presbyterians, his ancient enemies, were won over, and wished for nothing so much as his arrival. That they looked to him as their only resource, and offered to arm thirteen thousand men, and to begin the war upon the first orders they should receive, requiring only a ship load of gunpowder, and the young king to put himself at their head. He afterwards asserted that the nobles were ready to march into England at the head of thirty thousand men, whom they would supply with provisions, clothes, carriages, and even in part with arms. He sent to the king of France, inclosed to Middleton, a memorial from some of the chiefs of the nation, and in the names of thirty others, who had appointed them their proxies, but who would not be named till they had full assurance of France effectually co-operating. All, he said, were unanimous except the duke of Hamilton and another lord, a friend of his. He considered that the whole nation was engaged, and that if the king of France would only prosecute the enterprise, he would engage that in a very little time England would be in no condition to furnish either troops or money to the enemy, but would be glad to make peace on the king's own terms.

In the spring of 1707 Hooke was over in Scotland a second time. He and his co-incendiaries, the brothers Moray, were landed at the castle of Slaines, in the north of Aberdeenshire, in February. He found that the union had passed the Scottish parliament, and that all the lords and other members of parliament had retired to their country residences except the high constable, at whose castle he was, the duke of Hamilton, and the earl marshal. That the nation was more than ever enraged, but that the countess of Errol, the mother of the high constable, handed him several letters from her son, giving him all encouragement, saying that all the well-affected were now convinced that they could obtain better terms, sword in hand, than those of the union. Both the countess and other correspondents warned him, however, not to put any trust in the duke of Hamilton, for that he had suddenly and greatly changed; that all his friends had abandoned him, suspecting him of holding secret correspondence with the court in London. If the duke had received the assurance, to which we have alluded, from the court of St. Germains, to cease his opposition to the union, and in consequence of which he appeared suddenly paralysed, it may account for this, and the after uncertain conduct of this nobleman. Having been suddenly checked in his zealous opposition to the union, it would at once confound him, and throw suspicion upon him amongst his friends and adherents. At all events, from some cause the duke had altered his conduct, and whilst he attributed his sudden change to secret advices from France, others attributed it to secret money or promises from London. From other nobles Hooke seems to have received great encouragement, particularly from the earl of Errol, the high constable, lord Drummond, son of the earl of Perth, commonly in Scotland called the duke of Perth, the dukes of Athol and Gordon, and lord Saltoun. The earl of Errol, on arriving at the castle of Slaines, confirmed all that the countess, his mother, had said of the duke of Hamilton; that for a long time he had been in correspondence with the duke of Queensberry and the earl of Stair, and after the union, had done all in his power to be nominated one of the peers to serve in the British parliament. That Hamilton had discouraged preparations for rising, and the earl of Strathmore, lord Stormont, and the lords of Powrie and Finglas, confirmed this from their own knowledge. Hooke then advised that they should leave Hamilton out of the question, who was neither considerable for his riches nor the number of his vassals; but then Errol showed him a letter written by father Innes, almoner to Maria D'Este, the pretender's mother, to this effect:—"The king of England desires that his friends will follow the directions of the duke of Hamilton, and not declare themselves till the duke has declared himself, when they may, without danger, follow his example."

At the same time the earl of Errol showed two letters from two Scottish gentlemen in France, who declared that Louis would do nothing for the Scots, and that Hooke's journey was only a feint. All this went to show that, however Hamilton might be suspected of being in correspondence with the English court, he was still in the confidence of the court of St. Germains, which probably thought the passing of the union as advantageous to them as it was to Anne, the question of the protestant succession being one which, at the proper time, might be set aside. Hooke's zeal might endanger the real designs of the French court, and therefore these letters were sent to put some caution on him and his co-agitators. When Hooke got into correspondence with Hamilton, some further light was thrown on these mysterious circumstances. Hamilton professed his interest in the cause of the pretender unabated, but contended that Louis would do nothing for the king of England's enterprise, and that it was useless attempting any such enterprise unless it was supported by French funds and ten thousand French soldiers. Hooke contended that foreign soldiers would ruin instead of assisting the cause; that foreigners were not used to live on so little as Scotchmen; that they did not understand their language, and were not of their religion; that it would have an air of conquest, especially amongst the English, which would hinder their friends in England from joining them, and induce them rather to join the other side. Hamilton persisted in his views, and advised Hooke, till money and troops were forthcoming, to go back to France.

From others, however, Hooke received more encouragement. He obtained a memorial to Louis XIV., signed by the lord high constable, the earl of Errol, by the lords Stormont, Panmure, Kinnaird, and Drummond, and by some men of smaller note. The leading men did not sign. They were not willing to endanger their necks without some nearer prospect of invasion. Hooke, indeed, pretended that the lords who did sign, signed as proxies for many others, such as the earls of Caithness, Eglintoun, Aberdeen, and Buchan, lord Saltoun, &c. With this memorial, such as it was, Hooke went back to St. Germains, and what the document wanted in weight he made up by verbal assurances of the impatience of all Scotland for the arrival of the king. But the truth appears to be that France expected a stronger demonstration on the part of Scotland, and Scotland on the part of France, and so the adventure hung. As nothing was heard from France by the more eager and expectant conspirators, they began to write impatient letters to Chamillart, the French minister, the duke of Gordon, in the beginning of August, declaring that the friends of the king were in consternation at not hearing anything. Secresy, he said, was necessary in great affairs, but that there might be too much secresy, and that they must know what France intended. He declared that the duke of Hamilton was now as anxious for a demonstration as the rest of them. The laird of Kersland, the head of the presbyterians of the west, wrote that all would be ruined if succour did not arrive very soon; that he had managed to keep the people hitherto in the right spirit, but that they could not be kept so long. They complained of having been so often deceived, and that he must be assured that succours were coming, or it would be too late; that the union was so much detested that it had changed the hearts of the king's worst enemies, but that if this disposition was not profited by, all would be lost, and the king's most devoted friends all ruined. On the 23rd of August, the duke of Gordon having received no satisfactory answer, the duchess wrote in a strain of high excitement—"For God's sake, what are you thinking of? Is it possible that, having ventured all to show our zeal, we have neither assistance nor answer? All is lost for want of knowing what measures ought to be taken. Several of the greatest partisans of the union acknowledge their error, and come over to us. If we are left in the uncertainty that we are in, the people will grow cold. The chieftains will fear for themselves when they find they are despised, and will make their peace not to have a halter about their necks. Give me but a positive promise, and all will go well. The chieftains will then find no difficulty in keeping everything ready against the arrival of the succours; but our hearts are sunk by this continual uncertainty. Come when you please, and to what part you please, you will be well received; but if you do not come soon, the party will be broken, and it will be too late."

The fact was that the young pretender, an ardent, ambitious youth of nineteen, and his mother, the widow of James, were eager for the invasion of Scotland; but the means lay with Louis, and he was now old, failing in health, and much broken down and confounded by his late numerous reverses. The Scotch wanted both money and men, and he had neither. The victorious Marlborough in the Netherlands, his kingdom every summer now assaulted on the side of Provence, his fleets beaten and dispersed at sea by the English, and the demands of both men and money to support his feeble grandson on the throne of Spain, with an empty exchequer and a murmuring and beggared people, found him enough and more than enough to do. True, a bold and decided war in Scotland would make a grand diversion, and draw off the English from other quarters; but it required the resources and the spirit of his earlier years to organise such a campaign, with the hazard of his armament, after an expense that he could ill afford, being met at sea and demolished. These circumstances not only weighed on Louis but on his minister Chamillart, who was timid, vacillating, and oppressed with constant exertion to keep on foot the operations already indispensable.

Lord Middleton, on the part of the young pretender, did not fail to press on Chamillart the expediency of seizing on the state of things in Scotland at this moment, to serve both his master and Louis's own affairs. He informed him that colonel Hooke had been some time anxiously waiting to be able to send the Scotch word of the promised succours. He reminded him of the expectancy which they had excited in Scotland, and the imminent danger in which the great lords had placed themselves by their ready pledges to support the king of England. He begged him to remember of what advantage the insurrection in Hungary had been; what trouble even a few peasants in the Cevennes had been able to give against all the power of France, and that neither of these people could make so proud a stand as the Scotch, with their mountain fastnesses, could against an enemy. But all his arguments were at present in vain. It was not till the following year that sufficient spirit could be aroused to send out an armament, and not till upwards of twenty of the Jacobite lords and gentlemen, including the duke of Hamilton, with all his caution, had been arrested.

The first parliament of Great Britain met on the 23rd of October, 1707. It became a question whether this should be deemed a new parliament or not. It was contended, on the one hand, that it was a new parliament because it had been let fall and had been revived by a proclamation, and that, therefore, all who had received places must be re-elected. On the other hand, it was maintained that it was not a new parliament because it had not been summoned by a new writ. Harley asserted that it was merely the old parliament. but the duke of Marlborough contended that it ought to be considered a new one, and it was so far admitted that the speakership was put to the vote, and Mr. Smith was again elected. The queen, in her speech, endeavoured to make the best of the last unfortunate summer's military operations. The retreat of the imperialist troops on the Rhine was freely admitted, but it was considered an encouraging circumstance that the command there was now in the hands of the elector of Hanover, and it was announced that measures were taken for strengthening the forces in that quarter. Little could be said of the proceedings in the Netherlands, and less of those in Spain, including the fatal battle of Almanza; but the most was made of the attack upon and the bombardment of Toulon. But the speech promised renewed vigour in every quarter, and called for augmented supplies. The deficiencies of military and naval action—for we had also suffered a considerable defeat at sea from the celebrated French admiral, Du Guai Trouin, off the Lizard Point, in which two ships of the line were taken and a third blown up—were endeavoured to be covered by dwelling on the happy event of the union.

The commons in their address seized on this salient point of congratulation, and declared it a mark of the Divine goodness that her majesty had been made the glorious instrument of this happy union, which would so strengthen the kingdom as to make it a terror to all its enemies. They spoke with great confidence of repairing the disasters of the last year, and promised to stand by her till she had recovered the whole Spanish monarchy. In the lords, however, masters did not go so smoothly. Lord Wharton moved that, before addressing the crown, they should appoint a committee of inquiry into the state of the nation. He dwelt strongly on the depression of trade, the great scarcity of money, and the gross mismanagement of the navy. In this he was supported by lord Somers, who, with Wharton, was desirous to get the incapable prince of Denmark removed from the admiralty, and to drive the tories Harley and St. John from office. The tories, who were blinded by their equal eagerness to ruin the duke of Marlborough, lord Godolphin, and the whigs generally, not perceiving the drift of Wharton and Somers, supported this motion, and it was carried. A day was then fixed for receiving a deputation from the sheriffs and merchants of London, who complained of the losses at sea for want of cruisers and convoys; and there was only too much truth in the complaint, which they supported by plenty of evidence.

The report of the committee was sent to the lord-admiral, and an official reply in the usual style, smoothing over the complaints, was returned by him. The tories then endeavoured to lay the blame on the ministry, but this was overruled. The commons went into a similar inquiry with little better result, for the head of the admiralty was too near to the crown for the inquiry to be properly pushed. They, however, passed a bill for the better protection of the commerce of the kingdom. They prepared another bill for abolishing the Scottish act of security; and as the Scottish privy council, which was to sit only till the meeting of the British parliament, displayed no haste in terminating its own existence, they passed a bill, which Somers had prepared and carried in the lords, for formally putting an end to that council, and establishing only one council for the whole kingdom.

When the queen gave her assent to these bills, she recommended an increase in the aids and auxiliaries granted to the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy. This produced a debate in the house of lords. Lord Peterborough, the only man who had done anything distinguished in the Spanish war, and who could have done wonders there if he had been properly encouraged, had, on the contrary, been coldly looked upon at court, in consequence of the complaints which the imbecile king Charles had made of him, for Peterborough had been very free in expressing his indignation as to the miserable management of the war. The queen had refused to see him, and he now demanded a parliamentary inquiry into his conduct. Accordingly, the question was entertained in both houses. The whole of his military proceedings, his negotiations for funds to support the war in Spain, and his disposal of the remittances furnished from home, were passed under review, and he produced such vouchers for his justification, both of living witnesses and original papers, that he was triumphantly acquitted by the prevailing sense of both houses, and the subject was dropped, though without proceeding to any formal resolution.

The earl of Rochester and lord Haversham, as well as other tory peers, declared the military genius displayed by lord Peterborough to be inferior to that of no general of the age, and they made some sharp reflections on the conduct of the earl of Galway. There can, indeed, be little doubt that the brilliant military genius of the earl of Peterborough was sacrificed to that of Marlborough. The court, where Marlborough's influence yet prevailed, and the whole body of the whigs, with whom Marlborough was now allied, studiously kept Peterborough in the background. If he had been supported in Spain by armies even far inferior to those which Marlborough commanded in the Netherlands, he would have overrun all Spain, driven out the French, and finished the war in a few months. But finding himself left destitute of the necessary means, and exposed to the senseless opposition of the wretched Charles and his Austrian friends, he gave up the command, and could afterwards only witness the mismanagement of the war without any power to alter it. He now contended that they ought to contribute nine shillings in the pound rather than to make peace on any terms; and he offered to return to Spain and serve even under the earl of Galway, so that the war were but carried on in Spain with proper spirit. But his advice was quietly ignored. The earls of Rochester and Nottingham recommended that the campaign for one season in the Netherlands should be maintained merely on the defensive, in order to send twenty thousand men to Catalonia; but this, of course, Marlborough opposed with all his power. He contended that every man would be required in the Netherlands in order to retain the towns they had gained, and that any failure there would rouse the opposition party in Holland, which was already too strong, and was complaining heavily of the expenses of the war. Being asked by Rochester then, how troops were to be found for Spain and Savoy, he assured the house that measures were already concerted for raising the army under the duke of Savoy to forty thousand men, and also for sending powerful reinforcements to Spain. This finished the debate, and the lords now joined with the commons in an affectionate address to her majesty, declaring that the only means of obtaining an honourable peace was the entire recovery of Spain. To support these assurances by deeds, the commons voted the enormous sum of six millions for the supplies.

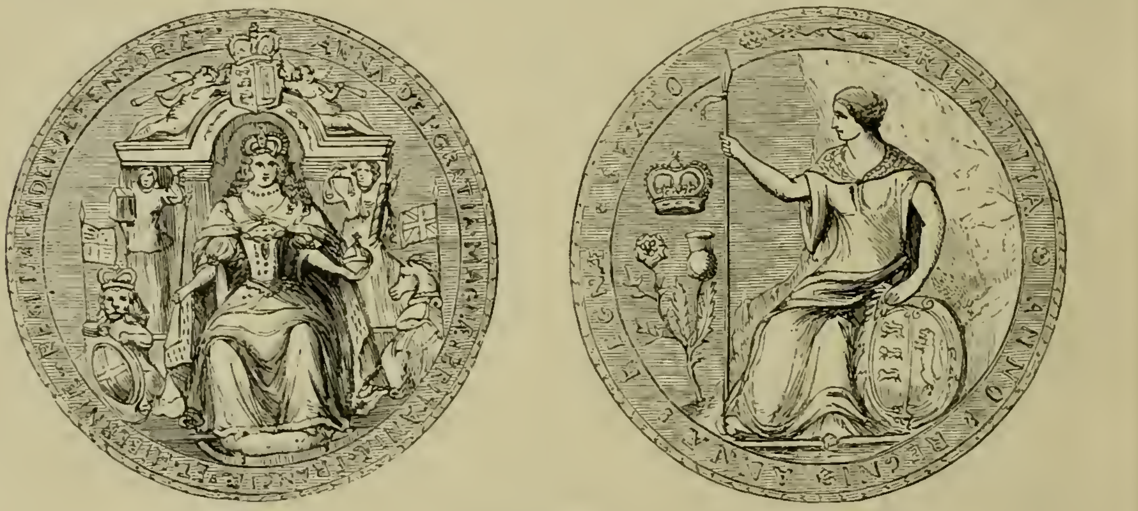
The queen, encouraged by this display of loyal support, wrote to the emperor, proposing that the chief command in Spain should be conferred on prince Eugene; but with this the court of Vienna did not think fit to comply, but sent instead count Staremberg, the general who in Austria was regarded as next in military genius to the prince.

We now come to a great revolution—a revolution in the ruling powers at court, which soon extended itself to the ruling powers in the field, which altered the whole policy of England, and produced consequences which continued to influence the fortunes of this country and of all Europe for a long period. Such a revolution, it might be supposed, originated with nothing less than the most powerful and gifted men of the nation, with the greatest statesmen and diplomatists. Nothing of the kind: like many such mighty events affecting the prosperity of nations and the happiness of millions, it originated simply on the backstairs of the palace, and in the queen merely changing her favourite. The duchess of Marlborough had introduced into the palace when she was groom of the stole, mistress of the robes, and more queen than the queen herself, a poor relation of her own, one Abigail Hill, her niece. Abigail, from whose position as a bedchamber woman, and from whose singular rise and fortunes all women of low degree and intriguing character have derived the name of Abigails, being placed so near the queen, soon caught her eye, took her fancy, and speedily became prime favourite. Harley, the tory minister, being also her uncle as lady Marlborough was her aunt, with equal tact, discovered her to be a useful tool for him. By working with her he eventually upset the reign of the Marlboroughs, drove the duchess from her long domination over the palace, drove Marlborough from the head of the army, a feat that Louis XIV. himself could not achieve; drove the whigs from power, reversed the whole policy of the nation, and just as Marlborough had completely beaten the French in the Netherlands, and brought the proud Louis of France to his knees, and the allied army might have marched to Paris as we did in our days, and have dictated its own terms for the peace of Europe, and indemnification for the past, the tories, to destroy all the whig triumphs, and those of the whig general, Marlborough, released Louis from all his troubles by the peace of Utrecht, rendered abortive all the blood which had been spilled since the revolution of 1688, all the money spent in these wars, and all the results of the splendid but now useless victories of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. And the whole of these wonderful reactionary measures thus sprang from what Shakespeare calls "a trick not worth an egg;" from a young woman with empty pockets but a scheming brain, a red nose and a smooth tongue, being accidentally introduced as an "Abigail" in the queen's bedchamber. From such causes spring many of the most astounding changes of empires; to such influence are subjected the lives and fortunes of the swarming majority of nations.

The duchess of Marlborough, trusting to her long absolute sway over the mind of queen Anne, begun when she was a princess; to the firm establishment of the whig faction in power, her own work, because the tories had opposed the five thousand pounds a year which the queen, at the instigation of the duchess, demanded for Marlborough before he had even won the battle of Blenheim; and finally, relying on the great services which Marlborough had now rendered, had become intolerable in her tyranny over the queen. The manner in which she wrote and spoke to the queen in their style of calling one another Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman, is unexampled in the history of courts and crowned heads. The Marlboroughs all this time were making use, not only of their position to enjoy power, but to scrape up money with an insatiable and unblushing avarice. They had got the noble crown property of Woodstock made over for ever to them; the government was expending enormous sums in building and adorning Blenheim for them; the duke had his ten thousand pounds a year as commander of the allied armies in Flanders, and minted money out of his post, his opportunities, and out of the poor soldiers by every possible means; he received large bribes for the sale of commissions over the heads of meritorious but unpatronised officers; he made large sums by returning regiments complete which were very incomplete, pocketing the pay of all the soldiers who stood in the catalogues of the regiments, but existed nowhere else; and deriving great emolument from contracts for the army, by which the poor soldiers were defrauded of their proper quantity of food, clothes, bedding, and everything. The duchess meantime held the privy purse in her unrelaxing grasp, keeping the queen so poor that she had the utmost difficulty in making the smallest present, or presenting the customary gratuities on various occasions. It was remarked that queen Anne never gave such munificent sums as presents as her predecessors; the fact being that she had not the means. Whenever she wanted a sum from her privy purse for any such purpose, the haughty duchess would tell her "it was not fit to squander away money whilst so heavy a war lasted;" at the same time that she and her husband were grasping the most enormous sums; had acquired an income of no less than ninety-four thousand pounds per annum—the duke's salaries and emoluments amounting to sixty-four thousand pounds. At the same time the duchess never rested till she had obtained a grant of a portion of the ground adjoining St. James's palace, on which the Marlboroughs built the present Marlborough House; but, luckily for the country, obtained the grant only for fifty years. The duchess is believed—and, we think, on sufficient grounds—to have appropriated all the contents of the privy purse that were not inexorably demanded for the royal establishment; the queen, except in mere food, clothing, and lodging, being as poor as her poorest subject. And even her clothes were all claimed by the duchess of Marlborough as keeper of the robes and groom of the stole, and appropriated to her own use, except a few articles of inferior value, which she doled out to the bedchamber women.

On one occasion queen Anne wished to give fifty guineas to a Mrs. Dalrymple, who had brought her from Scotland a fine japanned cabinet of more than that value; but it was more than six months before she could procure the money. On another occasion she learned that Sir Andrew Foster, a gentleman who had been totally ruined by his devoted adhesion to her father's fortunes, had perished of absolute starvation in his old age in some wretched place in London, and she ordered his remains to be decently interred; but she had to borrow twenty guineas for this purpose from lady Fretcheville, one of her ladies in waiting.

The queen, reduced to this miserable state of slavery by her imperious and insatiable bedchamber woman, groaned under the degrading thraldom without having strength to break her bondage. Anne was a woman of a really good-natured disposition, but indolent, self-indulgent, and, in consequence, of a corpulent and gouty frame. She was always anxious, if possible, to soothe the two furious factions of whig and tory, by which the peace of her life, like that of her predecessor, was rent to fragments. Her constant exhortation in her speeches to them was to come to terms of accord for the good of the country. She abhorred all cruelty, and never would, if she could avoid it, sign a warrant for any one's execution. Yet her mild temper was so far over-ruled that, during her reign, Defoe, the immortal author of "Robinson Crusoe," had his ears cut off, besides having to stand thrice in the pillory; and Edmund Curl, the publisher, lost first one ear, then the other, and lastly the remains of both. But these barbarities were not with the good-will of Anne; whilst, on the other hand, kept as she was, by a most insolent virago, in poverty, she gave one of the most munificent gifts ever made by a monarch—the tenths and first-fruits to the poor clergy; and achieved the most beneficial national event which any monarch had yet done—the union of the kingdoms.

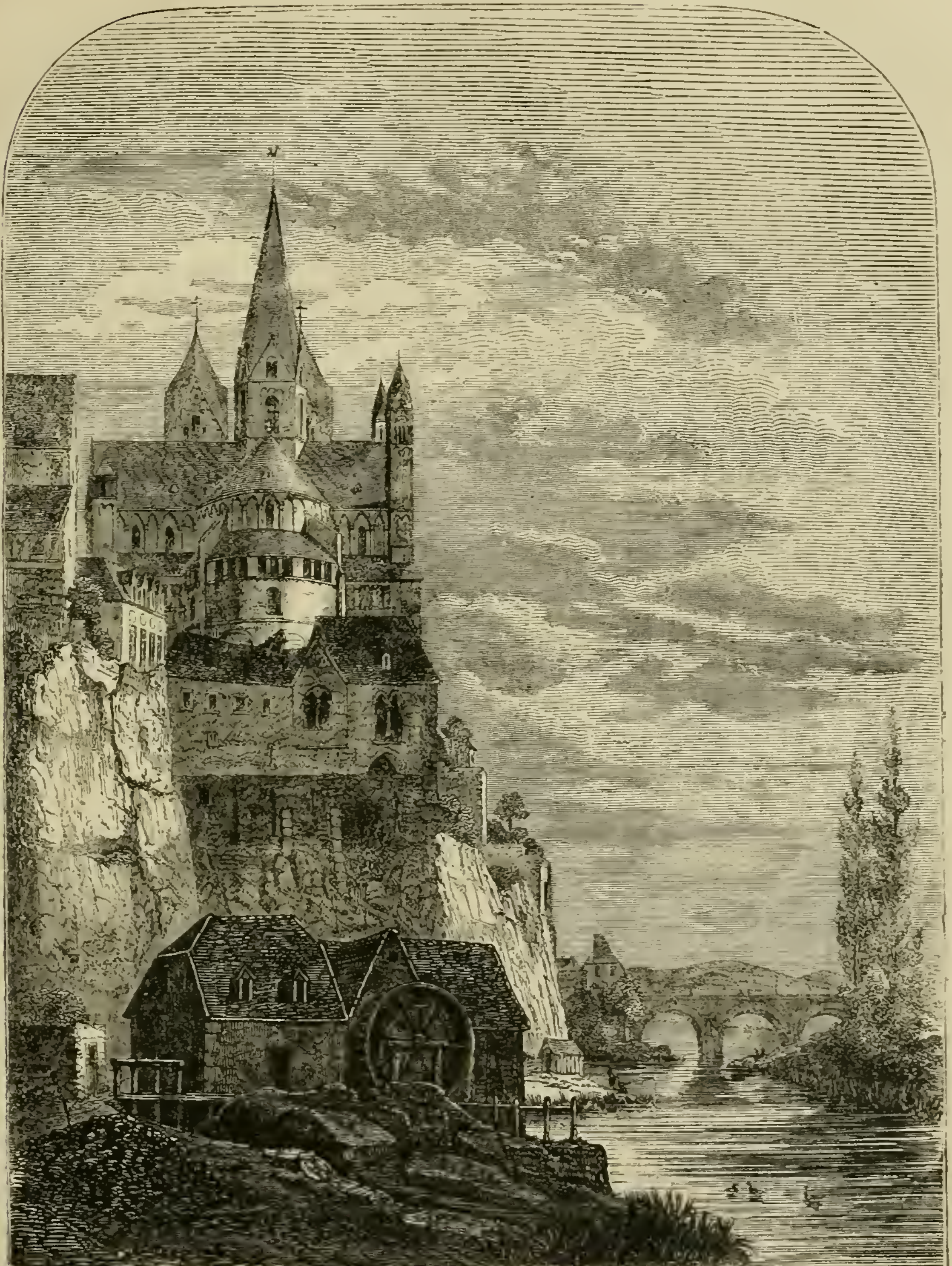


GREAT SEAL OF QUEEN ANNE, AFTER THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

The time was now approaching, however, for her liberation from the heavy yoke of Sarah of Marlborough. This said Sarah, originally Sarah Jennings, had not only taken care of herself but of her daughters. One she had married to the son of lord Godolphin, the prime minister; another to the earl of Sunderland, whom she had forced on the queen as lord privy seal, and afterwards secretary of state, in which offices he soon was guilty of gross peculations. Besides this, the all-engrossing duchess had planned, whenever she should resign her offices in the household, to fix her daughters in them, with salaries and perquisites of from six to eight thousand pounds a year.

But the duchess, in the midst of power and pride, had still for some time felt the ground mysteriously gliding from under her feet. The suspicion that there was some one who had got to the ear of the queen in spite of all her vigilance, broke upon the duchess and her party; but for some time they were totally at a loss to conceive who it could be. The duchess suggested that it might be George Churchill, the favourite of the prince of Denmark; but Marlborough himself rejected this idea, saying that the queen certainly had such a poor opinion of his brother George that she never spoke to him. Light, however, as to the true source began to break. Mrs. Danvers, who thought she was dying, and whose daughter had been made a bedchamber woman instead of one Mrs. Vain, whom the duchess wished to put in, sent for the duchess, and implored her after her death to let her daughter retain her place. In this conversation Mrs. Danvers spoke a great deal against Mrs. Hill—or Miss Hill, as Abigail would now be called—and of her secret enmity to the duchess. This turned the thoughts of the jealous duchess towards her niece; and a circumstance soon satisfied her that she had discovered her secret enemy. The duchess says—"Being with the queen, to whom I had come very privately by a secret passage from my lodging to the royal bedchamber, on a sudden this woman, Abigail, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldest and gayest air possible; but, upon the sight of me, stopped, and immediately asked, making a most solemn curtsey, 'Did your majesty ring?' and then went out again. This singular behaviour needed no interpreter now to make it understood."

The whole fury of the impetuous duchess was at once turned on her niece, whom she had so unluckily for herself introduced into the royal household. She describes her as being the daughter of one Hill, a merchant of London, who had married her own aunt, one of two-and-twenty children; that this Hill had ruined himself, and that application had been made to her to assist the family; that she took Abigail first into her own house, and then put her into the place of a bedchamber woman to the queen, never suspecting in the poor girl a most fatal rival, destined to become lady Masham, and the queen's favourite as absolute as she was now herself. The duchess also placed the other sister as laundress in the family of the young duke of Gloucester, and after his death got her a pension of two hundred pounds out of the privy purse. One of the boys she got into the customs, and the other, known by the familiar name of "honest Jack Hill,"



LIMBOURG, IN THE NETHERLANDS.

was first made page to the prince of Denmark, then groom of the bedchamber to the duke of Gloucester, and finally an officer in the army, and aide-de-camp to Marlborough himself, who, however, seems to have thought him a very poor creature.

After all this it may be imagined what was the denunciation of Abigail Hill for base ingratitude by the infuriated duchess. It was in vain that the poor niece pleaded that she had done nothing to prejudice the queen against the duchess; the incensed lady now pursued the inquiry into her rival's proceedings with indefatigable zeal, and she speedily came upon still more astounding circumstances. She found that Abigail Hill was, in reality, no longer Abigail Hill; that she had for a whole year been privately married to Mr. Masham, groom of the bedchamber to the prince of Denmark, and that the queen herself had honoured this secret marriage by her presence at Dr. Arbuthnot's lodgings, at which time Anne, the duchess now remembered, had called for a round sum from the privy purse. In short, the duchess herself tells us that, in less than a week after the inquiries, she discovered that her cousin "was become an absolute favourite." What was still more alarming, when she upbraided Mrs. Masham with these things, she received a letter from her, written in so splendid a style, that she was sure only Harley could have composed it. Though she was no doubt mistaken in this, for Mrs. Masham wrote far more elegantly than either Harley or the duchess, yet it seemed to open up to the duchess's imagination the wider and more appalling ramifications of the plot. Harley, in fact, was in league with Mrs. Masham, and through her was operating on the queen so as to utterly overthrow the influence with Anne of the duchess, the duke, and all the whigs. Mrs. Masham, the duchess discovered, was in the habit of going continually to the queen when the prince was asleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her, and that, beyond all dispute, "Mr. Harley's correspondence and interest at court was by means of this woman."

The alarmed duchess wrote to the duke to inform him of these ominous discoveries, and the great general could return her no better answer than to speak to Mrs. Masham about her interviews with the queen, as he said she must be grateful; as if the great courtier as well as general was not well aware how little gratitude or any other restraint avails where the alluring countenance of a sovereign is concerned. It was a mere catching at straws by the drowning. For some time the queen seemed divided betwixt the old affection for the duchess and the new one for Mrs. Masham; but the duchess certainly did her best, by annoying the queen with her angry and insolent letters, to alienate the royal mind from her. Anne, with all her indolence and good nature, and the old propensity inherent in her family for favouritism, had yet a spirit of stubborn resentment in her when once moved. And the duchess had wounded the queen unpardonably in her self-love, when she was not aware of it. Anne had overheard her railing at her to Mrs. Masham, and expressing an utter loathing and hatred of her person. This was before she knew that Abigail was in the queen's favour. Not only, however, did the duchess contrive, amidst all her violence and insolence, to importune the queen for a restoration to her old affection, and for the dismissal of Mrs. Masham, but she employed lord Godolphin on the same errand. Anne still professed all her wonted regard for her dear Mrs. Freeman, but every day Mrs. Masham took deeper hold on the queen's fancy, and the duchess felt that she was fast losing that hold. The writer of the "Other side of the Question," supposed to be Ralph, the historian, who was employed to answer the duchess's "Account of her Conduct," says, "The grand inference your grace draws is, that you were betrayed, but the inferences of the world are such as these:—That the queen was a captive and you her gaoler; that she was neither mistress of her power nor free to express her inclinations; that she was so far overawed by a length of oppression, as to dread the very approach of her tormentress; that she was forced to unbosom herself by stealth; and that she durst not enter upon a contest with your grace, even to set herself free from your unsupportable tyranny, a situation so terrible that no private person would, for any consideration, submit to it, and consequently, what a sovereign might justly endeavour, at almost any rate, to be delivered from."

This was true enough, but it may still be doubted whether Anne would have had sufficient firmness in the end to break with the Marlboroughs, had she not been kept up to it by the acts of Harley. Through the medium of his rising cousin, Mrs. Masham, he had frequent interviews with the queen, without the knowledge of the ever-watchful duchess, who, whatever her pride and her temper, was a formidable antagonist on account of her abilities. She had been the making of her own husband, for, as she did not hesitate to say, had she not cleared the way for him, his military talents would have had no opportunity to display themselves, and now she was all eyes, ears, and vigilance to regain her lost influence, and damage the enemies, who, with equal subtlety, were operating against her. In these labours they had a zealous coadjutor in the duke's brother, admiral Churchill, who was a red-hot tory, and though not intending to injure his own family did this by doing all in his power to overthrow the whigs. Marlborough, who cared nothing for parties, except as they contributed to his power and gain, was quite ready to abandon the whigs himself, if he could make sure of Harley and Mrs. Masham. But as he could not trust them, and as they meant to get rid of him and his wife, there was nothing for it but still endeavouring to win back the queen's good will. For this purpose Marlborough entreated his angry wife to be calm and politic; but calmness was not in the duchess's nature. She continued to annoy the queen by her interviews and letters, which were full of hard thrusts at the Masham; and Anne continued to protest all her ancient regard for Mrs. Freeman, though more and more determined never to come under the yoke any more.

At this crisis an unlucky incident for the cunning Harley occurred. He had in his office one William Greg, a clerk who was detected in a treasonable correspondence with Chamillart, the French minister. He was arrested and thrown into the Old Bailey. The whigs hoped to be able to implicate Harley himself in this secret correspondence. There had just been an attempt to get lord Godolphin dismissed from his office, and he, lord Marlborough his son-in-law Sunderland, and their party now seized eagerly on this chance to expel Harley and his acute coadjutor, St. John, from the cabinet. Seven lords, including these, and all whigs, were deputed to examine Greg in prison, and are said to have laboured hard to induce Greg to accuse Harley; but they were disappointed. Greg remained firm, was tried, condemned, and hanged. Alexander Valiere, John Bara, and Claude Baude, the secretary of the ambassador to the duke of Savoy, with that minister's consent, were also imprisoned on the charge of carrying Greg's correspondence to the governor and commissioners of Calais and Boulogne. On the scaffold Greg was said to have delivered a paper to the ordinary, clearing Harley altogether; but this was not produced till Harley was once more in the ascendant. The lords deputed to examine Greg, and the smugglers Bara and Valiere, declared that Greg had informed them that Harley had employed these men to carry correspondence, and that all the papers in the office of Harley lay about so openly that any one might read them. Both these assertions, and the paper said to have been left by Greg, had much that is doubtful about them. The one statement proceeded from the whigs evidently to destroy Harley; the Greg paper, on the other hand, not being produced till Harley was out of danger, was quite as evidently the work of Harley to clear his character. The charges, however, were sufficient to drive Harley and St. John from office for the time. When the council next met, the duke of Somerset rose, and pointing to Harley, said rudely to the queen, that if she suffered that fellow to treat of affairs in the absence of Marlborough and Godolphin, he could not serve her. Marlborough and Godolphin continued to absent themselves from the council, and the queen was compelled to dismiss Harley. With him went out St. John, the secretary of war, and *Mr. Robert Walpole*, a young man, whose name was destined to fill a large space of history under the Georges, was put into his place. This supersedence St. John never forgave Walpole, and a fierce hatred raged betwixt them so long as St. John lived. Besides these leaders, Sir Simon Harcourt, the attorney-general, a strong partisan of Harley, went out, and was succeeded by Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer, who was succeeded in that office by Mr. Smith, the speaker of the commons. Sir Thomas Monsell, comptroller of the household, was also displaced. The leading whigs even instigated the house of commons to petition the queen to dismiss Mrs. Masham; but the house had too much consciousness of its own dignity to condescend to so petty a malice as urging the dismissal of a mere toilette woman of the queen's. There can be little doubt that the duchess was at the bottom of this attempt, for at the same time lord Marlborough threatened to throw up his command of the army: as neither the queen nor the nation were yet prepared for this, it was felt by the duke and duchess to be a great blow in their favour; and the duchess immediately followed it up by going to the queen, and saying that she perceived that the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin would very soon be obliged to quit her majesty's service, and in that case it would be impossible for herself to remain in it, and therefore she hoped her majesty would allow her to resign her offices in favour of her daughters, lady Rialton, the daughter-in-law of Godolphin, and lady Sunderland. This was a master stroke, for if the queen consented, she had secured these opulent offices in her family, and could, through her daughters, always penetrate into and meddle with everything in the royal household as much as if she was there herself. Anne, who perceived her cunning, replied that this could never be, because she had resolved never to part with the duchess herself. But the pertinacious duchess was not thrown out by this manœuvre; she replied that if the duke should be obliged to quit her service, she *must* be obliged to quit it too, and in that case she hoped her majesty would give her posts to her daughters. And whatever was Anne's answer to get rid of her importunity, the duchess declared that the queen did promise this, and afterwards demanded the fulfilment of the promise with most undaunted vociferation. The duchess was not deceived by Harley's dismissal. She felt that it was only temporary, and that through Mrs. Masham he could still influence the mind of the queen as he pleased; and the event ere long proved her sagacity.

Whilst things were on this footing, the nation was alarmed by an attempt at invasion. Louis XIV. had at length been persuaded that a diversion in Scotland would have a very advantageous effect, by preventing England sending so many troops and supplies against him to the continent. Early in February, therefore, an emissary was sent over to Scotland in the person of Charles Fleming, brother of the earl of Wigton. He was to see the leading Jacobites, and assure them that their king was coming immediately, and that as soon as the French fleet appeared in sight they were to proclaim the king everywhere, raise the country, seize arms, and open up again their previous communications with persons within the different forts and garrisons—thus proving that they had tampered with the troops and garrisons of Scotland, and that, as asserted by different historians, the regular troops in that country, about two thousand five hundred, were not to be trusted by the English. They were also to seize the equivalent money, which was still lying in the castle of Edinburgh.

On the earliest intimation of these designs the suspected Scottish nobles, including the duke of Hamilton and twenty-one others, lords or gentlemen, were secured. The *habeas corpus* act was suspended; the pretender and his abettors were declared traitors; and all popish recusants were ordered to remove ten miles from the cities of London and Westminster. The alarm was not an empty one. The pretender, who had now assumed the name of "the chevalier de St. George," was furnished with a fleet and army, which assembled at Dunkirk. The fleet was under the command of admiral Forbin, consisting of five ships of the line and twenty frigates. It was to carry over five thousand troops under the command of general de Gace, afterwards known as marshal de Matignon. The pretender was supplied by Louis with all the requisites of a king; services of gold and silver plate, magnificent tents, splendid liveries, and superb clothes for his life-guards; and, notwithstanding the poverty of the French court, the supplies of everything were abundant. Louis, on taking leave, presented the young adventurer with a sword richly studded with diamonds, and repeated what he had said to his father —that he wished as his best wish that he might never see him again. The pope had given his blessing to the expedition, and had sent a number of pious inscriptions to be fixed upon the banners.

Before the expedition, however, could sail, the queen dispatched troops to the north, and a fleet under admiral Baker to bring over ten battalions from the Netherlands. A powerful fleet, under the command of admiral Sir George Byng, with squadrons under Sir John Leake and lord Dursley, was sent to blockade the port of Dunkirk and prevent the sailing of the French expedition. The French were astonished at the appearance of so large a fleet, imagining that Leake had gone to Lisbon with his squadron; and count de Forbin represented to the French court the improbability of their being able to sail. A storm, however, drove the English ships from their station. The French fleet then ventured out on the 17th of March, but was soon driven back by the same tempest. On the 19th, however, it again put out, and made for the coast of Scotland. But Sir George Byng had stretched his ships along the whole coast to the very Frith of Forth, and on the French squadron approaching the Forth it perceived the English ships there before it, and stood off again. Byng gave chase and took the Salisbury, a ship of the line, having on board old lord Griffin, two sons of lord Middleton, a French lieutenant-general, various other French and Irish officers, and five companies of French soldiers.

In the night Forbin altered his course, and thus in the morning was out of the reach of the English. The chevalier was impatient that Forbin should proceed to Inverness, and there land him and the troops; but the wind was so violent and dead against them that Forbin contended that they would all be lost if they continued the attempt, and the chevalier reluctantly gave consent for them to tack about and return to Dunkirk. They had been out a month, and had endured the fate of nearly all the invading squadrons—the most inimical and miserable weather. The deliverance was nothing short of providential, for, had they landed, although they could have no chance of succeeding against England, in Scotland they would have occasioned much mischief and loss of life. The country was in a state of great disaffection; besides the lords and gentlemen arrested, there were still numbers ready to rush into the conspiracy. The earl of Leven had only about two thousand five hundred troops, and the fidelity of many of them was very questionable. The castle of Edinburgh was destitute of ammunition, and must soon have surrendered with all the equivalent money. A Dutch squadron, loaded with arms and ammunition, and having on board a large sum of money, was driven on shore in Angus, and would have been seized had the French succeeded in landing.

Such was the alarm in London owing to these circumstances, that there was a heavy run on the bank, increased to the utmost by all those who were disaffected to the government. The lord treasurer announced to the directors of the bank that the government would for six months allow an interest of six per cent. on their bills, being double the usual rate; and Marlborough, Newcastle, Somerset, as well as the lord treasurer, offered them large sums of money. They were also well supported by the foreign and Jewish merchants, who had an interest in maintaining the credit of the bank, and the directors also made a call of twenty per cent. on the holders of stock, and were thus enabled to weather the storm.

To abate the panic, the queen, immediately on the news of the sailing of the French fleet, went to the house of lords, and informed the two houses that Sir George Byng was in pursuit of the enemy, that troops were on their way from Ostend, and that there was no real cause of alarm. Both houses replied by the most patriotic addresses, vowing to stand by her majesty with all their power, praying her not to permit these circumstances to divert her from a vigorous prosecution of the war on the continent, intimating that the insignificance of the invading armament argued that the enemy calculated on the assistance of traitors at home, and entreating her to take care that no such person should in future have access to her counsels. This was aimed at Harley and his colleagues.

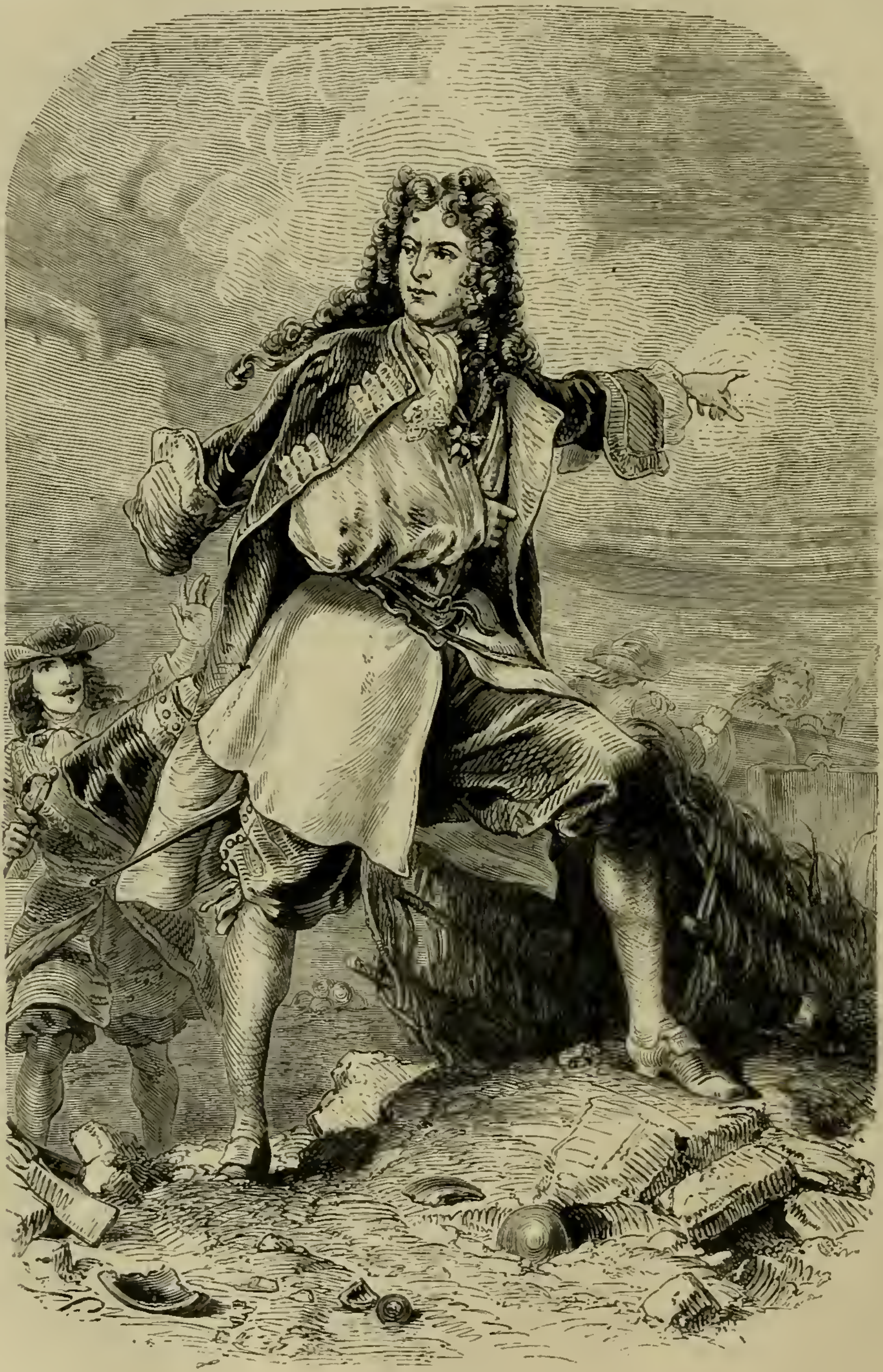
Louis, on his part, did his best to excite suspicion and uneasiness in the English court. He sent word to his ambassadors at Rome, Venice, and in Switzerland that the subjects of James III. in England had invited him, especially those of Scotland, to come and take possession of the throne of his ancestors; that he (Louis) had sent over with him a strong fleet and army, and that the young king was resolved to pardon all who came in to him. This news was diffused by the ambassadors as far and wide as they could send it. All this, however, did not excite the English court to any severe or sanguinary measures. The old lord Griffin, who was taken in the Salisbury, and who was quite superannuated, was sent to the Tower; and as he was already an outlaw, sentence of death as a traitor was pronounced against him. But the queen continued to reprieve him from time to time, so that he at length died of old age in his prison, where the kind-hearted Anne took care that so long as he lived he should be made comfortable. The two sons of lord Middleton, to every one's astonishment, were set at liberty by the queen's own order—a circumstance attributed to their father being in the secret of all the treasonable correspondence of Marlborough, Godolphin, and others, the revelation of which might have sown strange confusions in and around the court. There were many rumours afloat in consequence, and the most groundless one of all—that the pretender himself had been taken in the Salisbury and quietly liberated. What was remarkable, however, was the extreme lenity with which all the suspected persons in custody were treated. Not a single drop of blood was shed, and the whigs did not fail to glorify themselves on that score. But there were other motives than mercy which undoubtedly operated to produce this leniency. In the first place, Anne was naturally lenient and strongly averse to harsh measures, and, above all, to bloodshed. In the second place, notwithstanding she had been one of the very first to repudiate her brother the pretender as being the child of the king at all, it was well known that she still was quite satisfied in her own mind that he was her own brother—a fact which not long after received a very strong confirmation. And beyond this, many of the leading men about the court, as well as amongst the tories, still regarded it as by no means impossible that at the death of the queen the house of Stuart might yet succeed. These were reasons unquestionably which operated to prevent that bloody retaliation which followed the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Another reason of equal obviousness was that the opposing parties did not come to actual conflict, nor was the kingdom alarmed to the sanguinary pitch by the insurgents being in the very heart of the kingdom. On the other hand, it was contended that the expedition altogether was a mere feint on the part of Louis; that it never was intended to land, but only to alarm the government, and thus paralyse the preparations for the continental campaign. But both the memoirs of the duke of Berwick, and the report of M. Andrezel, who accompanied the fleet, prove that the endeavour was earnest enough, but that Sir George Byng was too close on their heels, and the weather too inauspicious. So far from not wishing to land, Louis, immediately after the return of the fleet, dispatched an emissary to Ireland to ascertain the condition of that island, and discover whether a descent might not be made there. This emissary was father Ambrose O'Connor, provincial of the Irish Dominicans. He arrived in Ireland early in the month of May, and was very near being taken immediately on landing; but, having managed to escape, he went through the length and breadth of Ireland, and found the people all ready enough for insurrection, but without any means of effecting it. They were miserably poor, and, in the alarm of the descent of the French on Scotland, all the chief catholic landholders and clergy had been put under arrest, and all the horses taken away. He found the presbyterians in the north devoted to the house of Hanover, but the episcopalians were generally for the king, and both more bitter against each other than ever was known in England; that the country was wholly defenceless, the garrisons in the most wretched and neglected condition, and not above six thousand regular troops in all Ireland. On the other hand, the catholics assured him that they could muster twenty thousand in five counties alone, but then the universal cry was Money, money, money! O'Connor was bold enough to return through England, even penetrating to the Scottish lords in the Tower. There, again, the cry was not only Money, but Troops. Five thousand soldiers landed in Ireland, ten thousand in Scotland; and these, well provided and well paid, would, they assured him, certainly re-establish the king. In fact, if Louis had been in a condition to clothe, and feed, and arm all Ireland and a good part of Scotland, he might for a time have made a fine diversion in the dominions of queen Anne; but, fortunately for England, he had neither the money nor the men, the arms nor the ammunition necessary. All the means in his power were insufficient to enable his armies to face his foes in the Netherlands, in Provence, and in Spain.

At this time a few of the Camisards, or protestants of the Cevennes, who had given so much trouble to Louis in the south of France, had made their way, after many adventures, into England. The Cevennois, as well as the protestants of Dauphiné and the neighbouring mountain districts, had been so horribly persecuted by Louis XIV. and the Jesuits since the revocation of the edict of Nantes, that they had been roused to a pitch of desperate resistance. With only about two thousand men, wretchedly armed with pikes, scythes, and a few muskets, they had encountered successive armies sent against them, sometimes to the amount of sixty thousand men. They had so often defeated them that Louis was at length compelled to come to a compromise with them, which, however, was very badly observed. The poor, persecuted, but undaunted people exhibited a high tone of religious enthusiasm, claimed to be influenced by the Divine Spirit like the ancient church, and were thence called "the prophets of the Cevennes." They united the spiritual belief of the quakers in immediate inspiration with the spirit of the Scotch covenanters, who defended their hearths, and homes, and religion with "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon." The English sent to them some assistance in arms, money, and ammunition; but the French, getting aware of this, interposed troops betwixt the mountains and the sea coast, and when Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in 1706, endeavoured to convey aid to them, he found that he could not communicate with them. The few of these brave men who reached London met, however, with a very unworthy reception. Their peculiar views of religion excited the sectarian spirit against them. Dr. Edmund Calamy, the nonconformist, who appears to have been of a most hard, bigoted temper, preached against them and wrote against them, presenting his book, or "Caveat," as he called it, to the queen and prince of Denmark. The French in London, who had other views, also denounced them. They were condemned as fanatics, and set in the pillory. The worst and most groundless calumnies were propagated against them, which have been regularly taken up without further inquiry by our historians. But the accounts given of them by Sir Richard Bulkeley in an admirably-reasoned tract, and by others, sufficiently refute these calumnies. Dr. Josiah Woodward, a clergyman of the church of England though differing in opinion from these unfortunate Cevennois, thought them truly pious and honest, bore testimony to the high characters of the gentlemen who espoused their cause, and thought it would much more become us as a Christian people to restore them to their native mountains than to persecute them here.

On the 1st of April, 1708, the queen prorogued the parliament, and then dissolved it by proclamation. Writs were issued for new elections, and a proclamation commanding the peers of Scotland to assemble at Holyrood on the 17th of June, to elect the sixteen peers to represent them in the British parliament. The duke of Queensberry was created a British peer by the titles of baron Ripon, marquis of Beverley, and duke of Dover.

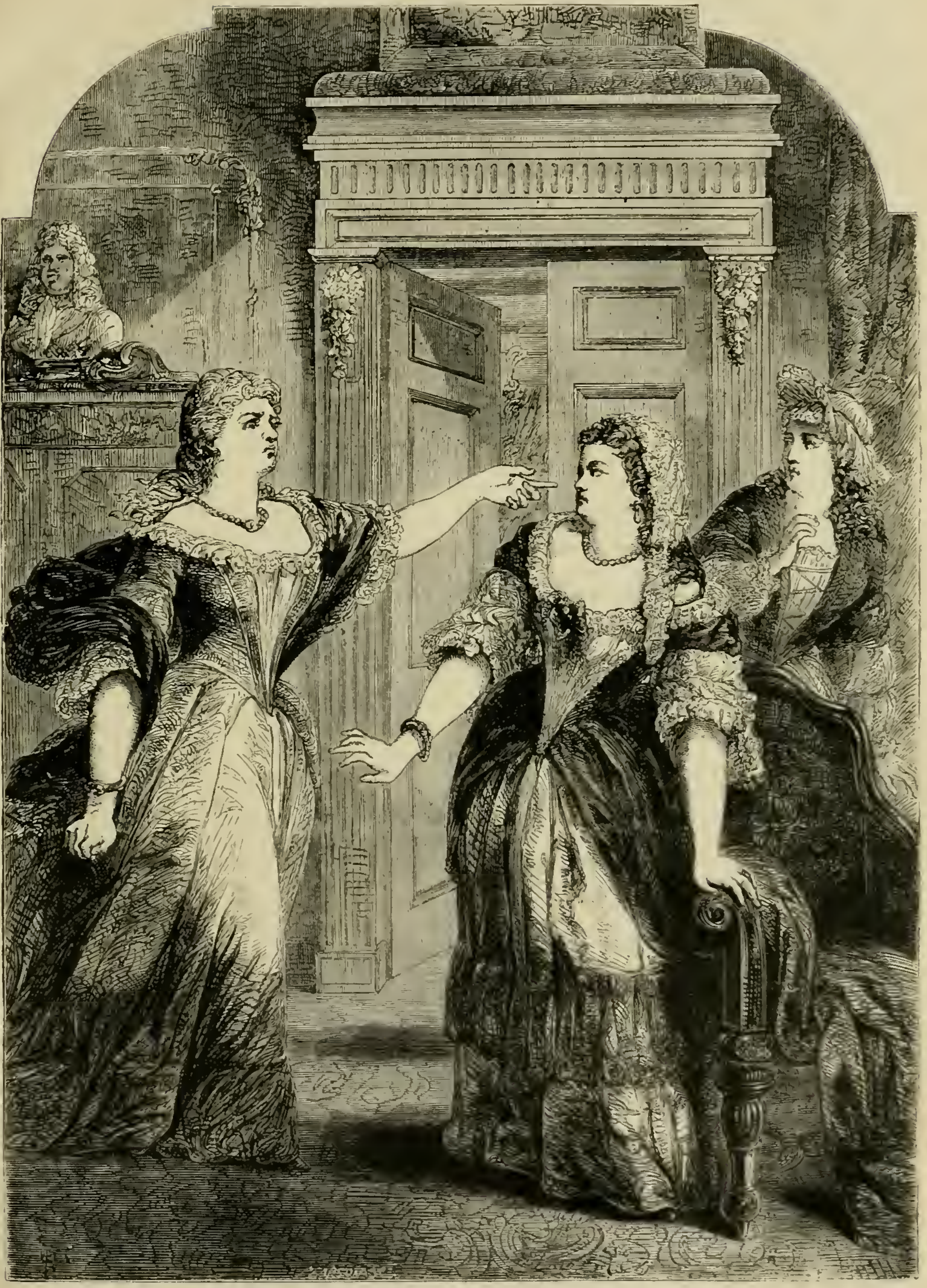
The allies and France prepared for a vigorous campaign in the Netherlands. Notwithstanding the low state of Louis XIV.'s funds and a series of severe disasters which had attended his arms, he put forth wonderful energies for the maintenance of his designs. He assembled at least one hundred thousand men in the Netherlands under the command of the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Vendôme, the duke of Berwick—who had been so suddenly called from Spain—marshal Boufflers, and the young pretender, who sought here to learn martial skill, which he might employ in attempting to regain his crown. On the other hand, Marlborough went to the Hague towards the end of March, where he was met by prince Eugene, and the plan of the campaign was concerted betwixt them, the pensionary

Heinsius, and the States-General. Eugene then returned to Vienna to bring up reinforcements, and Marlborough proceeded to Flanders to assemble the army, and be in readiness for the junction of Eugene. Before Eugene and Marlborough parted, however, they had gone together to Hanover, and persuaded the elector to be contented with merely acting on the defensive, so that he might spare a part of his forces for the projected operations in Flanders. His son, the electoral prince—afterwards George II. of England—took a command of cavalry in the imperial army under Marlborough.



MARSHAL BOUFFLERS.

Before the campaign commenced a singular circumstance



THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH UPBRAIDING QUEEN ANNE AND MRS. MASHAM.

occurred. A colonel Quientern, an officer in the imperial army, formed a design of carrying off the dauphin from the court of Versailles. He selected thirty men for this apparently insane enterprise, procured passports for them, and kept them in readiness in the neighbourhood of Paris. On the 24th of March he and his accomplices stopped one of the king's coaches, in which they persuaded themselves that the dauphin was, made themselves master of the person of the imagined prince, and, setting him on horseback, made the best of their way for the Netherland frontiers. They would have succeeded in reaching them, but the supposed prince broke down with fatigue, when they stopped to procure a chaise for him, and lost so much time through his inability to travel except in the easiest position, that they were overtaken at Ham by a detachment of horse within only three hours' ride of the frontier—less time than they had lost in accommodating their prisoner. They were obliged to surrender, when their mortification at the defeat of their enterprise was somewhat abated by the discovery that they had not got the dauphin of France, but only M. Berringen, the first equerry to the king. The affair became so amusing a joke, that the king, in consideration of the humanity which they had shown to their prisoner, ordered Quientern and his accomplices to be discharged, and Madame Berringen made them a handsome present for their kind treatment of her husband, though they thought their courtesies bestowed on a prince of the blood.

The duke of Vendôme, on the 25th of May, posted his army at Soignies, whilst Marlborough was encamped at Billinghen and Halle, only three leagues distant. The French then moved towards Braine-la-Leuvre, and Marlborough, supposing that they meant to occupy the banks of the Dyle and cut him off from Louvaine, made a rapid night march, and on the 3rd of June was at Terbank, Auverquerque occupying the suburbs of Louvaine. There, as the allies were yet far inferior in numbers, they imagined the French would give them battle; but such were not the French plans. They had advanced only to Genappe and Braine-la Leuvre, and now sought by stratagem to regain the towns they had lost in Flanders. They knew that the allies had drawn out all their forces, and that few of these towns had any competent garrisons. The inhabitants of many of these places had a leaning to France, from the heavy exactions of the Dutch and the popularity of the elector of Bavaria and the count de Bergeyck, who was a warm adherent of the Bourbons. The French, therefore, resolving to profit by these circumstances, dispatched troops to Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, and were soon admitted to these places. They next invested Oudenarde; but Marlborough, being now joined by Eugene, made a rapid march to that town, and took up a strong position before it. The French, however, unwilling to come to an engagement, passed the Scheldt, and attempted to defeat the allies by attacking them whilst they were in the act of passing it after them. The allies, however, effected their transit, and came to an engagement with the enemy betwixt the Scheldt and the Lys on the 11th of July. The French amounted to one hundred thousand, the allies to little more than eighty thousand. The latter, however, had this great advantage—that the commanders of the allies were united, those of the French were of contrary views. The duke of Vendôme was prevented attacking the allies during their passage of the river by the remissness of the duke of Burgundy. When it was already three o'clock in the afternoon, and the allies were safe over, then the duke of Burgundy was eager for an attack, and the duke of Vendôme as averse to it, the proper opportunity having been lost. The wiser general was eventually overruled, and major-general Grimaldi was ordered to attack count Rantzau, who was posted on a marshy plain near the village of Heynem, with a muddy rivulet in front of him, with the king's household troops. But these troops, when they saw the nature of the rivulet, would not charge, and filed off to the right. Rantzau then crossed the rivulet himself, and, whilst general Cadogan assaulted the village of Heynem, attacked and drove before him several squadrons of the enemy. In this attack the electoral prince of Hanover greatly distinguished himself by his gallant charge at the head of Bülow's dragoons. He had his horse killed under him, and colonel Laschky killed at his side. Several French regiments were completely broken, and many officers and standards were taken by the Hanoverians. The general engagement, however, did not take place till about five o'clock, when the duke of Argyll came up with the infantry. Auverquerque and Tilly, who led on the left of the allies, were the first to make the French give way, when they were attacked in flank by the Dutch infantry under the prince of Orange and count Oxenstjerna, and completely routed their right. After that the whole line gave way. In vain Vendôme exerted himself to check their flight and re-form them; they fled in wild confusion along the road from Oudenarde towards Ghent, and Vendôme could do nothing but protect their rear. Their greatest protector, however, was the night, which stopped the pursuit of the allies. As soon as it was light the pursuit was resumed; but this was checked by the French grenadiers, who were posted behind the hedges that skirted the road, and the French army reached Ghent at eight in the morning, and encamped on the canal on the other side of the city at Lovendegen, after one of the most thorough defeats that they had ever sustained. They lost three thousand men, were deserted by two thousand more, and had seven thousand taken, besides ten pieces of cannon, more than a hundred colours and standards, and four thousand horses. The loss of the allies was not inconsiderable, amounting to nearly two thousand men.

After resting a couple of days on the field of battle, a detachment was sent to level the French lines between Ypres and the Lys; another to lay the country under contributions as far as Arras, which ravaged the country and greatly alarmed Paris itself by carrying the war into France. This alarm was heightened by the allies next advancing upon the city of Lille, which was considered the very key to Paris and to half of France. Lillè was very strongly defended by batteries and entrenchments, and by a garrison of twenty-one battalions of the best troops in France commanded by Boufflers. This daring act combined all the skill and chief leaders on either side for the attack and the defence. The dukes of Burgundy, Vendôme, and Berwick hastened to the relief of the place. Marlborough, Eugene, the prince of Orange, Augustus, king of

Poland, and the landgrave of Hesse, were engaged in the siege. All the art and valour on both sides were put forth. The French endeavoured to cut off the supplies of the allies coming from Ostend; but major-general Webbe, who guarded these supplies with a body of six thousand men, defeated an attacking party of twenty-two thousand French under the count de la Motte, near Wynendael, killing six thousand of them, and accomplishing one of the most brilliant exploits of the whole war. After a stubborn and destructive defence, Boufflers capitulated for the town on the 22nd of October, but contrived to hold the citadel till the 10th of December.

Lille, important as it was, was not won, it is said, without a loss of at least twelve thousand of the allies, whilst Boufflers was reckoned to have lost half his garrison. During the siege Eugene had to hasten to the rescue of Brussels. After the fall of Lille the allies reduced Ghent, Bruges, and all the towns they had lost; and the French, greatly humiliated, abandoned Flanders, and retired into their own territories, the French court being filled with consternation at these terrible reverses. The duke of Berwick was highly incensed at the management of the campaign by Vendôme and Burgundy. He states that, during the siege of Lille, Marlborough, through him, made propositions for peace, which were, however, haughtily rejected by the not yet sufficiently humbled Louis. Marlborough would probably have been glad to have procured peace now, that he might watch the critical state of affairs at home, where Harley and Mrs. Masham were steadily driving their mines beneath the feet of the whigs, and where the whole body of tories were constantly endeavouring to misrepresent his proceedings in the war, continually prognosticating defeats from alleged blunders, which, nevertheless, were as regularly refuted by the most brilliant successes.

The campaign in Catalonia had begun in favour of the French, but it, too, had ended decidedly in favour of the allies. There the earl of Galway was superseded by general Stanhope, an able and active officer; and count Staremberg, the imperial general, was a man of like stamp. But before the imperial troops had arrived in the English fleet commanded by Sir John Leake, the duke of Orleans had besieged and taken Tortoso and Denia, the garrison of the latter place being detained prisoners contrary to the articles of capitulation. No sooner, however, did generals Stanhope and Staremberg get into the scene of action than they put a stop to the progress of the French, and maintained the rest of the province intact. They soon, moreover, planned a striking enterprise. Sir John Leake carried over to Sardinia a small body of troops under the command of the marquis D'Alconzel, assaulted and took Cagliari, and received the submission of the whole island, which acknowledged king Charles, and sent a very timely supply of thirty thousand sacks of corn to the army in Catalonia, where it was extremely needed. General Stanhope then, with the consent of count Staremberg, set sail for Minorca with a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese, accompanied by a fine train of British artillery, directed by brigadier Wade and colonel Petit. They landed on the 26th of August at Port Mahon, and invested St. Philip, its chief fortress. They so disposed their forces that the garrison, which consisted only of one thousand Spaniards and six hundred French marines under colonel Jonquiere imagined that there were at least twenty thousand invaders, and, in consequence, surrendered after some sharp fighting, in which brigadier Wade, at the head of a party of grenadiers, stormed a redoubt with such fury as amazed the garrison. On the 30th of September not only Port Mahon but the whole island was in the hands of the English, the garrison of Port Fornelles having also submitted to the attack of the admirals Leake and Whitaker. The inhabitants were delighted with the change, king Philip having so heavily oppressed them and deprived them of their privileges. The Spanish soldiers were conveyed by agreement to Mercia, but the French were detained in reprisal for the perfidious detention of the garrison of Denia. When La Jonquiere, the commander, ascertained the actual number of the troops to which he had surrendered, on his arrival at Mercia, he flung himself out of a window and killed himself. General Stanhope appointed colonel Petit governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole island, and returned to Catalonia.

Sir John Leake, however, proceeded to the coast of the papal states, designing to bombard Civita Vecchia, in retaliation for the pope having so openly sanctioned the late attempt of the invasion of Scotland by the pretender. But the pope had by this time suffered a deep humiliation at the hands of the imperial troops. These, in consequence of the pope having endeavoured to form a league of Italian princes in favour of France, had been marched in conjunction with those of the duke of Modena, and had driven all before them. The pope remonstrated, and, at the time of Sir John Leake's approach, the emperor and the duke of Savoy proposed a negotiation for peace through the marquis De Prie, as ambassador at Rome for Savoy. But the pope, encouraged by France, refused to receive De Prie, whereupon the imperialists marched into the papal states, took Bologna, and terribly alarmed Rome itself. The pope then hastened to receive De Prie and to disband his levies, rather than see Rome besieged and Civita Vecchia bombarded. The imperial troops took up their winter quarters in the papal states; the pope agreed to acknowledge Charles as king of Naples, and allow the passage of imperial troops through his territories. Leake contented himself with destroying many French and Italian vessels along the coast, and with giving support to count Daun, the viceroy of Naples, for king Charles.

In May of the same year, commodore Wager in the West Indies, with only four ships of the line, fell in with seventeen Spanish galleons; they were proceeding from Carthagena to Portobello. He attacked them about sunset, and blew up the Spanish admiral, by which a cargo of goods and money valued at three million pieces of eight were lost. The rear-admiral struck, and the vice-admiral only escaped by running with a number of the galleons behind a dangerous sand-bank off Carthagena. Wager, however, made such captures that his own share of the prize-money amounted to a hundred thousand pounds. The Spaniards said the sailors fought more like devils than men; but this was not the case with some of the officers, or the prizes would have been immensely greater, and, in fact, most of the fleet must have fallen into their hands. When he returned to Jamaica he had two of his captains tried by court-martial and dismissed the service.

The duke of Savoy, on his part, made a substantial advance in this campaign on the frontiers of Dauphiné. Notwithstanding that he had to contend with the masterly genius of Villars, he made himself master of the important fortresses of Exilles, La Perouse, the valley of St. Martin, and Fenestrelle, so that he had at once established a grand barrier against the French on that side of his territories, at the same time that he had opened the way into theirs. In doing this, too, he had essentially served the cause of king Charles in Spain, by obliging the French to send from Roussillon a strong force to assist Villars. In the north, too, the king of Sweden, by quitting Poland and marching into the Ukraine against the czar, had relieved that part of the continent from a menaced danger, which detained many of the troops of the allies there. On the whole, the campaign had still further reduced Louis and strengthened the allies.

On the 28th of October, the prince of Denmark, the husband of the queen, died at Kensington Palace, in his 55th year. George of Denmark was a man not destitute of sense, but of no distinguished ability. He was a good-natured *bon-vivant*, who was, however, fond of the queen, who was very much attached to him. They lived together in great harmony and affection, having no jars or jealousies. They had several children, who all died early, their son, the duke of Gloucester, arriving at the greatest age. Anne was supposed to have a strong conviction that the death of all her children was a judgment on her for her desertion of her father, and the repudiation of her brother the prince of Wales, whom, though she was the first to brand as a supposititious child, she undoubtedly came to recognise as her own brother. These feelings, however, did not prevent her from growing very fat, and in this respect her husband even outvied her. He loved his bottle and his table, being always exceedingly impatient of any delay or interruption of his dinner. The queen always studied his interest, and took care that he had his fifty thousand pounds a year, his ample provision in case of his survival, and made him lord high admiral of England, the duties of which, it is only justice to say, he very much neglected. He was, like his queen, a great stickler for the high church, because he thought it approached nearer to Lutheranism than the low church; and he had the sense to stand by Marlborough and his victories, after the tories endeavoured to ruin him, believing that they hated him only out of envy, and therefore he still stood by him when the whigs were driven from office. The prince was long a miserable victim to asthma, which, with his excessive corpulence, prevented him for long periods from lying down altogether. During these severe paroxysms, the queen attended him most affectionately day and night, took him during the summer to Bath, or to a cottage in Windsor Park, where he could be quieter than at the castle. In short, queen Anne proved to the last that she had a real affection for her husband, and was greatly afflicted on his death. Through all her griefs and anxieties on his account, she was still pursued by the fiendish malice of the implacable lady Marlborough. When the prince lay ill at Kensington, the duchess went there in a fury and forced herself into the queen's presence to demand that Mrs. Masham should vacate certain rooms, which she claimed as belonging to her office, though she had never used them, and this, notwithstanding they were appropriated to Mrs. Masham in order to be near her mistress, and relieve her in her anxious attendance on the prince. A more insolent and unfeeling conduct it is impossible to conceive, and which no sovereign but Anne would for a moment have tolerated. The duchess, however, compelled Mrs. Masham to vacate them; but hearing some time afterwards that Mrs. Masham was again using them, she went in a still more fiendish temper to insist on her quitting them, but this time obtaining only a blunt rebuff from the queen. When the prince was in his last agonies, the duchess again forced herself into his dying chamber, on the plea of its being her duty, when the outraged queen authoritatively ordered her to "withdraw!" She withdrew only to a neighbouring chamber, and continued to force herself on the reluctant queen till the funeral was over.

On the death of the prince his offices were quickly divided amongst the expectant whigs, no doubt in consequence of preconcerted arrangement. The earl of Pembroke took his office of lord high admiral, resigning the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland and the presidency of the council. But he soon found the business of the admiralty too arduous for him, and it was put into commission, the chief commissioner being lord Orford, that mercenary Russell whom the whigs had so long been endeavouring to restore to that post. The post of warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover Castle was separated from that of admiral to accommodate lord Dorset. Lord Somers was again brought into the cabinet as president of the council. Even the witty and wicked lord Wharton was promoted to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. As Marlborough and Godolphin had a great fear and distrust of Wharton, this astonished many, but was accounted for by those more in the secrets of court, by Wharton being in possession of an autograph letter of Godolphin's to the court of St. Germains, by which that minister, and probably Marlborough too, was greatly in his power.

But though the whigs were now apparently omnipotent in the government, that was far from being the case. Harley and Mrs. Masham had the ear of the queen as much or more than ever. They were continually closeted with her, and laboured hard to disconcert all the measures of the whigs; the fierce and implacable duchess of Marlborough, raging with jealousy of the influence of Mrs. Masham, who had supplanted her, did perhaps still more than Harley himself, by her impolitic anger and insolence, to render the queen only the more desirous to be rid of the Marlborough pest. Nothing but the duke's continued victories made the countenance of the duchess at court possible. There is no instance in history of a discarded favourite continuing to pursue the monarch, even when a woman, with such unremitting insult and annoyance. Certainly there is nothing like the open, daring hectoring of this woman over the queen in public, which occurred on the occasion of the queen's going to St. Paul's to return thanks for the victory of Oudenarde, which took place before the prince's death. As mistress of the robes, lady Marlborough had laid out the queen's jewels to be worn on this occasion, but as the royal procession passed up Ludgate Hill, the duchess, casting her eyes on the queen's dress, was astonished to perceive that she had not put on the jewels at all. Her indignant mind instantly attributed this omission to the contrary advice of the queen's Abigail, and, unable to restrain her rage to a private opportunity, she broke loose on Anne, without regard to the presence of the public. Poor Anne had not the necessary spirit of a queen to preserve her dignity, and retorted the scolding of the duchess with equally angry and more undignified freedom. The altercation continued not only to the door of the cathedral, but even till the queen had taken her seat, who spoke so loud that it began to excite the attention of the spectators, whereupon the duchess audaciously bade her sovereign "to hold her tongue," or, as she puts it herself, desired her not to answer her.

Anne had suffered far too much from this virago, but this command to hold her tongue astonished even her, and she never forgave it. But the duchess, far from seeking pardon for her conduct, followed up the tirade, as she always did, by letter, informing her majesty that the duke would be surprised to hear that when she had taken so much pains to put her jewels in readiness for her, she had allowed Mrs. Masham to persuade her to refuse to wear them in so unkind a manner, and that she thought she had chosen a very wrong day on which to mortify her, when they were on the way to return thanks for a victory obtained by my lord Marlborough. Anne should have returned no answer, but she did reply by a few lines that marked the memory of the insult. "After the *command* you gave me on the thanksgiving day, of not answering you, I should not have troubled you but to return the duke of Marlborough's letter safe into your hands, and for the same reason I do not say anything to that, or to yours which inclosed it."

The unsilenceable duchess wrote again, pretending to explain away the word command, but only adding insult to insult, by telling her royal mistress that since she had not answered her observations, she flattered herself that she had said several things that were unanswerable.

As this most foolish and indecent conduct of the haughty duchess was now fast producing its natural results, and the queen ceased to notice her insolent notes, she roused up Godolphin to represent that nothing could go on well if her majesty continued to discourage her cabinet—this meant by following the mischievous secret counsels of Harley; and she got her husband to write the same from Flanders. As the queen preserved her offended silence, the fierce woman again forced herself into the royal presence to demand why she treated her so. The death of the prince and the grief of the queen had little effect in restraining the duchess's violence. She maintained a system of annoyance which now-a-days assumes a most incredible aspect as tolerated by even the most patient of queens from any subject, much less one whom she had raised from insignificance to greatness. When the queen at length put such a distance between them as served to promise her some defence against her tormentor, she still discovered new means of assailing her.

One of the most amusing of these was, finding that, in her outrageous attempts to reduce the queen again by audacity and assumption to the passive slavery she so long kept her in, she had overshot the mark and only made the queen more determined to have done with her, she intimated to her majesty that, before taking the sacrament at Christmas, as a sincere Christian she ought to dismiss from her mind all enmity and harsh feeling. She therefore presented her with a handsome Common Prayer Book, underlining such passages in the service as enjoined forgiveness of injuries; and to this she added a copy of Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying," with the passages marked and the leaves turned down which recommended the necessary preparation of heart for taking the sacrament by casting out all resentments. The proceeding was all the more extraordinary, inasmuch as lady Marlborough was a professed disbeliever in Christianity. Her stratagem, however, was vain. She placed herself in the way at St. James's chapel when the queen went to communicate, and the queen observing her, gave her a gracious nod and smile, and passed on to the altar. No other notice of the matter followed, no interview was granted; and the chagrined duchess remarked bitterly "that the smile and nod were only meant for Jeremy Taylor and the Common Prayer."

We have dwelt on these petty squabbles of the palace longer than they would merit did they not now present a striking example of the daring insolence to which a spoiled favourite of royalty may arrive, and of the origin of some of the greatest events of history. This warfare still went on in distant skirmishes; but all the time Harley and St. John, through the medium of Abigail of the back stairs, were undermining the whigs with the queen. Their party, the tories, at this juncture greatly alarmed her by privately informing her that the whigs were intending to bring over prince George of Hanover whether she wished it or not. Lord Haversham was deputed to privately inform her of this, and it had the effect of greatly alarming and incensing poor Anne. Like most monarchs, she was utterly averse to her successor, and waved off all overtures on the part of the electress Sophia or her son, whom she termed "the German boor," to come to England. She had, in fact, no desire to see the whigs paying court to the heir-apparent during her lifetime, and she wrote to Marlborough to say that she should consider any persons or parties her enemies who promoted such a thing; that she herself never would invite the elector, and should regard it as a most disloyal act should any attempt be made in parliament to that end.

The new parliament assembled on the 16th of November. It proved to be much in favour of the whigs, and all appeals against undue elections were, without much pretence of impartiality, decided to their advantage. The queen did not open parliament in person, owing to the recent loss of her husband; but it was opened by a commission consisting of the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord steward, and master of the horse. The lord chancellor Cowper spoke in the name of the sovereign. He congratulated the two houses on the splendid successes of the last campaign, which he asserted were the strongest reasons for pursuing the war with additional vigour; that we might now, by proper activity, calculate on carrying the war into France, and thus compelling that country to conclude a satisfactory and permanent peace. The honourable service of the fleet and the conquest of Sardinia and Minorca were duly dwelt upon, and the facilities the possession of Port Mahon would afford for operations in the Mediterranean. The great event of the union was commented on with just pride, and the parliament was assured that the queen would take every precaution to prevent any fresh attempts of invasion of Scotland by the pretender. The lords and commons sent up addresses of congratulation on the prosperous condition of the war, and of condolence on the queen's late bereavement.

The commons then went into the question of supply, and voted no less than seven millions for the service of the ensuing year. They voted also an augmentation of ten thousand men. Great debates then took place regarding the elected sons of Scottish peers being excluded from sitting in the commons. The shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow had sent up lord William Haddo and James lord Johnstone, who were in that predicament, and it was determined that their election was invalid, and fresh writs were issued. It was decided that such Scotch lords as were created English peers should no longer retain their votes in Scotland for one of the sixteen Scottish representatives in the house of lords, but that those lords who were unavoidably absent could vote by proxy; so that such of the noblemen as were confined in the castle of Edinburgh had this right. The Scottish peers who sate in the house of lords had, like the English ones, their particular factions. The duke of Queensberry and his friends were in favour with the queen; and the lord treasurer Godolphin, the dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Roxburgh had different views, and coalesced with the earls of Sunderland and lord Somers.

In the peers lord Haversham did the work of Harley and the tories by contending that proper precautions had not been taken to prevent the late attempt to invade Scotland; that ministers had had timely information of the preparations in France, but had taken no sufficient precautions, except it could be called a precaution to take up a number of nobles of the highest quality and character on mere suspicion, who, he contended, had been most harshly treated by the government. He asserted that so insufficient were the defences of Scotland that there was nothing to prevent Louis XIV. resuming the attempt the next season with much greater success; that he had as many ships, as many friends, and as much encouragement in these kingdoms now as he had then. He next went on to depreciate the victories abroad on which so much had been said. The lords, however, carried a motion that timely and effectual care had been taken to disappoint the designs of her majesty's enemies both at home and abroad.

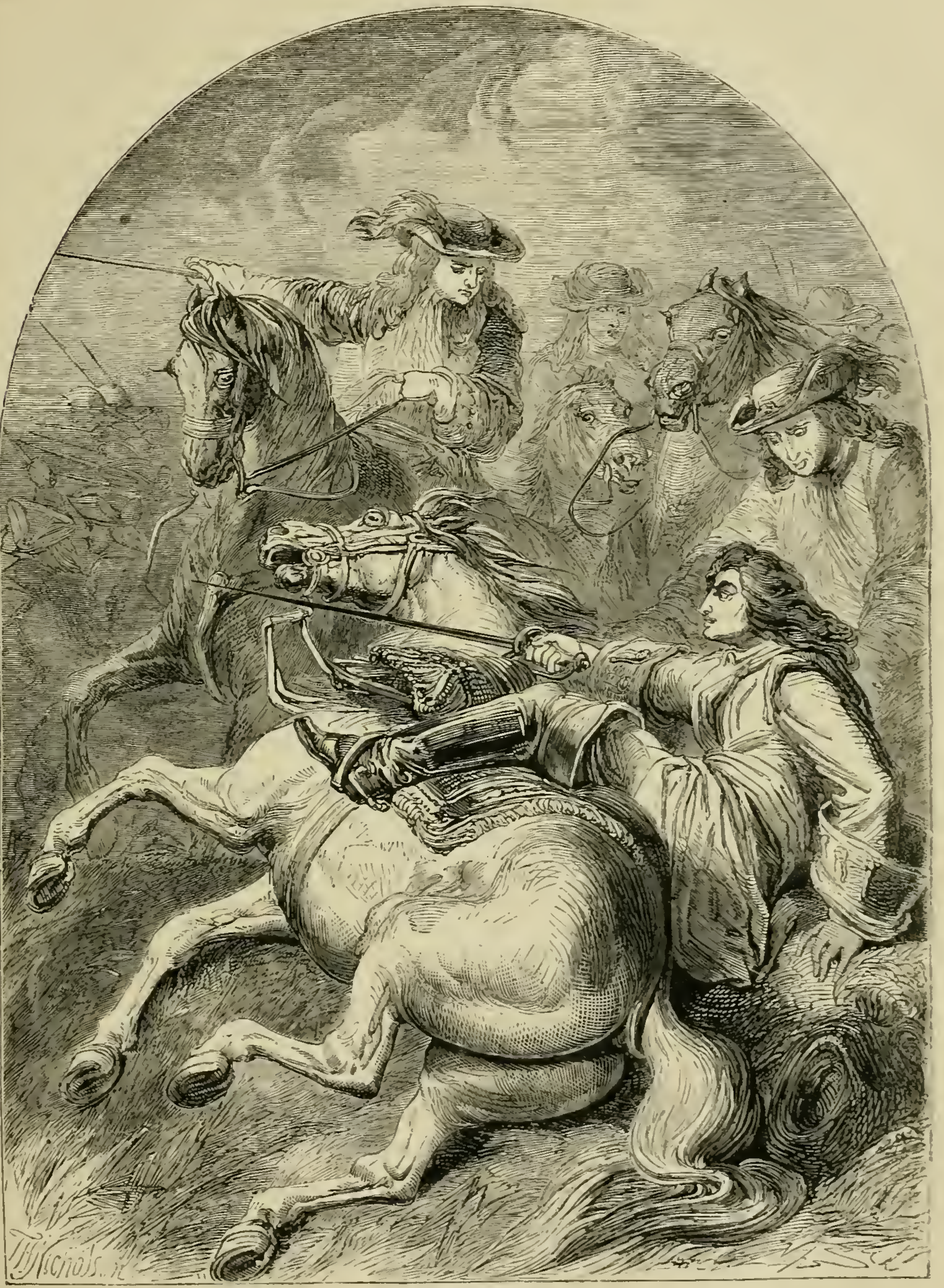
The tories carried a vote of thanks to major-general Webbe, who had been defrauded of his due honour for his splendid action at Wynendael through the misrepresentations of Cardonnel, Marlborough's secretary; but as this was deemed a censure on Marlborough, and as it would appear, a very just one, the whigs also moved and carried a vote of thanks to Marlborough too. And thus closed the year 1708.

One of the first parliamentary acts of 1709 was to pray the queen to think of a second marriage. The indelicate haste with which this was done—for the prince of Denmark had scarcely been three months in his grave—was attributed to Anne having issued an order in council to omit the prayers used on the anniversary of her accession, for making her a happy mother of children. She had been the mother of several children, and had now reached the age of forty-five. She marked her surprise and displeasure at this indecorous request, by replying that she had taken full precautions for the protestant succession, and that the nature of their address was such that she was persuaded that they did not expect a particular answer to it.

As some persons, who were deemed unquestionably guilty of high treason in Scotland, had been suffered to escape—as it was said, by the connivance of the judges there—the government brought into the lords a bill for altering the laws of Scotland as it regarded high treason, and assimilating them to those of England. The Scots protested against this as contrary to the articles of the union, but the ministers paid little regard to the argument. The Scottish law had, in political as well as in civil cases, to this day admitted the verdict of the majority of a jury as valid, instead of the whole jury, as the law was and is in England. The jury consisted of fifteen persons, and formerly a simple majority had been held sufficient; but by a recent act the majority was required to consist of at least two-thirds of the jury. Besides this, in Scotland, the accused were furnished fifteen days before the trial with the indictment against them, and with the names of the witnesses who were to appear against them. The horrid practices of an English execution were unknown to the Scottish law, neither did confiscation of the accused's property follow conviction. All this was to be altered, and the law of high treason in all particulars assimilated to the English practice. No wonder that the Scottish peers protested against this legislation as a gross violation of the articles of the union, which provided that Scotland should retain her ancient laws and courts of justice. This bill went even to interfere with these courts, and permit the crown to grant commissions of oyer and terminer.

Many of the English members of parliament and lawyers contended that the Scotch had the utmost ground for their complaint. Amongst these were Sir John Hawkes, a lawyer of high reputation, Sir Peter King, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Wortley. Sir John Hawkes affirmed that he had carefully examined the laws of treason in both kingdoms, and that he considered those of Scotland much the best in many particulars. The same was the case in the lords, many of the tories taking the Scotch side, though probably more to embarrass the whig government than from any other cause. Bishop Burnet opposed the alteration strenuously, and the Scottish peers contended that the English practices would be unknown to the Scottish judges, and these changes might lead to much confusion and mischief.

All argument, however, availed little in the lords, but the commons sent up two alterations as amendments, namely, that the names of the witnesses should be furnished to the prisoners ten days before the trial, and confiscation of estate should not follow a conviction of treason. These amendments were stoutly resisted in the lords, but were at length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BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET.

admitted on the condition proposed by lord Halifax, that they should not take place during the life of the pretender. With these important exceptions the laws of treason in the two kingdoms were assimilated, and it was enacted that the use of torture which had continued in Scotland, though contrary to the letter of the law, down to the revolution, should be utterly abolished. In order to conciliate the feelings of the Scotch after this harsh piece of legislation, which was formally protested against by the whole of the Scottish peers who had seats in parliament, the queen granted an act of grace pardoning all acts of treason committed before the 19th of April, the date of the passing of this bill, except such as were done at sea, thus excepting those who had embarked with the pretender.

A bill was brought into parliament this session for the naturalisation of all foreign protestants who should come to England, upon their taking the oaths to government, and receiving the sacrament in any protestant church. It was proposed by some that this privilege should not be attained except they took the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England; but this was opposed, and Burnet, to the scandal of more rigid bishops, took a decided part in the lords in advocating the more liberal measure of granting naturalisation to all who took the sacrament in any protestant form. The bill was carried, but it was followed by great clamour; for some thousands of poor Germans, both catholics and protestants, had flocked over to this country, in the hope of getting to our colonies in America. The Rhine country, and particularly the palatinate, had been so repeatedly ravaged by the French during these wars, that the country had become a desert. Every summer they were liable to the march of fresh armies across their lands, to the destruction of their harvests, the plunder of their farmyards, and the burning of their houses. Driven by destitution and despair, and seeing no prospect of any cessation of their calamities, they began to flock over in shoals in 1706 and 1707, and the stream of emigration still continued. The queen, pitying their sufferings, had permitted their coming hither, and the ministers had consented to the admission of five thousand of them. The miserable people hastened to reach this country as a favoured spot which knew nothing of the horrors of war, and had boundless territories in America which could absorb them all. But it was soon found that it was not enough to allow them to come, means must be taken to support them here, and means to transport them across the Atlantic. No such arrangements had been made, and there was presently a large army of these destitute foreigners encamped in huts and tents on Blackheath, who were in a condition of the most frightful starvation. Though our colonists would have welcomed the poor palatines with open arms, having urgent need of all their labour, there was no employment for them here; and as bread was high in price, there was speedily a clamour raised, that the government were bringing over foreigners to supply the place of the English that they killed in the war, and that the poor here were to be swamped by an inundation of foreigners, who would work for much less than English labourers could maintain their families upon. The whigs had contended that it would have precisely this effect of repairing the waste of our own population; and that as these poor Germans were extremely industrious and masters of various trades as well as of agriculture, they would do much good amongst us. But the tories now seized on these arguments, and contended that they would add to the number of the poor, already too numerous, eat the bread of the native labourers, and reduce the scale of their wages. There was already a cry that all round the neighbourhood where they were encamped the day's wage of a labourer had fallen from a shilling to eightpence. They asserted, too, that these foreigners, retaining a love for their native country, would correspond with their friends there, and thus act as spies; whilst, continuing to deluge the country with fresh arrivals, they would intermarry and destroy the true British character of the race.

These representations excited a rancorous prejudice against these unfortunate people. The tories refused to employ or relieve any except such as were protestants and willing to become members of the church; and the French refugees, who had settled here, having themselves fled from persecution, are said to have been amongst the most pitiless and jealous of their opponents. The clamour against them compelled active measures for their relief. The bishops and many other philanthropic persons of all ranks exerted themselves for their support, to procure employment for them, and above all, to get them conveyed over to America or to Ireland. This, however, could not be accomplished all at once, and as winter approached, empty houses were hired in the suburbs to shelter them, and benevolent people took others into their houses, till they could be shipped off, or otherwise disposed of. The sight of this misery might have suggested to the public the horrors which these desolating wars were spreading over the continent. The queen, who, if she were not endowed with a great intellect, possessed a thoroughly tender heart, at the news of fresh victories, instead of rejoicing, used to exclaim, when she saw the lists of the killed and wounded, "O Lord! when will all this dreadful bloodshed cease!"

But dreadful as was the condition to which the fiendish ambition of Louis XIV. had reduced Flanders, Spain, the north of Italy, and many parts of Germany, that of his own country and subjects was still more deplorable. Never was a kingdom reduced to such misery by the mad ambition of its monarch. Trade, agriculture, everything had been shrivelled up by the perpetual demands of these incessant wars. The wealthy classes were become as poor as the rest; the middle classes were ruined; the common people were drained off to the army if men, and sunk into beggary if women, children, or old people. All credit was at an end: the treasury of the king was empty, and his chief banker, Bernard, was bankrupt, as were hundreds of the same class of men. The most violent and spasmodic exertions had been made to raise the supplies for the armies in the different fields, and still of late nothing had come but tidings after tidings of disastrous and murderous defeats. The *Fermiers Généraux*, or farmers of the taxes, were out in all parts of France endeavouring to extort those levies which the ordinary tax-gatherers had demanded and distrained for in vain. The people of France were under a perpetual visitation of these officers, and though they were ill prepared to pay once, had frequently to pay more than once, the same taxes being demanded by different officers, the regular tax collector, or the agents of those to whom they were farmed out. The ministers themselves, Chamillart, Pontchartrain, and others of the proud servants of the proud *grand monarque*, were compelled to make journeys through the provinces to raise money for the necessities of the state in any way that could be devised. Such was the terrible condition of France: the people starving, ruined, and hopeless, and yet the daily victims of an incessant visitation of tax-gatherers, who, whilst they failed to procure the necessary sums for the war, were actively plundering and embezzling on their own account. Nothing but the immeasurable pride of the haughty but now defeated king could cause him to hold out; and even this chance seemed scarcely left him, for the enemy was already on the frontiers of France, already they had crossed that frontier, and laid the country under contribution in Picardy, and another campaign might see them in full march on Paris.

The duke of Marlborough had not, as usual, visited England at the end of the campaign in 1708, which did not terminate till actual winter. He continued at the Hague, his enemies said, merely to look after his own interests, for, by various modes which we have already mentioned, he was making immense sums by his command. But although we may be quite satisfied that Marlborough would never neglect his own interests, these interests equally, or perhaps more pressingly, demanded his presence in England. Harley and the tories, he knew, were actively though secretly engaged in ruining his credit with the queen, and the conduct of his wife was not of a kind to counteract these efforts. But Marlborough's interests were inseparably linked to his reputation, and that reputation now demanded his most vigilant attention at the Hague. He saw the triumphant position of the allies, and the miserable condition of France. It is asserted, therefore, that he and prince Eugene had planned boldly to march, on the opening of the next campaign, into France, and carry the war to the gates of Paris. There is no more doubt that they could have done that than that the allies did it in 1814, and again in 1815. The whole of the wars against France had been too timidly carried on. With the forces which were at William's command, the war might have been made offensive instead of defensive, and Louis have found his own territories subjected to the ravages which he had committed on those of the States and the German empire. Now there was nothing to prevent the victorious arms of Marlborough penetrating to the French capital, humbling completely the troubler of Europe, and the allies there dictating their own terms of peace. Nothing, indeed, but the subtle acts of Louis, and the timid policy of the Dutch.

And already Marlborough was aware that Louis, compelled to open his eyes to his critical situation, was beginning to tamper with the Dutch for a separate peace. Some of his own nearest kinsmen, and especially his grandson, the duke of Burgundy, had spoken very plainly to Louis. They had asked him whether he meant irretrievably to ruin France in order to establish his grandson on the throne of Spain. They had laid fully before him the wasted condition of France, and the rapidly growing ascendency of the allies. The pride of the old king was forced to stoop, and he consented to sue for peace. He could not, however, bring himself to seek this of the allies all together, but from Holland, whom he hoped by his arts to detach from the confederation. He dispatched Bouillé, the president of the council, to Holland, who met Buys and Vanderdussen, the pensionaries of Amsterdam and Gonda, at Woerden, betwixt Leyden and Utrecht, and Bouillé offered to make terms with the Dutch very advantageous to them. Vanderdussen and Buys replied that he must first of all put into their hands certain fortified towns necessary for the security of their frontier. To this Bouillé would not listen. The Dutch communicated the French proposals to their allies, and told the French minister that they could enter into no negotiations without them. Prince Eugene hastened from Vienna to the Hague, and he and Marlborough consulted on the propositions with Heinsius, Buys, and Vanderdussen; and it was unanimously decided that they could not be accepted.

It was now near the end of April, and the allies saw that it would not do to allow Louis to amuse them with offers which came to nothing, when they should be marching towards his capital. Whilst, therefore, Bouillé dispatched the news of the rejection of his offers to Versailles, Marlborough made a hasty journey to England, to take the opinion of his government as to the terms of the treaty. The receipt of Bouillé's despatch at the French court produced the utmost consternation. The king was fixed in his proud determination to offer no ampler terms; his minister represented that it was impossible to carry on the war. The scene of terror and distress in that formerly haughty and domineering court, which trusted to put all Europe under its feet, was indescribable. The truculent Louis, who had never evinced the slightest compunction for the miseries his ambition had sown all over Europe, now wept like a weak woman, and refused to listen to any proposals likely to be more acceptable. But there was no alternative, and at length Bouille was instructed to amuse the allies with the proposal to repurchase Lille and to yield up Tournay, till the marquis De Torcy could arrive to his assistance. De Torcy, the minister for foreign affairs, set off for the Hague, not openly as the French plenipotentiary, but merely furnished with a courier's passport, and ran many risks of being discovered and seized on the way. At Brussels he had a very narrow escape; but, by the aid of a Dutch banker there, he was enabled to pursue his journey, and reached the Hague late at night on the 6th of May. He waited immediately on the pensionary Heinsius, and that minister, a plain, unostentatious man, who had been the great friend of William III., and had been consulted on all the great measures and treaties of his time, and since had been equally in the confidence of Marlborough and Eugene, suffered the French minister to wait a good while in his ante-chamber. He did not forget that, when Louis was in the pride of his success, he himself had been sent as envoy to Paris, and that the then insolent minister, Louvois, had treated him with the greatest indignity, and even threatened to throw him into the Bastille. The times were now changed, and he suffered the Frenchman to feel it a little, and then admitted him and treated him with all courtesy.

De Torcy now offered much more enlarged terms. Louis was willing to destroy the fortifications of Dunkirk at the instance of the allies; to engage to send the pretender out of France, and also not to aid him in any attempt on the throne of Great Britain, provided that provision was made for his security and maintenance. He would give up Sicily, but would retain Naples, a country entirely gone out of his power for more than two years, and in possession of Austria. He even proposed that Philip should resign Spain and the Indies; but his allies the electors of Bavaria and Cologne must be provided for, as they had sacrificed their own territories in his alliance. The main difficulties appeared to be the frontier towns of Lille, New Brisac, and Hermingen, in Flanders, De Torcy contending that the surrender of Ypres, Menin, Condé, and a few inferior fortresses, would be sufficient for frontier defences. As they would give up Spain, the only obstacle in the south appeared the demand on Naples. These terms would have been received with exultation by the allies some time ago, but they were now in a different position, and their demands were proportionate.

As De Torcy could not bring the Dutch ministers to concede anything, he consented to meet prince Eugene and Marlborough, who had now returned from England with lord Townshend. To these was added count Zinzendorf, as minister for the emperor. The French minister, assisted by Bouillé, though he was treating in a condition of the deepest anxiety, yet maintained all the high pretensions which his court had so long assumed. He offered the surrender of Spain, but he would give no guarantee for its evacuation. He contended that the word of his king was enough—as if the word of any king could be accepted in such a case, and especially of Louis, who had broken his a thousand times. He pleaded that the king's great age, his earnest desire for peace and repose in his declining years, and the situation of his affairs were of themselves ample guarantees for the fulfilment of that article of the treaty; and he even melted into tears in his earnestness to bring the ambassadors to accept the word of the *grand monarque*. This was all mere child's play in a treaty which was to be the result of such a war, and to establish the future peace of Europe. As time was going on, the representatives of the allies, at the end of May, presented their *ultimatum* in forty articles, the chief of which were these:—That king Philip should within two months totally evacuate Spain and Sicily, which, with the Indies, were to be made over to king Charles; that if Philip refused to evacuate Spain and Sicily, the king of France, so far from helping him, should assist the allies to expel him; that Spain should never, nor any part of it, be united to the crown of France; that the Dutch should receive as a barrier to their states Furness, Fort Kenoq, Menin, Saverge, Ypres, Warneton, Comines, Wervick, Lille, Condé, Tournay, and Mauberge, and that the French should deliver up all the towns, cities, and fortresses which they had taken in the Netherlands; that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be destroyed and never again be restored; that the pretender should quit France; the queen of England's title and that of the protestant succession should be acknowledged; and the interests of the electors of Bavaria and Cologne be settled by the congress which should settle this peace; the duke of Savoy should receive back everything taken from him, and should also retain Exilles, Feneshelles, Chaumont, and the valley of Pragelas. Strasburg and Kehl were to be given up by Louis, but Alsace itself retained. The new king of Prussia and the new elector of Hanover should be acknowledged, and all these preliminaries should be adopted and the treaty completed within two months.

De Torcy, who could not expect for a moment that Louis would consent to any such terms, to gain time, however, engaged to send them to Versailles. He speedily received a secret letter from Louis, with orders to tempt the cupidity of Marlborough for the lowering of these demands. According to the Memoirs of De Torcy, his majesty's offers were these:—He would give him two millions of livres to procure for his grandson Philip the retention of Naples and Sicily, or even of Naples alone. He would give the same for the retention of Strasburg, or for the non-destruction of the fortifications of Dunkirk, without any reference to Naples and Sicily. If he could obtain for him Naples and Dunkirk, three millions; and for all those places, with Strasburg and Landau, for himself, four millions of livres. Marlborough is said to have blushed on the mention of these terms, but to have refused them. On that De Torcy informed Marlborough that he was well aware of his correspondence with the court of St. Germains, and thereby intimated that it was in his power both to do him good and harm. Marlborough stood firm, and it was well for him that he did, for there were vigilant eyes upon him, and the offer of the bribe was speedily conveyed to Harley, and by him to the queen.

De Torcy, finding that he could not move the allies, professed to accept the preliminaries, so great, he said, was the anxiety of his master to spare fresh miseries to his people and to Europe. He set off for Paris, but at Douay he saw marshal Villars, showed him the conditions of peace, and told him to put his army in order, for they would never be accepted. Villars replied that he should be prepared, but that the army was on the point of utter starvation, and such was the destitution of the country that he had no conception how the troops were to exist. No sooner did De Torcy reach Paris than it was announced to the allies that Louis would never accept such terms. Bouillé was recalled, and was commissioned by the allies to assure the king that no others would be offered, and that, if they were not accepted by the 15th of June, they should take the field. But the French king had gained one great object by the negotiation—it enabled him to represent to his subjects his earnest endeavours for peace, and the arrogant obstinacy of the allies. He had circulated letters all over France, representing the anxious endeavours he had made to put an end to bloodshed and to the miseries of Europe; that he had offered to make unheard-of sacrifices, but to no purpose; everything had been rejected by the allies but a fresh carnage and spoliation. He represented that the more he had conceded the more they had risen in their demands; that he found it impossible to satisfy their inordinate demands, except at the cost of the ruin and the eternal infamy of France.

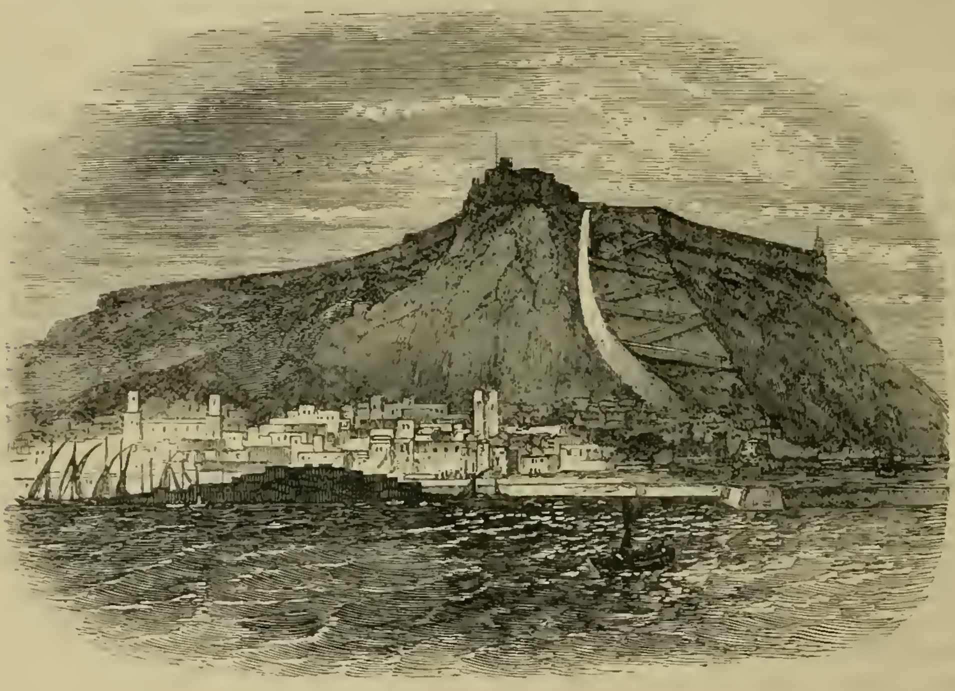
The effect of this representation was wonderful. The whole of France was so roused by indignation at the supposed treatment of their king, the insolent rejection of his peaceful desires, that they execrated the selfish arrogance of the allies, for Louis had insinuated that they were carrying on the war only for their own personal interests. The kingdom, impoverished and reduced as it was, determined to support the ill-used monarch with the last remnant of its substance; and such exertions were made for the continued struggle as astonished the world. Nor was the effect of Louis's representations lost on Marlborough's enemies in England. They declaimed on the unreasonableness of the allies almost as loudly as the French, and they particularly denounced the demand that Louis should help to dethrone and expatriate his own grandson, as the most astounding piece of assumption that had ever been heard of.

Prince Eugene and Marlborough immediately proceeded to Flanders to commence the campaign, but before following them we must notice a circumstance or two in England. The session of parliament closed on the 21st of April. Before doing so it had contracted a loan of four hundred thousand pounds from the bank of England. The bank also undertook to circulate exchequer bills to the amount of two millions five hundred thousand pounds, on condition that their charter should be renewed for twenty-one years, and that their stock of two millions two hundred and one thousand pounds should be doubled by a new subscription.

Parliament had also been obliged to pass a bill for securing the privileges of ambassadors and other public ministers of foreign princes. The occasion of this was, that a Mr. Morton, a laceman of Covent Garden, arrested the Russian ambassador for a debt of one hundred pounds. The ambassador insisted on his exemption from arrest in virtue of his office; but the bailiffs used him very roughly and dragged him to prison till the earl of Feversham gave bail for him. Matueof, the ambassador, exasperated at this treatment, demanded summary redress of government, and his demands were supported by the ambassadors of the emperor, the king of Prussia, and other princes. The queen expressed the highest indignation at the occurrence, and the sheriff and his officers, with Morton, the laceman, and altogether thirteen persons concerned in the affray, were indicted for the offence in the Queen's Bench Court, and found guilty. Mr. Secretary Boyle assured the ambassador that the whole of the offenders should be punished severely for their conduct. But the ambassador of the demi-savage Czar thought nothing of such punishment as a little imprisonment. He demanded passports for himself and family, went over to Holland, and thence forwarded a memorial of his injuries to the queen, accompanied by a letter from the Czar, demanding the immediate execution of every person concerned in the outrage. This was the punishment which Peter would himself have inflicted on them without any trial, probably cutting off half a dozen of the heads with his own hand; and the explanations of the queen's ministers, that no such punishment could be awarded to such an offence, only the more excited the anger of both Czar and ambassador. The government were greatly embarrassed by the case. They, however, deemed it necessary for the pacification of the Czar, and for the protection of all ambassadors, to bring in a bill by which not only the suit against the ambassador and all claims against his bail were made void, and the ambassador fully indemnified from all costs and damages in the case, but all the ambassadors and their servants were exempt from all suits against their person or distraint of their goods. No bankrupt, however, who put himself into the service of an ambassador to defraud his creditors, was to enjoy any benefit of the act; and it was necessary for all servants of ambassadors, in order to enjoy its protection, to register their names in the office of one of the principal secretaries of state, a list of which should be transmitted to the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, and be suspended publicly in their offices. A copy of this act, engrossed on vellum, and showily ornamented, was sent to the Czar, with an apologetic letter from the queen, and this at length succeeded in appeasing the northern despot's wrath.

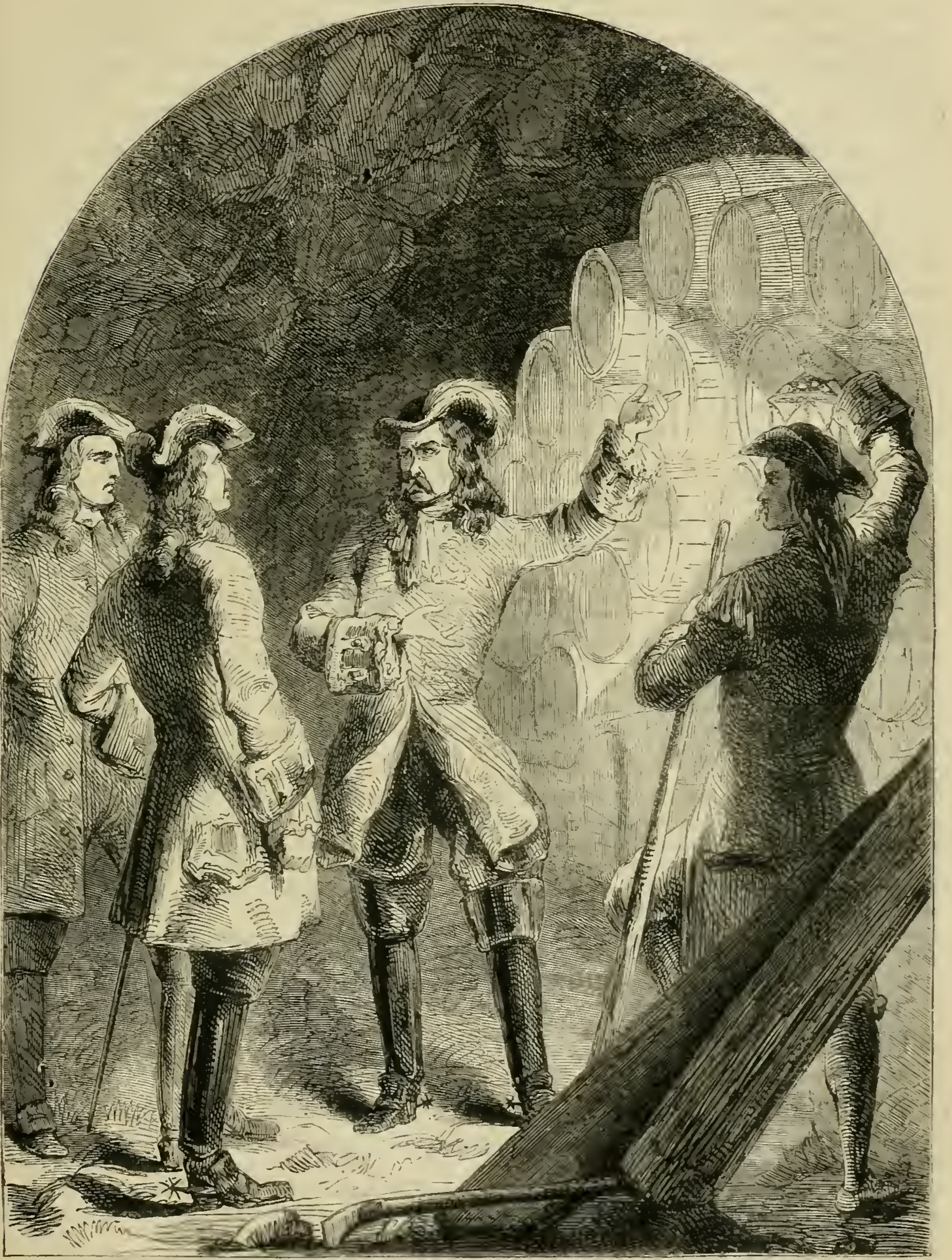
On the 21st of June, Marlborough and prince Eugene crossed the frontiers of France, and with a force of one hundred and ten thousand men drew up in a plain near Lille. Marshal Villars, considered now the ablest general of France, encamped his army on the plain of Sens betwixt two impassable morasses, and began to entrench himself. The allies reconnoitred his position, but found it too strong to attack him in it; and as they could not advance towards Paris leaving such an enemy behind them, they made a feint of attacking Ypres, and then suddenly marching on Tournay in the night of the 27th of June, they presented themselves before it on the 7th of July. The place was strong, but the garrison was weak. It consisted of only twelve battalions of infantry and four squadrons of horse, in very inefficient condition. Villars endeavoured to throw into the place seven thousand fresh troops, but he could not effect it. The governor, lieutenant de Surville, was a man of great military skill and determination, and he maintained the siege with such vigour that the allies were not only detained before the place for a long and invaluable time, but lost many men. The town capitulated on the 28th of July, when the allies were about to carry it by storm, but the citadel held out till the 3rd of September. The same day, leaving a detachment under the earl of Albemarle to level the defences, the allies crossed the Scheldt and determined to besiege Mons. They sent forward a detachment under the prince of Hesse to attack the French lines from the Haisne to the Sambre, which were abandoned at his approach. At this juncture marshal Boufflers arrived to support Villars, and, though his superior in command, agreed to serve under him. Marlborough, hearing that Villars had quitted his camp, and that the French were on the march to attack the prince of Hesse and cut off the approaches to Mons, made a rapid movement, which brought him face to face with the French army, which consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men—ten thousand more than the army of the allies. Villars and Boufflers were encamped behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The allies encamped with their right near Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of the wood of Laguiere, the head-quarters being at Blaregines. On the 9th of September the outposts of the two armies began to skirmish, but the French fell back on an encampment near Malplaquet, and spent the night in fortifying their position. Had the allies immediately attacked them the battle would have been less obstinate; but Marlborough was waiting for the coming up of eighteen battalions left to raze the fortifications of Tournay. For two days that he thus continued to wait, the French, with unremitting activity, proceeded in casting up triple intrenchments, and were, in fact, so completely covered with lines, hedges, intrenchments, cannon, and trees laid across, that the Dutch field-deputies declared that it would be madness to attack them in such a situation. But on the 11th, when the expected battalions had arrived, Marlborough and Eugene determined to give battle.

Early on the morning of the 12th of September they availed themselves of a thick fog to erect batteries on each wing, and the day clearing about eight o'clock, the engagement began. The battle began on the right by eighty-six battalions, commanded by general Schuylemberg and the duke of Argyll, supported by two-and-twenty battalions under count Lottum, who broke through the French lines, and fought with such fury that, notwithstanding their strong barricades, the French in less than an hour were forced from their intrenchments, and compelled to seek refuge in the woods of Sart and Tanieres. The contest was far more desperate on the left, where the prince of Orange and baron Fagel, with six-and-thirty battalions, attacked the right of the enemy posted in the woods of La Merte, and covered with three intrenchments. The prince of Orange led on the charge with wonderful bravery, having two horses killed under him, and the greater part of his officers killed around him. The engagement was now general, and the French continued to fight with the fury of despair from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon, when, seeing all their lines forced, their left being utterly routed, and the centre under Villars giving way, Villars himself being dangerously wounded, they began to retreat towards Bavay, under the direction of Boufflers, and retired to a position betwixt Quesnoi and Valenciennes. The forest of Ardennes served to protect the French from the pursuit of their enemies, and enabled them to carry off most of their cannon and standards. About forty colours and standards and sixteen pieces of cannon were taken by the allies, with a considerable number of prisoners. But on surveying the field of battle they found that this was the dearest victory which they had ever purchased. About twenty thousand of their soldiers lay slain, and about ten thousand of the enemy. Thirty thousand lives sacrificed in one battle! Neither Blenheim nor Ramillies could compare with Malplaquet in monstrosity of carnage. Nor was the impression produced equal to the destruction. The French, under the able command of Villars, notwithstanding their defeat, felt rather reassured than depressed. They had inflicted far more damage than they had received, and Villars declared that, had he not been so severely wounded, he would not have left the field without the victory.



CASTLE AND TOWN OF ALICANT.

On the side of the allies the generals count Lottum, Tettau, Oxenstjern, and the marquis of Tullibardine were killed. Both prince Eugene and lieutenant-general Webbe were wounded. The duke of Argyll, who fought with extraordinary courage, had his clothes shot through in various places, but escaped unhurt. The terrible carnage was in a great measure attributed to the impetuous and obstinate fighting of the prince of Orange, who was supposed desirous in this war to establish his reputation for valour with the States-General; but to the same cause



D'ASFELDT AND THE ENGLISH OFFICERS IN THE MINE.

may just as correctly be attributed the victory. The awful carnage was the direct result of attacking a hundred and twenty thousand Frenchmen in such a fortified position; desperate fighting was the necessary condition of victory. On the other side the pretender distinguished himself by equally gallant conduct. He charged twelve times with the household troops, and in the last received a sword-wound in the arm. The French having retired into Valenciennes, the allies continued the siege of Mons, which capitulated on the 23rd of October, and the armies then retired into winter quarters.

In other quarters the campaign had been of little importance. On the Rhine the French gained a slight advantage over count Merci near Friburg. In Piedmont field-marshal Daun, who commanded in place of the duke of Savoy—who refused to act on account of some difference with the emperor—was opposed effectually by the duke of Berwick, though he had dispatched a portion of his troops to put down a new outbreak of the Camisards in the Viverais, where they defeated the leader, Abraham, broke him alive on the wheel, and hanged or sent to the galleys the rest of the prisoners. Daniel, the coadjutor of Abraham, was also killed, and the insurrection for the time quelled. The duke of Marlborough had been very desirous to send succours to the brave but unfortunate protestants of the Viverais and the Cevennes; but before it could be done the news of their defeat came, about a month before the bloody battle of Malplaquet.

In Spain and Portugal the advantage was on the side of the French, so far as it went. The English and Portuguese were defeated at Caya by the Spaniards under the marshal de Bay. The castle of Alicant, garrisoned by two English regiments, held out all the winter. The Chevalier D'Asfeldt, who conducted the siege, caused the rock to be undermined, and having lodged fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, informed Syburg, the governor, that two of his officers might come out and see the condition of the works. This offer being accepted, D'Asfeldt in person accompanied them to the mine, and used every means to induce them to capitulate. Syburg continued deaf to his remonstrances, and resolved to stand the explosion. The mine being sprung, he and a large number of the garrison perished; but notwithstanding this dreadful disaster, the officer who succeeded to the command resolved to hold out to the last extremity. After the reduction of Minorca, general Stanhope and admiral Whitaker went to their relief; but finding it impracticable, negotiated their capitulation, and conveyed them to Minorca. In Catalonia general Staremberg held the ground against king Philip. In the north of Europe the whole face of affairs was changed by the defeat of the king of Sweden at Pultowa, and his flight into Turkey. Augustus of Saxony again marched into Poland, supported by Prussia, which entered into a league with him against Sweden.

The defeat of Malplaquet, though really more costly to the allies than to himself, had, in his depressed circumstances, shown Louis the increased necessity for peace; but he took shelter under the more favourable aspect of affairs in Spain and on the Rhine to renew his tenders of negotiation with an air of independence. His minister, De Torcy, opened a communication with Petikum, the resident of the duke of Holstein at the Hague, and offered to send plenipotentiaries to the Hague to treat if the States-General sent them passports. The States-General declined giving these passports till they knew the proposed basis of the treaty, but they allowed Petikum to proceed to Versailles. Meantime king Philip, apprised of this movement, issued a manifesto, protesting against articles entered into by the contracting parties regarding Spain. He declared his determination to drive Charles thence, and that his prospects of doing so were every day rising. He also made overtures to Marlborough, and De Torcy did the same, again tempting the avaricious duke, but in vain; the dangers were too great for even the large bribe offered. When Petikum returned with Louis's proposals, they were found to be so wholly short of the demands of the allies, that they abruptly refused to treat; declared their resolution to prosecute the war with unabated vigour, and wrote to all the allies, exhorting them to the same determination.

The parliament of Great Britain met on the 15th of November, and the queen, opening it in person, announced in her speech that France had been endeavouring, by false and hollow artifices, to amuse the allies with a prospect of peace, but with the real intent to sow jealousies amongst them. The allies had wisely rejected the insidious overtures; that our arms had been as successful as in any former campaign, and had now laid France open to the advance of the confederate troops; and that if they granted her, as she trusted they would, liberal supplies, she believed that we should now soon reduce that exorbitant and oppressive power which had so long threatened the liberties of Europe. Both lords and commons presented addresses fully approving of the rejection of the king of France's delusive overtures. They thanked the duke of Marlborough for his splendid victory at Malplaquet—a sentiment by no means responded to by the nation at large, which severely blamed him for the sacrifice of such a host of his countrymen, as they believed, only for his own personal glory and gain. The commons voted six million two hundred thousand pounds for the services of the year, and established the lottery and other schemes for raising this heavy sum.

The great topic, however, which engrossed almost the whole attention not only of this session of parliament but of the whole nation, was not foreign affairs, not the general war, but a party war at home, which was carried on with the most extraordinary *furor*, and put the whole public into a flame. The ostensible cause of this vehement conflict was the publication of a couple of sermons by a clergyman, hitherto of no mark; the real cause was the determination of Harley and the tories to damage the whigs irremediably, and to drive them at once from the service of the state and the support of the people. They therefore seized with consummate tact on these sermons, which were, as printed, stupid though rabid performances; and which, had they not been adroitly steeped in party spirit—the most inflammable of all spirits—and set fire to, might soon have slept forgotten in the linings of trunks, or as wrappers of butter and cheese.

On the 13th of December, 1709, Mr. Dolben, the son of the archbishop of York, denounced in the house of commons two sermons preached and published by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's, in Southwark. The first of these sermons had been preached, on the 15th of August, at the assizes at Derby, before the judge and sheriff. The second had been preached, on the 5th of November, before the lord mayor and corporation in St. Paul's cathedral. In both these sermons he had made an attack, if not avowedly on the government, on the principles on which the throne and the whole government were established. He professed the most entire doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, which, at the same time that they made him appear incapable, if he had the power, of overturning any government, set him to entirely sap and undermine the government and title of the queen, by representing the resistance which had been made to the encroachments of the Stuarts, and especially to James II., as perfectly impious and treasonable, contrary to all the laws of God and the political institutions of men. He reprobated the revolution and all that flowed from it; and thus, pretending to passive obedience, he was, in the fullest sense, preaching resistance and a counter-revolution. Whilst crying non-resistance, he was, as far as in him lay, arming all those who were hostilely inclined to overturn the throne of Anne, as built only on rebellion and on maxims subversive of the divine right of kings. In his second sermon, which he called "Perils from False Brethren," he preached flamingly against the danger to the church; danger from the false and democratic bishops who had been put in by the usurper William of Orange; danger from the dissenters, whom he had by law tolerated, and made powerful in the state and against the true church.

The reader must bear in mind that, as parliament had been rent by the violent contentions of the two truculent factions of whig and tory, each professing high principles of patriotism, protestantism, and liberty, but both thinking far more of the possession of power and the damaging of each other than of the real business and benefit of the country, so the church had been equally made the arena of the like unseemly struggles by the parties of high and low church—the whigs and tories of the hierarchy. The high church, essentially tory, were bent on re-establishing all the dogmas and ceremonies of a very partially-reformed Romanism—all the high-handed principles of Laud and of Sancroft; principles of despotism in church and state; of absolute submission to kings in political matters, to bishops and archbishops in ecclesiastical ones. They looked with implacable hostility on the more liberal, or, as they were termed, low churchmen introduced to the prelatical bench, and to a great number of other dignities and livings; on the freedom of religious faith and civil action conceded to dissenters, and which they had sought through parliament with all pertinacity to extinguish by the occasional conformity bill. These were the topics, this the animus which had raged year after year in the convocation; which had arrayed the lower against the upper house, where sate the bishops of the revolution, and which had become so rabid, so blinded by party zeal, so lost to all sense of decency and decorum, before a public wondering more and more as the *odium theologicum* increased, asking itself more and more amazedly,

"In heavenly minds can such resentment dwell?"—

that the queen had been compelled to desire the primate to cease to call the convocation together.

In these disgraceful quarrels of convocation Dr. Sacheverel had virulently distinguished himself; and, in now giving a more wide and popular vent to his combative propensities, he, in fact, beat the drum-ecclesiastic to all the host of similarly militant clergy throughout the country. With such a jubilant avidity was this war-note responded to by high church clergy, high church zealots of all sorts, and the tories ready to rush to the assault on any promising occasion, that no less than forty thousand copies of these sermons are said to have been sold. "Nothing," says Dr. Johnson, "ever sold like it, except 'The Whole Duty of Man.'"

It has been asserted that Sacheverel was a man of no ability either as a preacher or a writer; that he was a man of an insignificant family, and so ignorant that the gownsmen of Oxford, whilst they *fêted* him there soon after the notoriety which he had won by these sermons and the events which followed, were amazed at it, and heartily despised him. On the other hand, high church writers have cried him up as a man of sound classical acquirements, of a handsome and commanding person, and of a wonderfully vivid and exciting eloquence. The reality appears to lie, as usual, betwixt the two extreme statements. His printed sermons certainly are marvellously heavy and long-winded, and would seem rather calculated to send people to sleep than to rouse them as they did. But we often find men who have a certain power of delivery which gives to a discourse a fascination which only vanishes on reading the same in print. There is a zeal and warmth, a piquant and persuasive manner and tone, which for the time give a wondrous charm to very commonplace matter; and when these are exerted to influence a temperament already feverish, the effect is beyond imagination. A little spark, it is commonly said, can create a great flame; but when the spark falls into a powder magazine, the effect is an explosion. The public mind at this moment was, through the exertions of the tories and the indefatigable cries of The church in danger! become very gunpowdery, and Sacheverel had artfully dragged in still more popular elements of excitement, which were taken up and flung amongst the people by the artifices and exertions of the tory faction. The introduction of the poor Palatines had been industriously represented, as we have stated, as a means to pull down the wages of the English labourers and artisans, and to overrun this country with a pauper swarm of foreigners in place of our own genuinely English population. The cry on this subject worked wonderfully, and the populace of London rose in a desperate frenzy, ready to exterminate foreigners, to destroy the chapels and houses of dissenters, and to clamour, according to the lesson given them, for the church and the queen.

The reverend tool by which the extraordinary ebullition and the extraordinary effects which were produced were raised, was not, however, quite so despicable a man, so far as qualifications went, as historians are inclined to represent him. He was of an old and highly respectable county family of Derbyshire. He had himself a good estate at Callow in that county, which was bequeathed to him by his kinsman, George Sacheverel; and his descendants in the female line, the Sacheverel-Sitwells of Stainsby, a few miles from Derby, still figure amongst the most respectable county families. His grandfather, John Sacheverel, was a determined puritan clergyman, who was silenced at the restoration of Charles II., and died in prison for his faith. His father, however, had become as zealous a churchman on the other side, and Dr. Sacheverel had inherited his principles. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, was chamber-fellow with Addison, and was so much esteemed by him till their politics separated them, that the latter dedicated his "Farewell to the Muses" to him in 1694. This is sufficient to demonstrate that a man to whom Addison would show such a public mark of respect, was neither fool nor dunce. On the contrary, Sacheverel cultivated both Latin and English poetry; translated and dedicated to Dryden part of Virgil's first "Georgic;" published Latin poems in the "Musæ Anglicanæ," and stood high as a college tutor. That he was a man vain, ambitious, and soon carried away by a love of notoriety, is equally clear.

The motion made by Mr. Dolben in regard to Sacheverel in the house of commons was seconded by Sir Peter King, one of the aldermen of London, who had listened to the sermon in St. Paul's with astonishment and indignation. He denounced it as abounding with matter false, injurious, impious, and tending to sedition and schism in the church. This had not been the case with all the city dignitaries on that occasion. Sir Gilbert Heathcote had indeed been equally astonished at it, and declared that the preacher ought to be called to account for it; but the lord mayor, Sir Samuel Garrard, had applauded it, and had allowed it to be published with his sanction. Neither was it the first of the kind which had been preached in London. One Francis Higgins had been haranguing on the same topics in the pulpits all over the metropolis with the most outrageous declamations on the dangers of the church. Sacheverel, however, had brought the fever to a crisis. The most violent paragraphs were read in the house of commons, and voted scandalous and seditious libels. The doctor was summoned to the bar of the house, and having acknowledged the authorship of the sermons, pleaded the encouragement which he had received to print that on "The Perils of a False Brother" by the lord mayor. Sir Samuel Garrard, who was a member of the house, now repudiated his encouragement, and the doctor being ordered to withdraw, it was resolved that he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours at the bar of the lords, and Mr. Dolben was ordered to conduct his impeachment. A committee was appointed to prepare the articles, and Sacheverel was taken into custody.

The commons at the same time resolved that the Rev. Benjamin Hoadley, rector of St. Peter-le-Poor, who, as well as bishop Burnet, and the queen's ministers, had been been severely reflected on by Sacheverel in his sermons, had honourably justified the principles on which the revolution and the throne of the queen were founded, and deserved well of the nation. They, moreover, presented an address to the queen, praying her to bestow some dignity in the church on Hoadley for his eminent services to both church and state. Hoadley had preached a sermon before the lord mayor, demonstrating the right to resist and depose bad kings, and defending the revolution, and had done far more than that, had published a treatise called "The Measure of Obedience to the Civil Magistrate," in which the same principles were advocated. These had drawn down on him Sacheverel's censure, and that of a far more powerful adversary, Dr. Atterbury, a high tory divine. The queen gave the commons a civil answer, but was by no means inclined to patronise Hoadley or his doctrines; for, though sitting on a revolution throne, she was as little pleased with the notion of dethroning sovereigns as her father had been. A private patron, however, a lady, came forward, and gave him the living of Streatham, and on the accession of George I. Hoadley rapidly rose to the bench, first to the bishopric of Bangor, and thence to those of Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester in succession.

There was a busy stir at court regarding Sacheverel's sermons, as well as in the commons. Godolphin, the lord treasurer, who had been severely handled by the preacher at St. Paul's, under the name of Volpone, flew to the queen in a great rage, and insisted on Sacheverel being prosecuted for the attack on the principles of the revolution, which he contended reflected even on her, and the safety of her crown. The queen, however, knew that she had been spoken of by the preacher in the most flattering style, and as the attack was really against the whigs, whom she was trying to get rid of, she professed to be offended by the sermon, but was not eager to adopt severe measures. Marlborough, who knew very well what was aimed at, seconded Godolphin with all his power, declaring that if such men were allowed to go on, they would soon preach them all out of the kingdom. The law officers of the crown thought the best manner of treating the offender was to burn his book and shut him up in prison during the session. Others were of the same opinion, but the violent whigs were bent on his impeachment, Somers dissenting from this, and Sunderland decidedly for it. But the commons had settled the question for them. There had been some opposition to the impeachment in the commons itself, and Harley, who was at the bottom of the whole movement, had endeavoured to get rid of the prosecution by representing Sacheverel as a man too inconsiderable to be prosecuted by impeachment, and that, as to the sermon at St. Paul's, it might contain some things that one could not approve, but nothing great enough to warrant a charge of high crimes and misdemeanours, the whole affair being "a circumgyration of incoherent words, without any order."

When the impeachment was carried up to the lords, Sacheverel petitioned to be admitted to bail, but this was refused. The commons committed him to the custody of the deputy-usher of the black rod, but the lords afterwards admitted him to bail. The articles were carried up to the lords on the 13th of January, 1710, and Sacheverel drew up an answer, in which he wholly denied some of the articles, and endeavoured to justify himself in respect to the rest. The commons made a reply, and declared themselves ready to prove the charge. A long delay, however, took place before the day of trial could be fixed. Marlborough and his friends now appeared as indifferent to the prosecution as they were eager for it before, and Marlborough made his preparations to join the army in Flanders. The truth was, that there was a violent struggle going on at court which influenced the conduct of Marlborough. The queen was more than suspected of being favourable to Sacheverel, as influenced by Harley, Mrs. Masham, and the tories. When the doctor appeared before the commons, he was attended by Dr. Lancaster, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and above a hundred of the most distinguished clergymen of London and other towns, conspicuous amongst them being several of the queen's own chaplains. From the moment that Sacheverel was taken into custody by the commons, the church and tory party had set all their engines to work to raise the populace. These agents were everywhere, distributing money, treating the mob to ale, and spreading the most alarming rumours—that the puritans, the presbyterians, and the dissenters were all combined to pull down the church and restore the old republican practices—that the prosecution of Sacheverel was a trial of their strength. The pulpits resounded in all quarters with these alarms, with the intention of working up the people to a pitch of desperation, and they succeeded. The mob became furious, and paraded the streets and round the palace, crying, "God save the queen and Dr. Sacheverel! Queen and high church!"

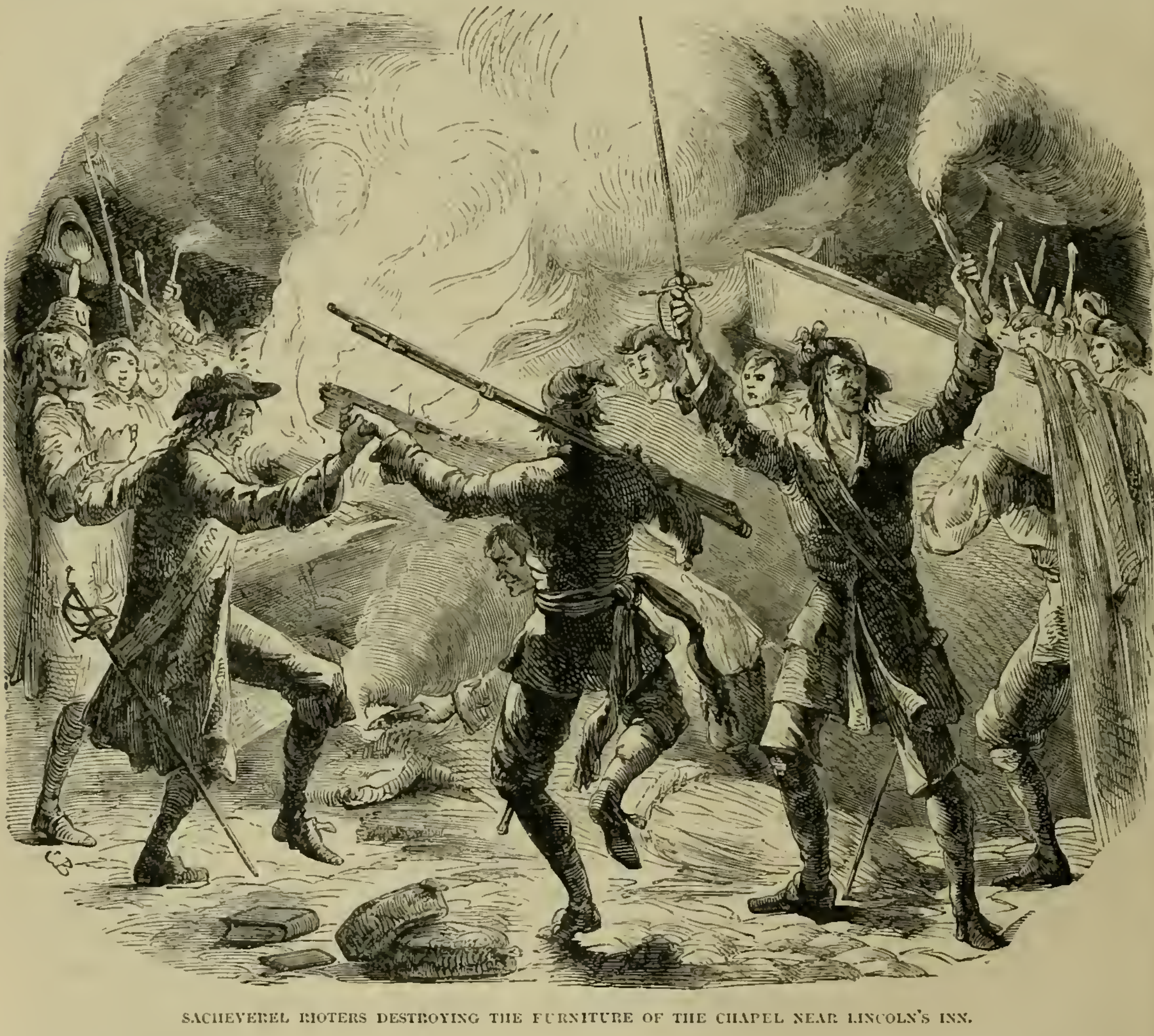
Marlborough, aware of the queen's intention to dismiss lord Sunderland from his office, was doing his best to keep him there. He was almost daily mortified by seeing appointments, however, go to the other party. The earl of Essex dying, he asked the queen to bestow the lieutenancy of the Tower, which he had held, on the duke of Northumberland, a son of Charles II. The queen informed him that she had given it to lord Rivers, who was familiarly styled by the whigs, "Tyburn Dick." But there was a Jack, too, namely, Jack Hill, as he was called, the brother of Mrs. Masham, to whom the queen desired Marlborough to give the colonelcy of Essex's regiment. Hill was totally unfit for the command, and Marlborough had a strong ground upon which to resist this piece of favouritism—so especially unpalatable to him; and he begged leave to lay down his own command; whereupon the queen told him that he might do as he pleased with the colonelcy. Marlborough, feeling the ground sliding from under him, prayed the queen that she would allow the duchess to retire from her offices in the household *on the conclusion of peace*, and that she would be good enough to transfer the offices to his daughters. This was a point which the duchess had been urging before. The answer of the queen was evasive, but Marlborough represented it in his favour. This was probably the reason why he did not wish to drive matters to extremities by continuing to oppose Sacheverel, whom he saw the queen favoured; and he determined to depart before the trial came on.

But his subtle enemies about the queen took care not to allow his affected moderation to do him any good. Marlborough had once ventured to ask the queen to grant him the supreme command of the army for life in reward of his great victories—a request which only alarmed her majesty with the idea, if she did so, of setting over her a dictator. And now Harley and his party, through Mrs. Masham, informed the queen that the victorious army commanded by the duke was getting up a petition in order to place him in the life-long command that he aspired to. Greatly terrified at the information, and seeing in Marlborough another Oliver Cromwell gradually striding towards the dictatorship, Anne summoned her council, and made it a personal request to them, "that they would be mindful of their duty to her, and neither agree to any petition from the army which the duke should present to parliament, nor suffer Mrs. Masham to be taken from her." For this latter design was also attributed to Marlborough to add to her terror.

Marlborough took his departure for Holland, and the trial of Sacheverel was fixed for the 27th of February in Westminster Hall. The scene was arranged exactly in the form of the house of lords, with seats for the peers in their due order. Near the throne a box furnished with curtains was placed for the queen, so that she could witness the whole in a state of *incognita*. On one side of the hall were ranged benches for the members of the house of commons, and on the other for peeresses and other ladies. A platform was erected for the members of the commons who conducted the impeachment, and another below the bar for the prisoner and his counsel. Opposite to the whole were galleries for the mass of spectators, which were so crowded that those beneath were in terror lest the whole should come down on their heads. The whole of Westminster Hall was densely thronged at an early hour, and there were great crowds outside. The mob pressed round the queen's sedan as she was carried to the hall, and cried, "God bless your majesty and the church!" while others added, "We hope your majesty is for God and Dr. Sacheverel!"

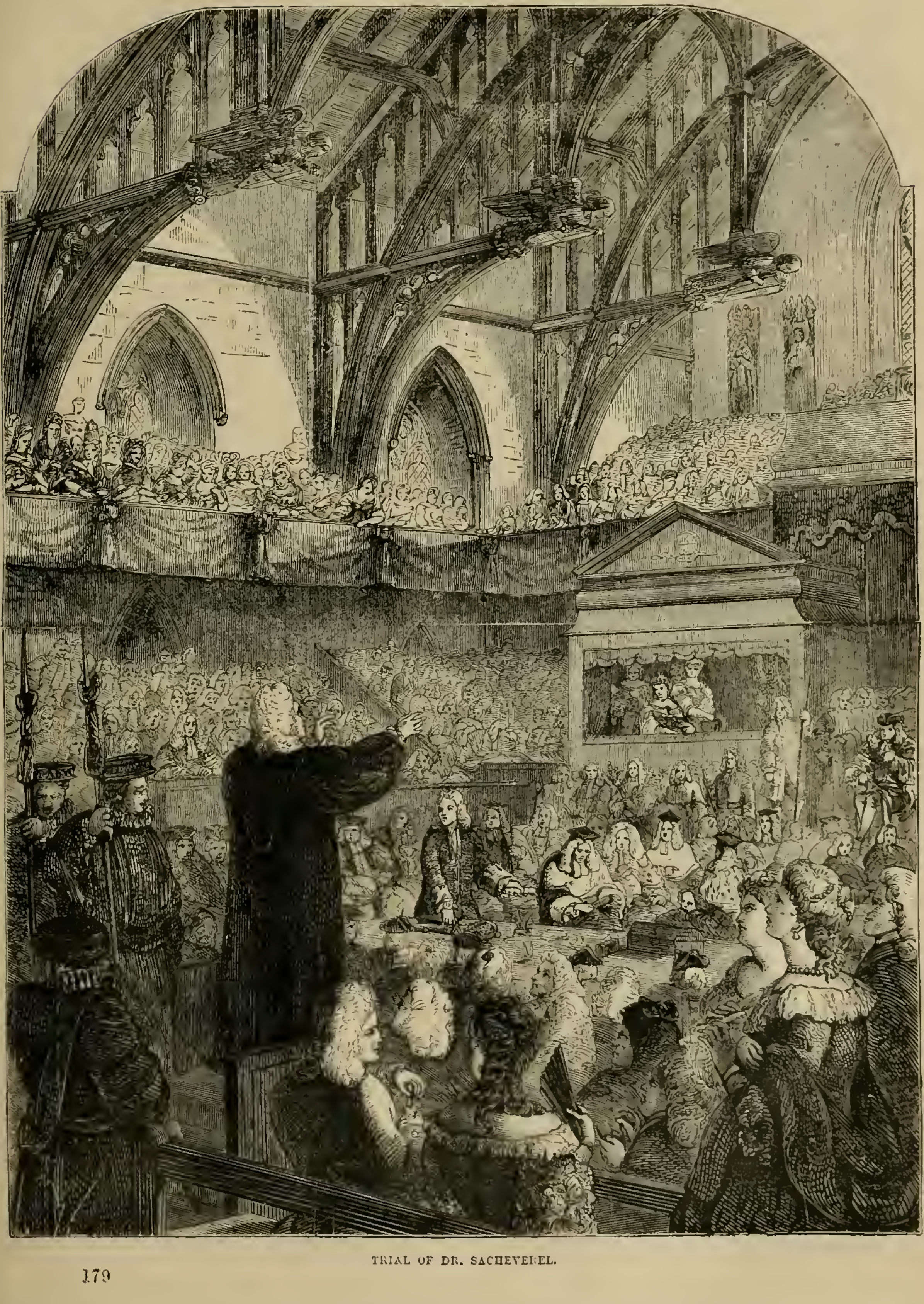
The noble ladies, who all crowded to take possession of the seats prepared for them, and who came in all their splendour of dress and beauty, prepared to see and be seen, yet, says Cunningham, expressed much anxiety lest the "Tatler" or the "Observator" should turn their costume into ridicule for the amusement of the London breakfast tables. Even in this busy and engrossing scene, lady Marlborough did not forget to assert her dignity and annoy the queen. Her office entitled her to take her place amongst the queen's personal attendants, and near to the royal person. As the queen had now for a long time steadily kept her at bay, and had not allowed her to come into her presence, this was an opportunity not to be lost. As she observed that the ladies-in-waiting all continued standing, although, as the queen was *incognita*, etiquette did not require it, she stepped to the queen's box, and whispered to her that she thought her majesty had forgotten to order the ladies to be seated, as was customary on such occasions. Anne, in a timid manner, said, "Oh, by all means, sit." The ladies obeyed except lady Hyde, the queen's kinswoman, who continued standing all the time behind the queen's chair; and the next day the duchess of Somerset, having royal blood in her own veins, and heiress of the great estates and honours of the house of Percy, did the same, notwithstanding the duchess of Marlborough told her that it made the other ladies look as though they were doing something improper.

The managers for the commons were the lords William Paulet and Coningsby, Sir Thomas Parker, Sir Joseph Jekyl, Sir John Hollis, Sir John Holland, Sir James Moutague, Sir Peter King, recorder of the city of London, Mr. Robert Eyre, solicitor-general, Messieurs James Stanhope, Robert Walpole, Spencer Cowper, John Smith, John Dolben, and William Thompson. The prisoner was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Constantine Phipps, and was attended by Drs. Smallridge and Atterbury. The lord chancellor Cowper demanded of the lords whether it was their pleasure that Dr. Sacheverel should be called before them; and the answer being in the affirmative, he was placed at the bar, his friends Atterbury and Smallridge standing at his side. Silence being ordered, the doctor was asked whether he was ready to take his trial, to which he answered with great confidence that he was, and should always be ready to obey the laws of the land. The articles of impeachment were then read. They accused him of having publicly reflected on the late revolution, and suggested that it was brought about by odious and unjustifiable means; of having defamed the act of toleration, and cast scurrilous reflections on those who advocated religious toleration; of asserting that the church was in great peril from her majesty's administration; of maintaining the civil constitution of the country also was in danger; of stigmatising many of the dignitaries of the church—some of whom her majesty herself had placed in their important stations—as false brethren; and of libelling her majesty's ministers, and especially branding the lord high treasurer with the name of "Volpone;" and, finally, with having, in discharge of his sacred office, wickedly wrested and perverted the Holy Scriptures.



SACHEVEREL RIOTERS DESTROYING THE FURNITURE OF THE CHAPEL NEAR LINCOLN'S INN.

These charges were well supported by various members of the commons, and amongst these Robert Walpole particularly distinguished himself. The counsel for the doctor then pleaded in his behalf, and endeavoured to answer the arguments adduced against him. Sacheverel, however, was not contented with this; he delivered a defence himself, which has been generally considered to be the work of Atterbury, and probably with good reason. In this he dwelt much on his responsibility as a clergyman, and represented the interests of all his brethren and of the church as involved in this attack made upon them through his person. He expressed the utmost loyalty towards the queen and the constitution; denied having called in question the revolution, though he had certainly condemned in the strongest terms the resistance by which it was achieved. He declared



TRIAL OF DR. SACHEVEREL.

himself in favour of the protestant succession, and asserted that, as his principle was that of non-resistance in all cases, he could not by any word or act of his own endanger the government as by law established; as if his very declaration of the principle of non-resistance and passive obedience did not condemn *in toto* the revolution, the means by which the queen came to the throne, and encourage all those who were seeking to restore popery and the Stuarts as the rightful religion and rightful possessors of the throne, both of which had been, according to his doctrines, forced from their legitimate place by ungodly and un-Christian violence; and he concluded by calling on God and his holy angels to witness that he had never been guilty of the wicked, seditious, or malicious acts imputed to him in the impeachment

At this daring apostrophe the countess of Sunderland, Marlborough's second daughter, and a lady of very different character to that of her mother—celebrated equally for her beauty and piety—was observed to be so shocked, knowing the appeal to God to be utterly false, and, therefore, impious, that she burst into tears Very different, however, was the conduct of the ladies and of the spectators in general. The queen herself was felt to be in favour of Dr. Sacheverel as the representative of high churchism and toryism, as the instrument of Harley and his faction, who was by this and a score of other means crushing the whig power. Her chaplains had been crowding about the prisoner and openly supporting him by their presence. Numbers of the court ladies testified their sympathy by the most palpable signs; and the duchess of Hamilton made herself a most zealous partisan in asserting the doctor's innocence.

As the doctor went to and from the hall, his chair was thronged round by dense crowds, which attended him to his lodgings in the Temple, or thence to Westminster Hall. Numbers pressed forward to kiss his hand; they lifted their hats to him with the utmost reverence. The windows were crowded by ladies and gentlemen, who cheered him vociferously, and many flung down presents to him. The doctor returned the salutations by continual bows and smiles, and seemed wonderfully elated by his sudden consequence. His chairmen seemed to partake of his glory, and stepped on as proudly as if they had been carrying the queen. "This huzzaing," says Defoe, "made the doctor so popular, that the ladies began to talk of falling in love with him; but this was only a prelude to the high church affair. An essay was to be made on the mob, and the huzzaing of the rabble was to be artfully improved." Accordingly, after the trial the next day, February 28th, the mob assembled in dense masses—sweeps, link-boys, butchers, by a sturdy guard of whom the doctor was always escorted to and from the hall, collected in the city—and began to cry, "Down with the dissenters! high church for ever!" And they soon put their cries in practice by assaulting the dissenting chapels, and began to sack their interiors. The tory writers of the time pretend that the rioters did this of their own accord, as the mobs had destroyed the catholic chapels in 1688; but this was not the case. The proceedings of the mob were stimulated and directed by gentlemen, who followed them in hackney coaches, according to Cunningham, who is the only writer who has furnished us with full details of these outrages. He says there were other gentlemen in disguise mingling with the crowds, and inciting the rabble by distributing money amongst them. There was no legal proof of this, he says; "but, amongst others, there were some of her majesty's guards and watermen taken in the very act of rioting, so that the court itself was not free from suspicion.'

The mob began their attack on the chapel of Mr. Burgess, a dissenting minister, near Lincoln's Inn Fields. They tore down all the benches, pews, and the pulpit itself, and carried them, with the cushions, bibles, sconces, &c., into Lincoln's Inn Fields, where they made a bonfire of them, shouting, "High Church and Sacheverel!" If they could have found the venerable old minister himself they vowed they would kill him; but he had fled to a friend's house, where he lay concealed. The rioters then proceeded to Mr. Earl's chapel in Long Acre; Mr. Bradbury's, in New Street, Shoe Lane· Mr. Tayler's, in Leather Lane; Mr. Wright's, in Blackfriars; Mr. Hamilton's, in Clerkenwell; all of which they ransacked in the same manner. In Clerkenwell they committed a blunder, which showed their ignorance of who really were dissenters and who not, for they saw the episcopal chapel of St. John's parish without a steeple, and, setting it down for a dissenting chapel, they pulled it down in their blind fury. They then directed their rage against the house of bishop Burnet which stood on the other side of St. John's Square, and attempted to demolish it. This they must have done under instructions from their disguised instigators, for Burnet was hated by the high church and tory party for the distinguished part which he had borne in the revolution, for his constant attachment to king William and his measures, and especially for his advocacy of toleration. They vowed they would put the low church bishop to death if they could catch him; but the respectable inhabitants vigorously interposed in defence of the bishop's house and life, and the mob were compelled to desist.

So long as the rioters were only burning and ruining the dissenting chapels, the court remained most calmly quiescent; but when the news came that they were beginning to attack "low church as by law established," there was a bustle and a fright at St. James's. This fright was wonderfully increased when Sunderland rushed into the presence of the queen and announced that the mob was on the march to pull down and rifle the Bank of England in honour of "high church and Dr. Sacheverel." At this news the queen turned deadly pale, and trembled. She bade Sunderland send instantly the horse and foot guards and disperse the rioters. Captain Horsey, the officer on duty at St. James's, was summoned into the royal presence, and Sunderland delivered to him the queen's order to disperse the mob, but to use discretion, and not to proceed to extremities. Horsey was one of the anti-Marlborough faction, and received the command in evident dudgeon. "Am I to preach to the mob, or am I to fight them?" he asked. "If you want preaching, please to send some one with me who is a better hand at holding forth than I am; if you want fighting, it is my trade, and I will do my best."

Sunderland could only reiterate the order to use discretion and avoid bloodshed, except in case of absolute necessity. Horsey found no difficulty in dispersing the rabble, who were more valiant against peaceable dissenters than against soldiers. In one or two places they seemed as though they would make a stand; but on any attempt of the guards to charge them they flew like leaves before the wind. The queen, on finding that several of her own guards, trumpeters, and watermen were taken amongst the mob, declared that she would repair all the damage they had done at her own cost, and that the offenders should stand their trials without any favour on her part. The men, however, showed no concern whatever. Like the mob, they were persuaded that they had only been rioting for the queen and Dr. Sacheverel; and the next day some of the implicated guards declared that the same demonstrations would be made all over the kingdom. Cunningham, the historian, was so disgusted with what he called the inconsistency of the queen in at once countenancing and discountenancing these popular demonstrations, that he breaks forth into a fierce tirade against the rule of women altogether, declaring that it is nothing wonderful that women should be inconsistent, since their wills are nothing but humour or fancy, which is rendered peevish by old age, and apt to turn to revenge on an affront; and he highly praises France for barring them from the throne by the Salic law.

The guards, however, were doubled the next day at the palace, and the train-bands of Westminster were ordered to remain under arms during the trial. The commons prayed her majesty to take all necessary measures for securing the public peace against papists, non-jurors, and other enemies of the crown and realm. The rioters who were seized were tried, and two of them condemued to death, but both were reprieved.

The trial lasted for three weeks, and every day the same crowds assembled, the same hurraing of Sacheverel, the same appeals to the queen on behalf of God, the church, and Dr. Sacheverel, a strange trinity, were shouted by the mob. No one scarcely dared to appear abroad without an artificial oak-leaf in his hat, which was considered the badge of restored monarchy, and all the time the doctor carried the air of a conqueror. The punishment, if rigorously carried out, in case of conviction, might deprive him of his ears, and shut him up in prison for some years. Eight years after this, when the whigs were in power, another clergyman, Mr. Bisse, was set twice in the pillory, imprisoned four years, and fined six hundred pounds for seditious sermons, and Defoe had lost his ears for much less. But none of these things troubled the doctor, who revelled in the glory of his popularity. The duchess of Marlborough has left us one of her sharply marked sketches of him during the trial, which is worth preserving. "It must be owned that a person more fitted for a tool could not have been picked out of the whole nation, for he had not learning enough to write or speak true English, as all his compositions witness, but a heap of bombast, ill-connected words at command, which do excellently well with such as he was to move He had so little sense as even to design and effect that popularity, which now became his portion, and which a wise and good man knows not how to bear with. He had a haughty, insolent air, which his friends found occasion after to complain of; but it made his presence more graceful in public. His person was framed well for the purpose, and he dressed well. A good assurance, clean gloves, white handkerchief well managed, with other suitable accomplishments, moved the hearts of many at his appearance; and the solemnity of the trial added much to a pity and concern which had nothing in reason or justice to support them. The weaker part of the ladies were more like mad or bewitched than like persons in their senses. A speech, exquisitely contrived to move pity, was put into his mouth, full of an impious piety, denying the greater part of the charge, which the man had been known to boast of before, with solemn appeals to God, and such applications of scripture as would make any serious person tremble."

At length, on the 10th of March, the lords adjourned to their own house to consider this point, raised by the counsel for Sacheverel, whether in prosecutions by impeachments, the particular words supposed to be criminal should be expressly specified in such impeachments. The question was referred to the judges, who decided that the particular words ought to be so specified. It was objected that the judges had decided according to the rules of Westminster Hall, and not according to the usages of parliament, and it was resolved to adhere to the usages of parliament, lest it should become a practice for the judges to decide on questions of parliamentary right and privilege. On the 16th of March the lords came to the consideration of their judgment, and the queen attended *incognita* to hear the debate, which was long and earnest. The great point was that which had been raised by Sacheverel's sermons, how far revolution and resistance were justifiable. Many of the tory lords and bishops thought the less said about the revolution the better. Of this opinion, especially, was the earl Ferrars, and Hooper, bishop of Bath and Wells, who thought that resistance might be resorted to in some extraordinary cases, but that the maxim should be concealed from the people, who were naturally only too apt to resist. That the revolution was not a thing to be boasted of, but rather for a mantle to be thrown over, and that it had better be called a vacancy or an abdication. Others again took lower ground, unwilling to discuss the great principles, but contended that Sacheverel had said many foolish things, which, however, did not amount to a misdemeanour, or if they did, should be tried at common law. Amongst these were the archbishop of York, the duke of Buckingham, the earl Ferrars, and other tory leaders. On the other hand lord Wharton and the duke of Leeds defended the revolution in the fullest manner. Wharton said that the doctor's speech was a full condemnation of his sermon. That all that he had advanced about non-resistance and unlimited obedience, were false and sheer nonsense. That the churchmen had shown plain enough, when there was occasion, that passive obedience was not their practice; and that if the revolution was not lawful, members in that house, and a vast number without, were guilty of murder and bloodshed, and that the queen herself was no sovereign, for her title was founded altogether on the revolution.

The duke of Leeds, in an eloquent speech, exclaimed, "What, king William set down in sermons as a usurper! The revolution a rebellion! If that enterprise had not succeeded, then, indeed, both these assertions would have been made, and the judges would have pronounced all of us who then stood up in defence of our country, our religion, and our laws, rebels. But the prince of Orange's cause has been pronounced by God and man just; and since he has been acknowledged in our public records to be the deliverer, guardian, and preserver of our nation, and his enterprise to be most glorious, and the establishment of our present government, how can there be any debate amongst your lordships about this matter?" And the old man declared that as he had taken an active part in promoting the revolution, he was still ready, if need were, to meet those who took an opposite view, not only in parliament upon it, but in the field. The duke of Argyll said that the clergy in all ages had delivered up the rights and privileges of the people, preaching up the king's power in order the more easily to govern him, and that, therefore, they ought not to be suffered to meddle with politics. But this, at least, was not true in this case, for some of the bishops warmly defended the revolution and the principle of it, particularly the bishop of Salisbury, who severely handled the doctor. In the end, however, Sacheverel was pronounced guilty by a majority of seventeen; but four-and-thirty peers entered a protest against the judgment, and his sentence bore no proportion to the usual ones in such cases. He was merely suspended from preaching for two years, and his sermons condemned to be burnt by the common hangman.

This gentle sentence was regarded by the people and the tories as a real triumph. It was proof of the ascendancy of the whig party, and of the fear of offending the public. The event was celebrated by Sacheverel's mob friends by bonfires, and by the inhabitants of London and Westminster by illuminations. There was plenty of beer supplied to the populace from some quarter, and every one passing along was compelled to drink the health of Dr. Sacheverel, the champion of the church. Sacheverel himself went from house to house in a state of triumph to thank the lords and gentlemen who had taken his side. From some of these, as the duke of Argyll, he met with a rebuff, but the great doctor, with a roaring mob at his heels, was generally flatteringly received, and he took care to boast that after his sentence it was clear that the whigs were down and the church was saved. The University of Oxford, which had received a snub from the lords by their ordering its famous decree, asserting the absolute authority and indefeasible right of princes, to be burnt with Sacheverel's sermons, was loud in professed triumph and sympathy for the doctor. The house of commons was indignant at the lenity of his treatment, and declared that his sentence was an actual benefit to him, by exempting him from the duties of his living, and enabling him to go about fomenting sedition.

The queen prorogued parliament on the 5th of April, expressing her concern for the occasion which had occupied so much of the session. She declared that no prince could have a more zealous desire for the welfare of the church than she had, and that it was mischievous in wicked and malicious libels to pretend that the church was in danger, and she trusted that men would now study to be quiet and mind their own business, instead of busying themselves to revive questions of a very high nature, and which could only be with an ill intention. But every one knew all the while that Anne was only pleased at the demonstrations which had been made through Sacheverel; that it had damaged the whigs essentially, and brought the day near when she could safely send them adrift, and liberate herself for ever from them and the Marlboroughs. Mrs. Masham now ruled triumphantly, and disposed of commissions and offices as royally as ever the duchess had done. It was openly said in the army that fighting was not the road to promotion, but carrying Mrs. Masham's lapdogs, or putting a heavy purse into the hand of Mrs. Abigail Earwig. The duchess of Marlborough did not abate her exertions to recover favour, but in vain; and the great Marlborough complained in a letter to the queen that all his victories for her majesty's honour could not shield him from the malice of a bedchamber woman.

Indeed, the display of the queen's bias now became rapid and open. The duke of Shrewsbury, who had now joined the tories, returned from his long residence at Rome, where he had married an Italian lady, and had taken the part of Sacheverel in the trial. The queen immediately dismissed the marquis of Kent, a stanch whig, from the office of lord chamberlain, and, much to the grief and consternation of the lord treasurer, Godolphin, bestowed it on Shrewsbury. There was great alarm in the cabinet, and Walpole recommended the instant and entire resignation of the whole whig cabinet as the only means to intimidate the queen and her secret advisers; but Harley is said to have persuaded the rest of the whig ministers that the only object was to get rid of Godolphin, Marlborough, and his son-in-law, Sunderland. The rumour of Sunderland's dismissal became general, and not without foundation. The queen had an extreme dislike to him, not only because of his belonging to Marlborough's clique, but on account of his blunt and outspoken manners. He was perfectly undisguised in his expressions of dislike for Mrs. Masham, and of his resolve, if possible, to get her out of the palace; and, with the queen's present devotion to that lady, he could have taken no surer way of getting himself out. Lady Marlborough, who could not now get to the presence of the queen, yet wrote to her, imploring her to defer any intention of removing lord Sunderland till the duke's return; but the queen forthwith gave Sunderland his dismissal, and appointed lord Dartmouth, an actual Jacobite, in his place. Anne endeavoured to qualify lord Sunderland's dismissal by offering him a retiring pension, but he rejected it with disdain; and such was the fear that the duke of Marlborough, on this act of disrespect to him, would throw up the command of the army, that all the leading ministers, including Cowper, Somers, Halifax, Devonshire, Godolphin, and Orford, wrote to him, imploring him to retain his command, as well for the security of the whig government as for his own glory and the good of the country. The allies on the continent were equally alarmed at this indication of the declining favour of Marlborough, and France equally elated at it. But nothing could now stay the fall of the whigs. Anne, indeed, ordered secretary Boyle to write to all the allied sovereigns and to the States-General to assure them that nothing was farther from her thoughts than the removal of the duke of Marlborough from his command, and that she still proposed to conduct her government by the same party. The hollowness of these assurances was immediately shown by her also dismissing Godolphin from the treasury, and appointing Harley chancellor of the exchequer. Harley thereupon proposed to lord chancellor Cowper and Walpole to make a coalition; but they rejected the overture; and, as a tory cabinet could not expect to carry on with a whig house of commons, a dissolution was determined upon, and parliament was dissolved accordingly, and writs issued for a new election.

The nomination of the tory cabinet immediately followed. Lord Rochester, the queen's high church and deep-drinking uncle, was made president of the council in place of Somers; the duke of Buckingham succeeded the duke of Devonshire as lord steward; St. John succeeded Mr. Secretary Boyle; Sir Simon Harcourt, as lord chancellor, superseded lord Cowper; the duke of Ormonde took the lord lieutenancy of Ireland from lord Wharton; the duke of Somerset had anticipated these changes by throwing up his post of master of the horse, and the earl of Orford was removed from the admiralty, and that office was put in commission. In the room of Walpole, George Granville was made secretary-at-war. Here was a clean sweep of all the whigs, except some subordinate officials, who clung to office as long as it was permitted. Dr. Sacheverel had done a mighty work for the tories, and, having the living of Salatin, in Shropshire, conferred on him, he made quite a triumphant progress thither in May, during all the heat and violence of the elections, still labouring in his vocation of self-glorification, and of damaging the whig cause all in his power, in which he was energetically supported by his patrons.

Through his whole journey he was accompanied from town to town by a numerous body of gentlemen and other people on horseback, and travelled with all the airs of a prince or the saviour of his country. He was received and entertained in the country houses as he went along with all luxury and festivity. The towns were in a tumult, and the great champion of the church was feasted and hurrahed to his heart's content. At Oxford he was received with the highest honours, and entertained at a great feast, at which many a nobleman attended, paying the most profound deference to him, and yet, it is said, secretly laughing at their assumed idol. At Bridgenorth he was met by a Mr. Cresswell at the head of four thousand persons on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. The hedges for two miles before reaching the town were garlanded with flowers and lined with people. The steeples were covered with colours, flags, and streamers, and he was deafened with cries of "The church and Dr. Sacheverel!" Such were the honours paid to this swelling puppet of the time, who received all the incense as due to his own merit, when it was only the farce of toryism using him to demolish whiggism. According to the lively malice of the duchess of Marlborough, "putting the air of a saint on a lewd, drunken, pampered man, dispensing his blessings to all his worshippers, and his kisses to some; taking their good money as fast as it could be brought in, drinking their best wines, eating their best provisions, without reserve and without temperance; and, what completed the farce, complaining in the midst of this scene of luxury and triumph—as the old, fat monk did over a hot venison pasty in his barbarous Latin, '*Heu quanta patimus pro ecclesiâ!*—Oh, what dreadful things do we undergo for the sake of the church!' "

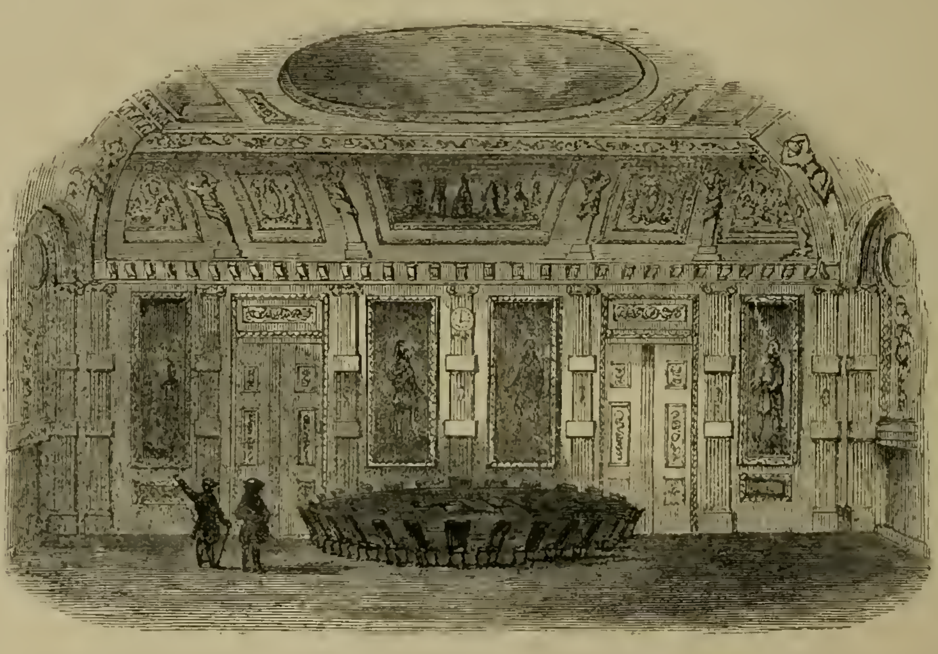
The truth was that the doctor did receive many and great presents, and the drinking wherever he went was terrible. At the same time the drinking was universal, for the election was going on, and the two factions were straining every nerve, and bribing and treating the populace to beer in the most extravagant manner.

On the continent war and negotiation were going on at the same time whilst the Sacheverel fever had been raging at home. Early in the spring Louis XIV., sensible of the miserable condition of his kingdom and of his finances, had again made overtures for peace through the medium of Petikum, the agent of the duke of Holstein. Pensionary Heinsius, in consequence, sent Petikum to Versailles to assure Louis that the allies were ready to treat on condition that he signed the preliminaries agreed upon before, leaving the separate articles to which he objected to be discussed in the course of the treaty; that as to these articles, the States would grant passports to his plenipotentiaries to endeavour to settle them or some equivalent for them. To this Louis agreed, without, however, signing the preliminaries, and proposed that the conference should take place at the Hague. The Dutch objected to the Hague, well aware that Louis's emissaries, once admitted there, would omit no endeavours to penetrate into the councils of the allies, and to influence the Lövenstein faction so as to operate in his favour. They, therefore, appointed the little town of Gertruydenberg as the place of conference. On the part of the French the marshal d'Uxelles and the Abbé de Polignac were appointed plenipotentiaries, and on that of the Dutch, the deputies Buys and Vanderdussen.

These ministers of the two parties met at first at Maardyk, on the water in a yacht, but the French preferred the wretched little town of Gertruydenberg for their sojourn, where they complained of the miserable accommodations they obtained. The Dutch States-General had sent a pressing request that Marlborough might be allowed to go to Holland in time to give his advice in these negotiations, and the two houses of parliament seconded this request. The queen readily consented, though it was suspected the whole was done at the suggestion of Marlborough himself, to show how essential his services were deemed by the allies. Though Marlborough hastened to the Hague in consequence, he did not in any way appear openly in the matter, but appeared busy with prince Eugene in setting early on foot the campaign. The French ambassadors represented themselves as being not only most meanly entertained, but as meanly and narrowly watched—their letters being opened, and their propositions met by haughty discourtesy. Certainly, if we were to regard the concessions made by Louis XIV. on this occasion as honestly offered, the allies had never a fairer opportunity of closing the war triumphantly, and were most blamable in refusing them. Louis offered to give up all Spain, and the Indies, East and West; to acknowledge Charles king of undivided Spain; to give no support to Philip, but to claim for him only Sicily and Naples. When it was objected that Naples was already in the possession of Austria, and could not be given up, the ambassadors waived the claim of Naples, and contented themselves with Sicily and Sardinia for Philip. As a security for Philip evacuating Spain, they offered to give up four cautionary towns in Flanders; to restore Strasburg and Brisac; to destroy all their fortifications on the Rhine from Basle to Philipsburg; to level all the fortifications of Dunkirk; and to surrender to the Dutch Mauberge, Condé, Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Tournai, and Lille.

Surely nothing could be more complete. By gaining all these advantages the allies gained everything they had been fighting for. They wanted not only an agreement for the surrender of Spain, but a sufficient guarantee for it; and this guarantee they demanded in the shape of an engagement that Louis should help them with actual money and arms to expel Philip from Spain if he refused to evacuate it, and really to put Austria into possession of it. This was certainly putting the sincerity of Louis to sufficient test, and Louis failed under it. He contended that it would be monstrous and unnatural to take arms against his own grandson, but that he would contribute money for this purpose — which, to ordinary intellects, looks quite as monstrous. He offered, according to his able prime minister De Torcy, to pay five hundred thousand livres a month towards this object, or even to raise it to a million of money if the allies would not be satisfied with less. But as the allies, in the first place, knew that Louis had not money to meet the demands of his own government, and, in the second place, that Philip had sent an express declaration to the allies, when this question was mooted before, that he stood on his rightful claim through the will of Charles II., the late king of Spain, and would recognise no pretensions of any party to deal with his patrimony—they declined the offer, and declared they would be contented with nothing less than the actual possession of the country. They knew that at the very time that these negotiations were going on, Philip was making fresh and strenuous exertions to drive Charles from Spain; that he had appealed to Louis to send him the duke de Vendôme to take the command in that country, with which request Louis promptly complied. They knew that France had only to close the passes of the Pyrenees, and, under the pretence of protecting her own frontiers from the armies in Spain, shut out all attack on Philip, except by sea.

On this rock, therefore, the whole negotiation was wrecked. Louis had flattered himself that Marlborough, distracted by the state of affairs in England, would be anxious to make peace, in order that he might be on the spot to resist the fall of the whig party at home, and with it of his influence. But the wiser De Torcy reasoned very differently. He saw that the party of Marlborough was already ruined, and for him to return home would be to return to insignificance, mortification, and insult. His only safety and strength lay in the continuance of the war; on the chance of reaping new victories, and, therefore, new humiliation to his enemies. And in this De Torcy was correct. Marlborough did not appear in the matter. Lord Townshend for England, and count Zinzendorff for the emperor, were consulted by the States-General on all the points of the treaty; but the pensionary Heinsius, the devoted friend of Marlborough and Eugene, kept them *au fait* on the whole subject, and influenced the States-General as they dictated. The result was that, after the negotiation had continued from the 19th of March to the 21st of July, during which there was a rapid and frequent interchange of messages with Versailles, the conference broke up. The French ministers returned home, declaring that the demands made by the deputies were so utterly exorbitant and unreasonable, that the king, with all his desire for peace, could not comply with them; and they at the same time com-



COUNCIL CHAMBER AT THE HAGUE.

VIEW IN THE PYRENEES.

plained of the treatment they had received. On the other hand, the States-General issued a memorial, declaring that France had retreated from the conditions first offered; had studiously evaded the grand point, that of giving up Spain and the Indies, and that it was evident that Louis had no serious intention, except to sow dissension amongst the allies. Lord Townshend assured the States-General that her Britannic majesty fully shared their sentiments on this head; that she was satisfied that everything possible had been done for peace, and that, on her part, she was resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Louis, however, did not fail to represent himself before Europe as a deeply-injured and hardly-treated man, who in his old age had been called upon himself to take the field against his own children, and to perpetrate deeds that were unnatural and revolting to human feeling. And there were numbers, especially the tories and Jacobites of England, who were only too ready to echo this opinion, and ostensibly to sympathise with so amiable a grandfather. There was another point, too, in which Louis represented the allies as very unreasonable: he had magnanimously offered to surrender Alsace; but he had taken care to demand as an equivalent for this, that his German allies, the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, should be restored to all their territories and honours, with which, after the unpatriotic career of those princes, the confederates were not disposed to comply.

The campaign had not paused for the issue of the conference. Eugene and Marlborough left the Hague on the 15th of March, and assembled their troops, which quartered on the Meuse, at Tournai. The confederate army amounted to sixty thousand men, with which they invested Douay, and Eugene remaining to carry on the siege, Marlborough advanced to Vitri, where he encamped. Marshal Villars, at the head of an army numerous and well appointed, considering the distresses of France, and all the more numerous, because men, destitute of the means of livelihood, flocked to the royal banners, passed the Scheldt, and encamped at Boncham, declaring that he would engage the allies, but thought better of it. His aim was to embarrass the siege of Douay, in which there was a powerful French garrison, commanded by general Albergotti. The defence was vigorous, Albergotti making frequent sallies, and altogether the allies suffered severely before the town. It was compelled, however, to capitulate on the 26th of June. Eugene and Marlborough being again united, contemplated forcing the lines of the enemy betwixt Arras and Miramont, but finding them too strong, they resolved to besiege Bethune, which, in spite of the menacing attitude of Marshal Villars, who marched out of his entrenchments as if going to attack them, surrendered on the 29th of August. They afterwards took also the inconsiderable towns of Aire and Verrant, and there the campaign ended. The armies broke up and retired to winter quarters.

This was a poor result after the grand schemes of storming Boulogne and marching upon Paris. The fact was, that the anxious condition of affairs at home completely paralysed Marlborough. He was no longer the man he had been. His mind was dragged different ways, and was harassed with anxieties. He could no longer concentrate his attention on one great plan of warfare, and the consequence was, that his action was spiritless and indecisive. He seemed to have lost the secret of success, and met with annoyances which his vigilance and promptitude had hitherto prevented. On one occasion a great supply of powder and other stores was intercepted by the enemy, though under the guard of twelve hundred foot and four hundred and eighty horse, In a word he was discouraged, divided in his own mind, and the spell of victory, or rather of high enterprise, was broken.

In other quarters the scene was not more encouraging. Nothing of consequence was effected on the Rhine, and in Piedmont the duke of Savoy, still out of humour with the emperor, did nothing. The imperial forces were commanded by count Daun, who endeavoured to cross the Alps and penetrate into Dauphiné, but was effectually kept back by the duke of Berwick, who held the mountain passes. In Spain, after a brilliant commencement of the campaign, everything went to ruin. General Stanhope, having passed in his parliamentary character through the Sacheverel campaign, joined the imperial general, count Staremberg, in Catalonia, in May. On the 27th of July they encountered the army of king Philip at Almanara. Stanhope had the charge of the cavalry, killed with his own hand the commander of Philip's guards, general Amessaga, and routed the whole body of horse, upon which the infantry retired precipitately on Lerida. General Staremberg pursued the flying army to Saragossa, where king Philip made a stand, but was again defeated, with a loss of five thousand men, seven thousand taken prisoners, with all his artillery, and a great number of colours and standards. Charles and his confederates entered Saragossa in triumph, and Philip continued his flight to Madrid. Whilst victory was with them, general Stanhope urged king Charles to push on to Madrid, drive Philip into the Pyrenees, and secure the pass of Pampeluna, the only one by which Louis could send reinforcements. But the inert Austrian loitered away a whole month at Saragossa, and it was not till the middle of September that Stanhope could induce him to advance. On the 21st of that month Stanhope, still leading the way, entered Madrid without opposition, Philip and all the grandees having retreated to Valladolid. On the 28th Charles himself made his entry into Madrid, but general Stanhope soon perceived that he had no welcome. The Castilians to a man were for Philip, and did the army of Charles all the mischief they could, cutting off his supplies, attacking his outposts, and destroying all the stragglers and foragers that they could meet with. Stanhope still urged Charles to send on a detachment and secure Toleda, and to keep open the passage of the Tagus to facilitate an expected advance of Portuguese troops in his favour. The Portuguese, however, did not make their appearance: provisions failed in Madrid, for the peasantry held back the supply, and the whole army marched to Toledo, where it found itself still worse off. Philip, meantime, had sent in haste to request reinforcements from Louis under the command of the duke de Vendôme, and these approaching, the timid Charles hastened back into Catalonia as the only place of security.

Such was continually the fluctuating condition of the war in Spain. The Spaniards had no inclination to support

Charles, and the allies only sent troops sufficient to win victories, but not to maintain them, still less to secure the passes in the Pyrenees, and keep back fresh French armies. It was another of our futile attempts to support a man who, unless he could support himself, had no business there. At this juncture the tories, having risen into power, withheld fresh reinforcements. They were not hearty in the war, and our small army there was left to contend with impossibilities. The English and imperialists unwillingly following in the track of the king towards Catalonia, for the sake of better procuring provisions on the route, had separated, and marched at some distance from each other, though in parallel lines. In this condition they were suddenly overtaken by Vendôme on the 8th of December, and Stanhope, with his five thousand men, found himself surrounded by the main army of the French. This was an instance of want of circumspection which was not anticipated in general Stanhope after his vigorous and able operations hitherto, and procured him severe blame. He managed to dispatch a messenger to Staremberg for help; but his powder was nearly exhausted, and after courageously defending himself till the next day, he was compelled to surrender himself in the little town of Brihuega. Staremberg was accused of tardy movement for the relief of Stanhope, but he was probably prevented coming up by the forces of Vendôme, who attacked him also on the 10th at Villaviciosa. Vendôme's troops are said to have doubled in number those of Staremberg. Staremberg's left wing was speedily routed, and great slaughter made of them; but Staremberg himself maintained the fight with his right wing till night, when the French retreated, having suffered equally severely with the troops of Staremberg. The imperial general, however, found himself unable to pursue the advantage: he ordered all the guns to be spiked, and retreated as fast as possible into Catalonia. Vendôme pursued him, took Balagues on the way, in which he left a garrison, and followed Staremberg to the very walls of Barcelona. About the same time the duke de Noailles invested Gironne, and took it in the severity of the winter weather; and thus was Charles, after a few months' campaign, which began so splendidly, stripped of the whole Spanish monarchy, with the exception of Catalonia, which was itself greatly exposed, and very inefficiently defended.

In Portugal nothing was done, and the earl of Galway obtained permission to return home. During the summer another attempt was made to assist the protestants of the Cevennes, who were in insurrection owing to their unexampled persecutions. Sir John Norris landed about seven hundred men at port Cette, within a league of Marseilles, and within fifteen of the insurgents. This force was destined to injure the unhappy Cevennois by drawing the vengeance of the French more upon them, and was of no use in relieving them. In every sense it was an ill-planned affair. The duke de Noailles marched down ten thousand militia and four hundred dragoons against them, imagining them to be a considerable body; and the invaders, after having taken a few villages, hastened on board their ships and sailed away. In the north of Europe the king of Sweden still continued at Breda, and the czar took the opportunity to reduce all Livonia. The Hungarians still continued their insurrections.

At home the new parliament met on the 25th of November. There was a strong infusion of tories sent up, but there was still also a strong party of whigs. The tories, however, carried the speakership in the person of Mr. Bromley, in the place of the late whig speaker, Onslow; but the chief managers of the Sacheverel trial had managed to secure their own return. The queen, on the other hand, showed her predilection by knighting Mr. Constantine Phipps, Sacheverel's counsel, and made him lord chancellor of Ireland, and gave other promotions to marked tories. In her speech Anne declared that she would support the church of England, maintain the constitution, and grant the *indulgence* allowed by law to scrupulous consciences. The word was no longer "toleration," but "indulgence," the very phrase used by Sacheverel—another indication of the queen's real leaning towards the doctor. And this phrase now became general in the high church, the doctrine being that whatever liberty of conscience the dissenters enjoyed was of indulgence and not of right. In the house of lords the earl of Scarborough moved the usual vote of thanks to the duke of Marlborough, but the duke of Argyll opposed it; and the duke's friends let the matter drop, hoping to carry it when the duke returned. Other signs of the great change which had taken place in the domestic policy of the nation quickly followed. The earl of Peterborough, who had so long suffered from the overwhelming shade of Marlborough, was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the imperial court. The earl of Rivers was appointed ambassador to Hanover; and Richard Hill, a kinsman of Mrs. Masham, ambassador-extraordinary to the States-General, and also to the council of state appointed for the government of the Spanish Netherlands, in the place of lieutenant-general Cadogan. Colonels Meredith, Macartney, and Honeywood were deprived of their regiments for drinking confusion to the enemies of the duke of Marlborough. The Marlborough reign was at an end.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE—(*Concluded*).

Marlborough unpopular—Inquiry into the Conduct of the War in Spain—Censure on those who invited the poor Palatines into England—Harley stabbed at the Council Board by Guiscard—Harley created Earl of Oxford—Death of the Emperor Joseph—Marlborough surprises the French Lines—Reduces Bouchain—The Duke of Argyll sent to command in Spain—King Charles elected Emperor—Expedition to Canada—Insolence of the Jacobites in Scotland—Overtures for Peace—Prior sent to Fontainebleau—Mesnager arrives privately in England—The Negotiation fails—Bill against Occasional Conformity passes—Marlborough dismissed from all his Employments—Twelve New Peers created—Prince Eugene visits England—Walpole expelled the House of Commons—Votes against Marlborough—Resolutions against the Barrier Treaty—Acts against Presbyterianism in Scotland—Conferences opened at Utrecht—Death of the Dauphin and his Son—Duke of Ormonde appointed to the Command in Flanders—Queen demands that Philip of Spain shall renounce the Crown of France—He consents—Duke of Ormonde unsuccessful in Flanders—The Allied Troops refuse to march with him—Allies defeated at Denain—The Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun killed in a Duel—Marlborough retires to the Continent—The Dutch sign the Barrier Treaty—Peace with France signed at Utrecht—The Scottish Lords move for the Dissolution of the Union—Violence of Parties—New Parliament—Treaties betwixt the Emperor and France, and betwixt England and Spain—The Commons pray the Queen to set a Price on the Head of the Pretender—Death of the Princess Sophia—A Bill against the Growth of Schism—The Treasurer disgraced—Precautions for the Security of the Kingdom—Death of Anne.

THE tories being now in power, there was an entire revolution of opinion and of measures. Everything which had been applauded and encouraged under the whigs was now to be decried; everything which had been kept down was to be set on high. The war, which had humbled Louis XIV. and defended the protestant interests abroad, was now—not on that account, but merely because it reflected glory on the whigs—to be denounced and deprecated. He who had won so many victories over the proud, grasping, and persecuting French monarch, was to be systematically maligned. The crime of the country was, that nothing was judged on the basis of true policy and true morality, but as it had been approved and promoted by one party or the other. There was much to blame in the policy of England mixing itself up in the continental wars, but, having done it, and having won great credit by our conduct of it, it was a base principle in the tories now to attempt to destroy that national glory, merely because it had been achieved by the whigs. Marlborough might justly be accused of many grave faults, of much avarice, much embezzlement, much desire to continue the war for his own gain and reputation when opportunities presented of putting a fair end to it; but Marlborough had, with all these faults, displayed the abilities of a great general, and by his victories wonderfully exalted the fame of England for martial bravery. He had humbled the proudest and most aggressive monarch of Europe, the perpetual disturber of its quiet, the wholesale and implacable persecutor of protestantism, and it now required only a little persistence in the course so long pursued to force from him everything for which we had fought. But the tories could never forgive the whigs for having originated and conducted this war, which, however expensive and destructive of human life, was eminently successful in its great object — the humiliation and enfeebling of the tyrant Louis; nor Marlborough for having, by going over to the whigs, conveyed all this glory to them. Everything now was to be, therefore, reversed, whatever the consequences to the fame or interests of England, in order to abase the whigs; and Marlborough was to be systematically humbled and mortified as their military representative.

When he, therefore, arrived during the Christmas holidays, it was to a most cold reception. There were no longer popular acclamations, and lords and commons hurrying to offer him thanks and eulogies for his eminent services. The public mind had been carefully indoctrinated on this head, and the great commander landed in a most expressive silence. He waited, as was his duty, on the queen, was admitted to about half an hour's audience, and the next morning attended a meeting of the privy council. But both in the presence and the council chamber reigned the same ominous and freezing silence. The queen plainly told him that he was now no longer to expect the thanks of parliament as formerly; and she added that, notwithstanding, she trusted he would act in harmony with her ministers. Marlborough showed no outward signs of resentment. He was anxious still to continue the command of the army, and to put the finish to his successes by compelling a satisfactory peace from Louis, now reduced to the most terrible straits.

On the 2nd of January, 1711, the queen announced to parliament the disasters in Spain, the surrender of our army under general Stanhope, and the necessity of raising fresh troops to continue the struggle. This was a fine opportunity for breaking loose on the whig ministry, who had led us into the war in Spain. It was contended that we never ought to have undertaken a war in the interior of that country. From Spain the discussion spread over the whole theatre of the war; and Marlborough, who had been for years so extravagantly eulogised, was now as extravagantly attacked in both houses. He was accused of all sorts of faults and crimes; his very generalship and even his personal courage were denied. These detractions resounded through both houses of parliament, and were diffused over the whole nation by tory attacks in the public journals and in pamphlets. Swift, who was now become the literary tool of Harley and St. John, and whose abilities were only excelled by his savage and unprincipled calumnies, spared neither Marlborough nor his wife in the "Examiner." "My lord treasurer," says the duchess, "has thought fit to order the 'Examiner' to represent me in print as a pickpocket all over England; and for that honest service, and some others, her majesty has lately made him a dean."

The indomitable duchess was not to be thus libelled without having her "last word;" and it is amusing to see how she defends herself by showing that, in nine years, she had saved the country ninety thousand pounds alone in the queen's clothes! She showed that queen Mary, Anne's immediate predecessor and sister, had expended from eleven thousand pounds to twelve thousand pounds a year in dress; but that she had for nine years dressed the queen for thirty-two thousand pounds, or for considerably less than four thousand pounds a year. The duke saw that though it was desirous that he should keep his command if possible, it was time for the duchess to resign her offices. Every day some fresh insult was offered to Marlborough as a great whig commander, and it was good policy to withdraw both himself and his impetuous duchess from notice. As if to outrage, in the most flagrant manner, Marlborough's ideas of military fitness, the same incompetent Jack Hill, the brother of Mrs. Masham, was appointed commander of an expedition for the arduous service of the conquest of Canada. The queen had repeatedly insisted to Marlborough that the duchess should deliver up the gold keys, the token of her offices of groom of the stole and mistress of the robes; but that resolute woman refused to comply. Marlborough, unable to obtain the keys, endeavoured to mollify the queen's anger at the delay, by praying her patience, representing himself as "the meanest of her majesty's instruments—a mere worm—her majesty's humblest creature;" that he was neither covetous nor ambitious, at which avowal, the queen told her tory minister, that if she could have turned round, she should have laughed; and that "he was worn out with age, fatigues, and misfortunes." This pathetic appeal, however, did not decrease the queen's impatience, and Marlborough imperatively demanded the keys from his wife. For some time she vehemently refused to part with them, but after a violent and stormy altercation, according to Cunningham, she finished by flinging them at his head. The duke snatched them up and hurried to the palace with them, where, says the same authority, the queen received them with far greater pleasure than if he had brought her the spoils of the army; at which, he says, "the duchess flew about the town in a rage, and with eyes and words full of vengeance."

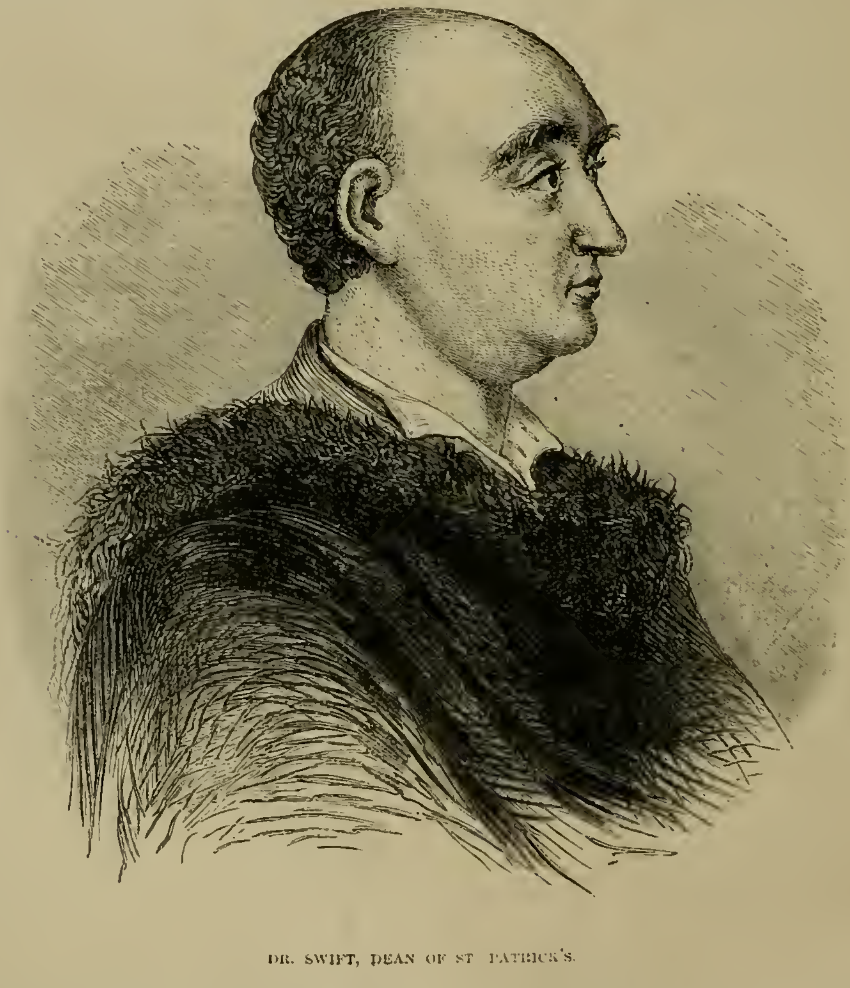
There was no doubt that great was the queen's exultation at thus being at length liberated from the heavy and imperious yoke of the Marlboroughs. People who had absented themselves from court for years, now presented themselves there to pay their respects, and amongst them, the duke of Beaufort congratulated Anne that he could now salute his queen in reality. The duchess's places were immediately given to the duchess of Somerset and Mrs. Masham. The tory raid against the whigs was pursued with unpausing ardour. An inquiry was set on foot in the lords into the conduct of the war in Spain. The earl of Peterborough's turn was now come. He was examined before a committee, and imputed the mismanagement of the war in Spain to Galway and general Stanhope. Galway made an able defence, but the house, notwithstanding, passed a resolution that lord Peterborough had most honourably distinguished himself by his able counsels and active services in Spain, and that Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope had been very culpable in advising an offensive war in Spain, which had caused all our misfortunes, and especially the battle of Almanza. But in blaming the generals they blamed also the ministers who sanctioned the war, and then so badly supported it. The failure of the attempt in Toulon was attributed to the same cause. Thanks were voted to lord Peterborough, and in rendering them it was not forgotten to make some caustic criticisms on Marlborough. To increase the power of the tory landlords in the house of commons, and diminish that of the whig supporters in the boroughs, an act was introduced, and the commons were weak enough to pass it, making it necessary that every candidate for parliament in the counties should possess six hundred a year in real property, and for a borough seat three hundred; and this law has lasted to our time, and only been recently repealed.

In spite, however, of the triumphant position of the tories, Harley found his individual position far from enviable. His caution made him inimical to the more violent tories, who were impatient to exercise their power without restraint; and his colleague St. John, at once ambitious and unprincipled, artfully availed himself to undermine the man by whom he had risen. But an incident occurred to excite a fresh interest in Harley, and give a new accession to his power. Amongst the horde of foreigners, Germans, Italians, French, and Poles, who contrived to draw English money by acting as spies on their own governments, and very frequently on the English one too, was the so-called marquis of Guiscard. This man had been in the receipt of five hundred pounds a year. He had obtained the salary, it is said, through St. John, being a devoted companion of that accomplished scoundrel in his dissipations. Harley doubted the value of his services, and reduced the pension to four hundred pounds a year; and St. John is also said to have suffered him to endure the curtailment without much remonstrance, and then, to avoid Guiscard's importunities, refused to see him. Guiscard immediately offered his services to the French government as a spy on the English court, through a letter to one Moreau, a banker of Paris. The letter was intercepted. and Guiscard arrested. On being brought before the privy council he desired to speak in private to St. John, whom, it is suspected, he intended to assassinate, but St. John refused his demand. He then exclaimed, "That is hard! not one word!" and suddenly stepping up to Harley, he cried, "Have at thee, then!" and stabbed him with his penknife. The knife, striking against the breastbone, broke near the handle; but the excited foreigner struck him again with such force that Harley fell to the ground covered with blood.

St. John, seeing Harley fall, exclaimed, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley!" drew his sword, and ran him through. The whole council was up and in confusion. All drew their swords and surrounded the murderous prisoner. He was wounded in various places, and knocked down by blows from the hands of others. The doorkeepers and messengers rushed in at the noise, and Guiscard was dragged to prison. He was accused of having had a design of assassinating the duke of Marlborough, and even the queen; but there is no sufficient evidence of either of these intentions, for he had had an interview with the queen the evening before, pressing for the augmentation of his salary, and nobody, according to lord Dartmouth, in the outer room but Mrs. Fielding, or within call but Mrs. Kirk, who was commonly asleep. He was visited in Newgate by the members of the council, on the plea that he had something to reveal; but he seems to have only made half revelations, pointing at St. John, and then stopping. He died in Newgate of his wounds; and such was the curiosity of the populace to see his body, that the turnkey kept it in pickle, and made a good sum by showing him for several days.

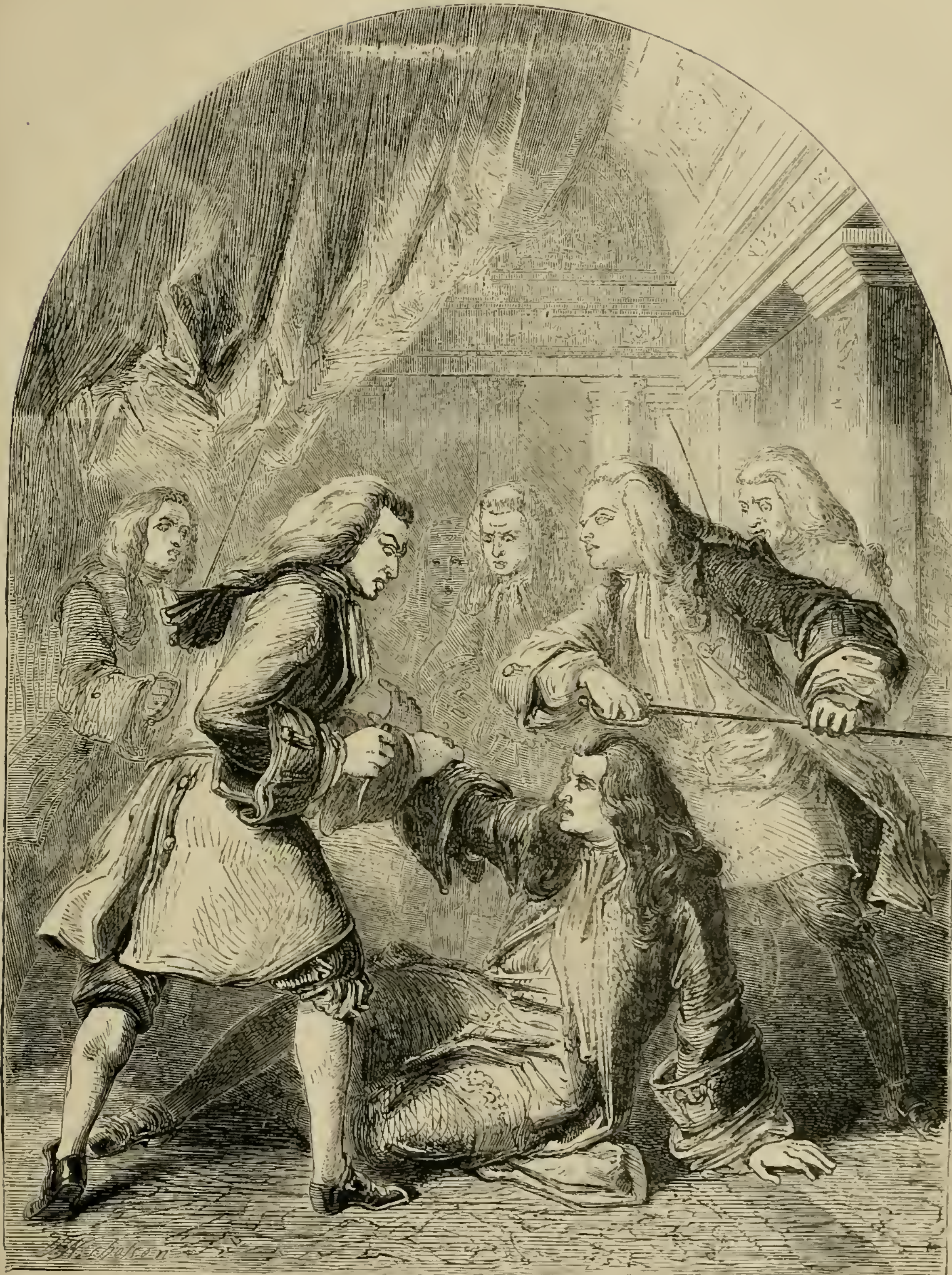
Such is the version of this remarkable occurrence, as it figures in most of our English histories; but it is probable that it is much coloured and misrepresented by party influences. Guiscard, as he is called by our historians, but Labourlie, as he is better known to those of France, was a gentleman of ancient family of the district of Rouergue, bordering on the Cevennes. His father was second tutor to Louis XIV. His eldest brother, the marquis de Guiscard, was ambassador to Charles XII. of Sweden, and attended him in his wars. Labourlie de Guiscard, the person who stabbed Harley, lived at the ancient castle of Vareilles, betwixt Rhodez and Millau, in Languedoc. He was, therefore, in the very centre of the revolted districts of Languedoc and the Cevennes; and, though a catholic, he intensely sympathised with the oppressed protestants. He headed various expeditions in their favour, and was compelled to quit France; still, as we have seen, he headed the refugee French who fought at Almanza. His business in England was to incite the English government to send a powerful force to assist the protestant insurgents of the Cevennes; and the true story probably is, that the whigs had greatly encouraged him in the hope that this should be done; they were always talking of it. When they went out of office, he would naturally seek to interest Harley, St. John and the tories in his favourite project. Probably they had at first listened to it; but, as soon as they were determined to make peace at all costs, they were glad to be rid of his importunities; whereupon disappointed and embittered by his disappointment, his warm southern blood excited him to the frantic deed which he attempted. Labourlie de Guis card was generous, enthusiastic on behalf of his oppressed country, and had ruined himself in its cause; but there is nothing in the French authorities to bear out the stigma fixed on him by our historians, that he was a low debauchee. To have been seen in company with Harley and St. John was enough, however, to have made him suspected of similar habits.

Harley's wound was not serious, but it served to make a political hero and martyr of him; Guiscard being represented as a papist, and instigated from France to destroy this champion of England and the church. On his first appearance in the house of commons he was congratulated on his happy escape in a most eulogistic speech by the speaker; and an act was passed, making it felony without benefit of clergy to attempt the life of a privy councillor. The earl of Rochester dying at this juncture, left Harley entirely at the head of the cabinet, and he was immediately raised to the peerage, first as baron Wigmore, and then as earl of Oxford and Mortimer. He was, moreover, appointed lord treasurer, much to his own gratification and glory, but little to the furtherance of the national business, for he was naturally inert and indecisive, whilst all around him was a scandalous scene of corruption, bribery, intrigue, and neglect.



DR. SWIFT, DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S.

The commons, however, were, during this time, busied in making a show of patriotism; but, in reality, they were seeking only to damage the whigs. They appointed a committee to examine all the grants made by king William, to estimate their value, and to take some measures regarding them; but the lords threw this out. They then began an examination of the public accounts, in order to charge the maladministrations on lord Godolphin. They asserted that above five-and-thirty millions of money granted by parliament remained unaccounted for, though a considerable sum of this extended to the reigns of Charles II. and James II.; but Mr. Bridges, the paymaster, soon showed that all except three millions had been accounted for. They next inquired into the debts of the navy, which exceeded five millions; and these, with other debts, amounting to about nine millions and a half, were funded, bearing interest at six per cent. They also inaugurated a company called the South Sea Company, with a delusive privilege of trading to the coasts of Peru, the members of which were holders of navy bills, debentures, and other public securities. Having thus laid the foundation of the great South Sea bubble which exploded so ruinously nine years afterwards, and voted six millions and a half for the continuation of the war, though



ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF HARLEY.

they had so severely censured the whigs for their extravagance, parliament was prorogued on the 12th of June.

The interests of the church had not been neglected during this session. The commons passed a bill, at the instigation of the convocation, for the building of fifty new churches in the suburbs of London and Westminster; and to furnish the necessary funds, they continued the duty on coals brought into London, granted for the building of St. Paul's, which was to remain till it had netted the sum of three hundred and eighty thousand pounds. Convocation had busied itself chiefly with abusing the whig ministry for its conduct to the church, and condemning the Arian opinions of Mr. Whiston, the mathematical professor of Cambridge, who, however, set its authority at nought, and published a work in four volumes, declaring the apostolical constitutions to be both canonical and of higher authority than the epistles and the gospels.

Marlborough had set out for Holland in the month of February. The state of affairs at home gave him no motive for lingering there, whilst the malice of his enemies gave him every motive for conducting the war with his utmost skill. He knew that everything would be done to weaken his command, and render abortive his efforts. He did not leave England until he had obtained assurances from the queen that the army should be regularly paid. But it had been robbed of its full force to send fresh troops to the now utterly hopeless war in Spain, and to send others with the redoubtable Jack Hill to Quebec. On the other hand, the French, amid all their misery and destitution, continued to flock to the standard of king Louis; and they were elated by the rumours industriously circulated, that Marlborough was now out of power; that he would no longer be able to command such force against them as he had done, but that he would be soon recalled and peace made. The latter rumour had real foundation. During the last year secret negotiations had been carried on by Harley with the French court through the abbé Gualtier, a profligate priest, whom Harley seems to have taken into favour instead of Guiscard, and probably to the irritation of that emissary. This negotiation was for no other object than the restoration of the pretender on the death of Anne. By this means Harley obtained the support of the Jacobites in England, who, secretly instructed from St. Germains, went over to him. The returning audacity of the French was still further nourished by the unaccountable negligence of the English cabinet of the measures for reducing France to an extremity. Whilst we had been spending so much life and money in the campaigns of Flanders and Spain, we had maintained a vast fleet to very little purpose. The trade of France and Spain to the West Indies and South American colonies was left almost without interruption; and thus money and many necessaries of life were poured into these two countries, which we might, by a vigilant naval system of operations, have entirely cut off. Had this been done, France would have been reduced to the last extremity, and compelled long ago to have accepted the terms of the allies.

Under great discouragements Marlborough opened the campaign which was to prove his last. Whilst his enemies before him were filled with revived spirit, his enemies behind —those of his own country—were, with unpatriotic anxiety, hoping for his defeat, or, at least, for a campaign so little efficient as to be a defeat in its effects on his reputation; but he determined to disappoint them. He assembled his army at Orchis, between Lisle and Douay, about the middle of April, and marshal Villars encamped betwixt Cambray and Arras. The duke soon after passed the Scarpe, and took post betwixt Douay and Bouchain, where he was joined by his faithful comrade in arms, prince Eugene; but that great general was soon compelled to leave him to repel the French forces which were directed against Germany on the Upper Rhine. The army of marshal Villars was a very numerous one, and he had defended his lines with redoubts and other works so formidably, that he styled them the *ne plus ultra* of Marlborough. These lines extended from Bouchain, on the Scheldt, along the Sanset and the Scarpe to Arras, and thence along the Upper Scarpe to Canché. But Marlborough did not despair of entering them by stratagem, if not by force. He ordered a great quantity of fascines to be prepared, and made a pretence of a direct attack on the lines where he was; but he at the same time secretly dispatched the generals Cadogan and Hompesch to surprise the passage of the Sanset at Arleux. Brigadier Sutton was also dispatched with the artillery and pontoons to lay bridges over the canals near Goulezen, and over the Scarpe at Vitry. By the time that these operations could be effected, Marlborough suddenly quitted his position at nine in the evening, marched the whole of his army through the night, and by five in the morning had crossed the Scarpe at Vitry. There, receiving the information that Hompesch had secured the passes of the Sanset and the Scheldt, Marlborough continued his march on Arleux; and, after a march of ten leagues without halting, was encamped on the Scheldt between Estrun and Ois. Thus, by this unexampled dexterity and exertion, he was completely within the boasted impregnable lines of Villars. This general, on becoming aware of his opponent's motions, pursued him with headlong haste, but he arrived too late to prevent his design; and, whilst the duke of Marlborough was extolled as a general of consummate ability, Villars was ridiculed even by his own officers for suffering himself to be outwitted.

The Dutch deputies this time, so far from retarding the duke's enterprise, were desirous that he should at once attack Villars; but he would not hazard a battle whilst his men were fatigued by their enormous march. He determined, on the contrary, to commence the siege of Bouchain. The place was remarkably strong, and difficult of access from its situation in a marsh; yet, by the 10th of August, he had compelled it to surrender, the garrison of six thousand men becoming prisoners of war. With this achievement the duke of Marlborough closed his brilliant career. His enemies at home, Oxford, St. John, Dartmouth, and the tories in general, had fondly hoped that he was going this campaign to certain defeat and disgrace; but, spite of all his disadvantages, he had placed the allied armies, by this conquest of Bouchain, on the highway to Paris. The allies were in possession of the Meuse, almost as far as the Sambre; of the Scheldt from Tournay; and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. They had reduced Spanish Guelderland, Limburg, Brabant, and Flanders, with the greatest part of Hainault, and were in a position, by one more vigorous campaign, to carry the war to the very gates of Louis's capital. Such a triumph, however, the malice of the tories had determined that this country and the world should not witness. After the capture of Bouchain, the allied armies went into quarters in the frontier towns, ready for the campaign of the spring; and in the middle of November Marlborough returned to England.

In Spain, whither the duke of Argyll had been sent to command the English forces, nothing had been done, from the want of everything to carry on the war. Argyll had been chosen for this service, chiefly because he had long been at variance with the duke of Marlborough, and one million five hundred thousand pounds had been voted for that service; but when Argyll landed at Barcelona he found the army in the utmost distress from want of mere subsistence. It was in vain that he urged the dispatch of supplies; none came, and Argyll was at length compelled to borrow money on his own credit. The army of the duke de Vendôme was in a condition little better, and a well equipped and maintained force might at least have done some brilliant service, though it could never recover Spain. Staremberg, the imperial general, advanced against Vendôme to the pass of Prato del Rey, where there was some fighting. The duke of Argyll was there seized with a violent fever, and was conveyed back to Barcelona. Vendôme after this invested the castle of Cardona, whence Staremberg attacked him, killed two thousand of his troops, and took a great quantity of artillery, baggage, and ammunition. Staremberg, however, was unable to follow up this success, being ill-supplied himself. and unsupported by the English, the duke of Argyll still being left, in spite of all his remonstrances, without remittances. In despair he, therefore, returned to England, having been unable to accomplish anything from the utter neglect of government, which was too much occupied in domestic intrigues, and endeavours to obtain a peace which should render barren all the laurels of Marlborough.

Meantime the expedition of the miserably-incompetent Jack Hill to Quebec had met with the fate which might have been expected. This expedition had been planned by colonel Nicholson, who had taken possession of Nova Scotia, and garrisoned Porte Royal. He had brought to England four American Indians to excite attention, and represented the great advantages which would accrue from the conquest of Canada, and the expulsion of the French from that part of the world. The idea was excellent, and, had it been carried out with ability, might have anticipated the policy of lord Chatham and the victory of Wolfe; but the ministers were not hearty in the cause. Harley is said to have been utterly averse to it, and St. John to have advocated it because he saw that it would gratify Mrs. Masham. In an ill-advised hour, therefore, the command of this important expedition was confided to a man against whose total unfitness for command of every sort Marlborough so earnestly warned them.

At Boston, in New England, the expedition was joined by two regiments of colonists and about four thousand men, consisting of American planters, palatines, and Indians, encamped at Albany, in order to march by land into Canada, whilst the fleet advanced up the river St. Lawrence. The squadron had already entered the river, when, on the 21st of August, it was assailed by a violent tempest. Eight transports were driven aground and wrecked, and eight hundred men perished, some by drowning, others by the tomahawks of the Indians and the muskets of the French colonists. The damage, however, was of no important extent to a really able commander; but the poor, witless Hill, thrust into responsibility by favouritism, was utterly confounded. The fleet put back to Spanish River Bay, where a council was held; and, as the forces were only victualled for six weeks, it was determined to return home The poor general Hill, less to blame than those who sent him out, returned ignominiously to Portsmouth, where he landed in October, and was scarcely on shore when the admiral's ship, a fine seventy-four, blew up with every sailor on board. To increase the popular indignation at this disgraceful business, there were loud demands for an account of the money which had been issued from the treasury for this expedition, but none was ever given; and such was the general corruption of the court, that none of the impudent embezzlers of the cash were ever brought to justice.

Nothing of consequence took place in Savoy or Germany, except that king Charles went from Barcelona to Savoy to make a reconciliation with the duke, which he effected; and that prince Eugene lay at Frankfort to protect the electors assembled from interruption by the French whilst they deliberated on the choice of an emperor, Joseph I. being dead; and Charles, so-called king of Spain, was elected to that dignity.

But whilst Marlborough had been ably preparing the way in Flanders for finishing the war in triumph, and compelling the king of France to make such a peace as should secure the peace of Europe and indemnify England for all that she had suffered and expended for that object, the tory ministers and the queen had been as busy undermining and rendering abortive all his plans and exertions. They were determined to make peace at any cost, so that the whigs should receive nothing but reproaches from the nation for having led it into so long and bloody a war without any real results. The tories were to render the war useless, and the whigs to bear the blame of it.

St. John was clearly ready to admit the pretender instead of the house of Hanover, and had been in close correspondence with the court of St. Germains; and there is every reason to believe that it was with the cognizance and approval of the queen, who hated the house of Hanover. But Harley was bent on maintaining the protestant succession, whilst he was equally determined on the achievement of a peace damaging to the whigs. He knew too well that, however the queen might lean towards the restoration of her brother the pretender, the nation would never submit to it. He therefore entered into a secret negotiation with France on another basis to that of St. John.

Nothing is more certain than that the queen was strongly inclined to admit the claims of her brother, James Stuart, the so-called pretender, if he could be brought to renounce the catholic religion, and that she entered into a correspondence on this head. It is true that she continued to express doubts of his being really her brother, yet she every now and then let slip observations which showed that at bottom she really believed him to be so. It was on the ground of this conviction that she corresponded with him regarding his succession to the crown, and was only compelled to give up his claim because she could not bring him to abandon his attachment to popery. Amongst those who supported the claims of the pretender were her uncle Rochester, and marshal Tallard—still prisoner of war at Nottingham, and kept there by Louis on the understanding that he was more useful there as a secret negotiator than he would be anywhere else at the head of an army. Rochester, no doubt, fostered a hope that the pretender would see the necessity of preferring the crown of England to popery, and Louis, as well as the pretender, calculated much on Rochester's services with the queen, though, like her, he was an unswerving champion for the Anglican church. Louis testified this on hearing of Rochester's death, by exclaiming, "Rochester dead! then there is not a man of probity and counsel equal to him in the world."

Tallard still remained to advocate the claims of the pretender, and St. John was in the secret and went along with it; but the unfortunate rashness of Guiscard threw the advantage into Harley's hands, and enabled that minister to influence the mind of the queen sensibly on the subject of this secret negociation. Guiscard, who was a man of fierce passions if not of a debauched life, had, notwithstanding his being a priest, been made colonel of a regiment of French refugees, who fought and were defeated at the unlucky battle of Almanza. He claimed reward, therefore, for his military services as well as for his secret agency betwixt the courts of France and England; and when Harley cut down his salary to four hundred pounds a year from six hundred pounds, and St. John could not, or would not, help him to redress, his impetuous temper made him ready to assassinate either St. John or Harley, or both. The stabbing of Harley finished the career of Guiscard, but there remained Tallard and Gualtier. Gualtier was at once chaplain to the imperial embassy and confessor to the countess of Jersey, who was a catholic, and had thus the fullest opportunities of discussing this topic with the queen. Tallard took infinite pains to establish, by papers and facts furnished to him from St. Germains, the legitimacy of the pretender; and used to startle those who contended that he was not related to the queen at all, by asking, "Why, then, should not the queen and the chevalier St. George marry, and thus unite the claims on the throne?" The natural start of horror on such a proposition immediately revealed the secret belief in all these personages that, after all, the queen and the pretender *were* brother and sister.

After the disgrace of Guiscard the abbé Gualtier became the agent of Harley for carrying on the proposals for peace with France. Gualtier was a man of very infamous life, but he was a more cautious and diplomatic man than Guiscard. He and Tallard urged on the pretender's claims to the last moment. So late as May of the present year 1711, the pretender addressed a long letter to queen Anne, to be seen in the Macpherson State Papers, in which, addressing her as his sister, he appeals to her by the natural affection which he bears her, and which he protests that their common father bore her till his death, to see him righted. He reminds her of her promises which she had made to her father on this head, and argues that, as he never would relinquish his just claims, the only way to prevent the continual excitement, disquietude, and wars injurious to the realm, is to admit his claim. And he concludes thus:—"And now, madam, as you tender your own honour and happiness, and the preservation and re-establishment of an ancient royal family, the safety and welfare of a brave people, who are almost sinking under present weights, and have reason to fear far greater, who have no reason to complain of me, and whom I must still and do love as my own, I conjure you to meet me in this friendly way of composing our differences, by which only we can hope for those good effects which will make us both happy, yourself more glorious than in all the other parts of your life, and your memory dear to all posterity."

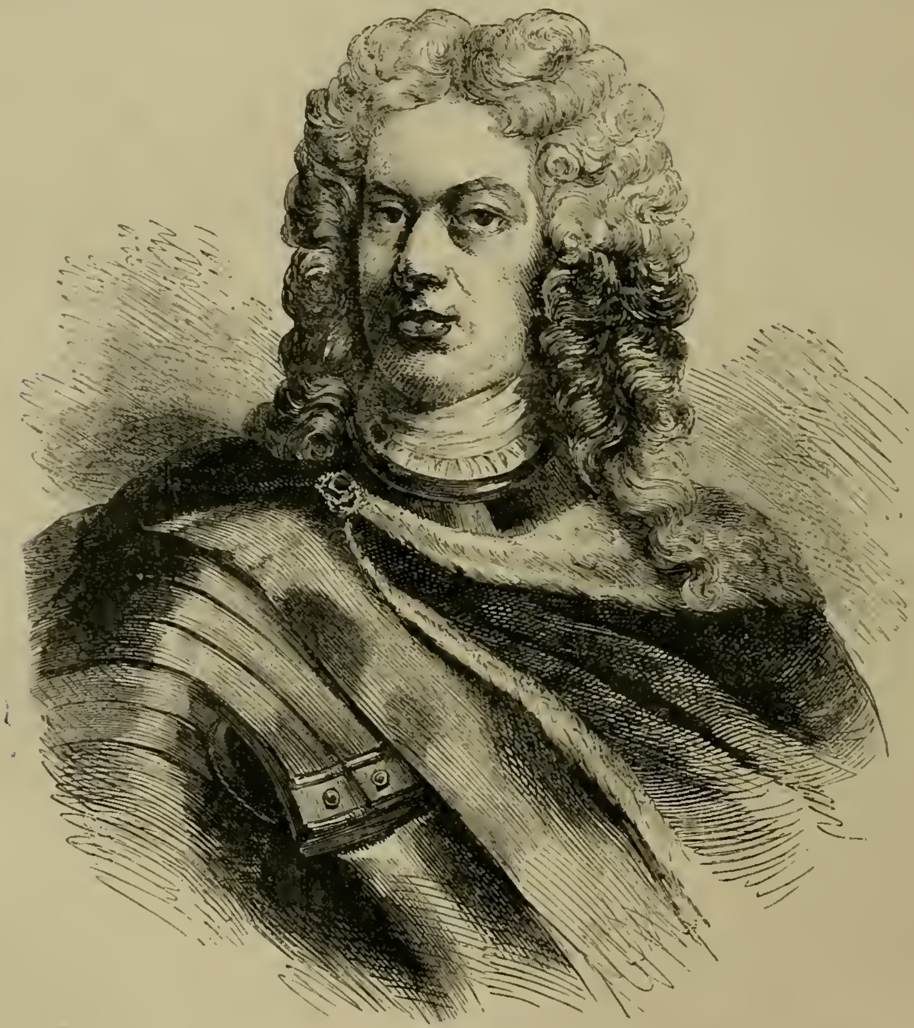
The pretender offered to give all liberty to the church and to the dissenters, but he would not abandon his own religion. On reading this letter, the disappointed queen said to the duke of Buckingham—who had married her half sister, James II.'s natural daughter Catherine, by Catherine Sedley, and who was in her confidence—"How can I serve him, my lord? You well know that a papist cannot enjoy this crown in peace. Why has the example of the father no weight with the *son?*" Here she acknowledged that the pretender *was* the son of James. But she added—"He prefers his religious errors to the throne of a great kingdom; he must thank himself, therefore, for his exclusion." Still she begged Buckingham to try further to persuade him; it was in vain, and Anne gave up the hope of his restoration, and turned her whole mind to the conclusion of a peace including the protestant succession.

Gualtier was dispatched to Versailles secretly, and, to avoid detection, without any papers, but with full instructions relating to the proposals for peace. He introduced himself to De Torcy, the prime minister of Louis, and assured him that the English government was prepared to enter into negotiations for peace independent of the Dutch, whom De Torcy had found so immovable. This was delightful news to the French minister, who was overwhelmed with the necessities of France, which were come to that pass that peace on any terms or invasion appeared inevitable. In his own memoirs De Torcy says, that "to ask a French minister then whether he wished for peace, was like asking a man suffering under a long and dangerous malady whether he wished to be better." On being convinced that Gualtier was a *bonâ fide* agent of the English court, the French court was thrown into the most delightful astonishment. Gualtier told De Torcy that it was not necessary to commit himself by written documents on the matter; he had only to write a simple note to lord Jersey, saying that he was glad to have heard of his lordship's health through the abbé, and had charged him with his thanks; that this would give the English ministers to understand that their proposition had been favourably entertained, and that the negotiation would be gone into in earnest. De Torcy cannot express his surprise and delight at this wonderful overture at such a juncture, when Louis and France were brought to their knees, and, with a little further pressing, must have sued for any decent terms. "This peace," he says in his memoirs, "was as absolutely necessary to us as it was unexpected by us. All our negotiations and attempts at negotiation in Holland had only produced a greater animosity, and a more obstinate determination to continue war; and England, more than any other power, had hitherto blown the fire. Yet the new ministers of that crown now held a language totally different to that of their predecessors; and the advances which they were making were less open to any suspicion, as it was for their evident and personal interests that the war, the prop and credit of the whigs, their enemies, should finish immediately." Nor could this astute minister conceal his wonder at the unguarded manner in which this most unlooked-for concession was thrown at their heads:—"They asked," he says, "from the king no sort of engagement—no, not so much as the shadow of an engagement. Gualtier had orders to be satisfied with a simple letter of compliment, by which it would be understood that the general proposition had been favourably received in France." The letter to lord Jersey was given by the command of the delighted king of France, and verbal assurances that Louis, justly irritated at the obstinacy of the Dutch, would only treat with them through the medium of England.

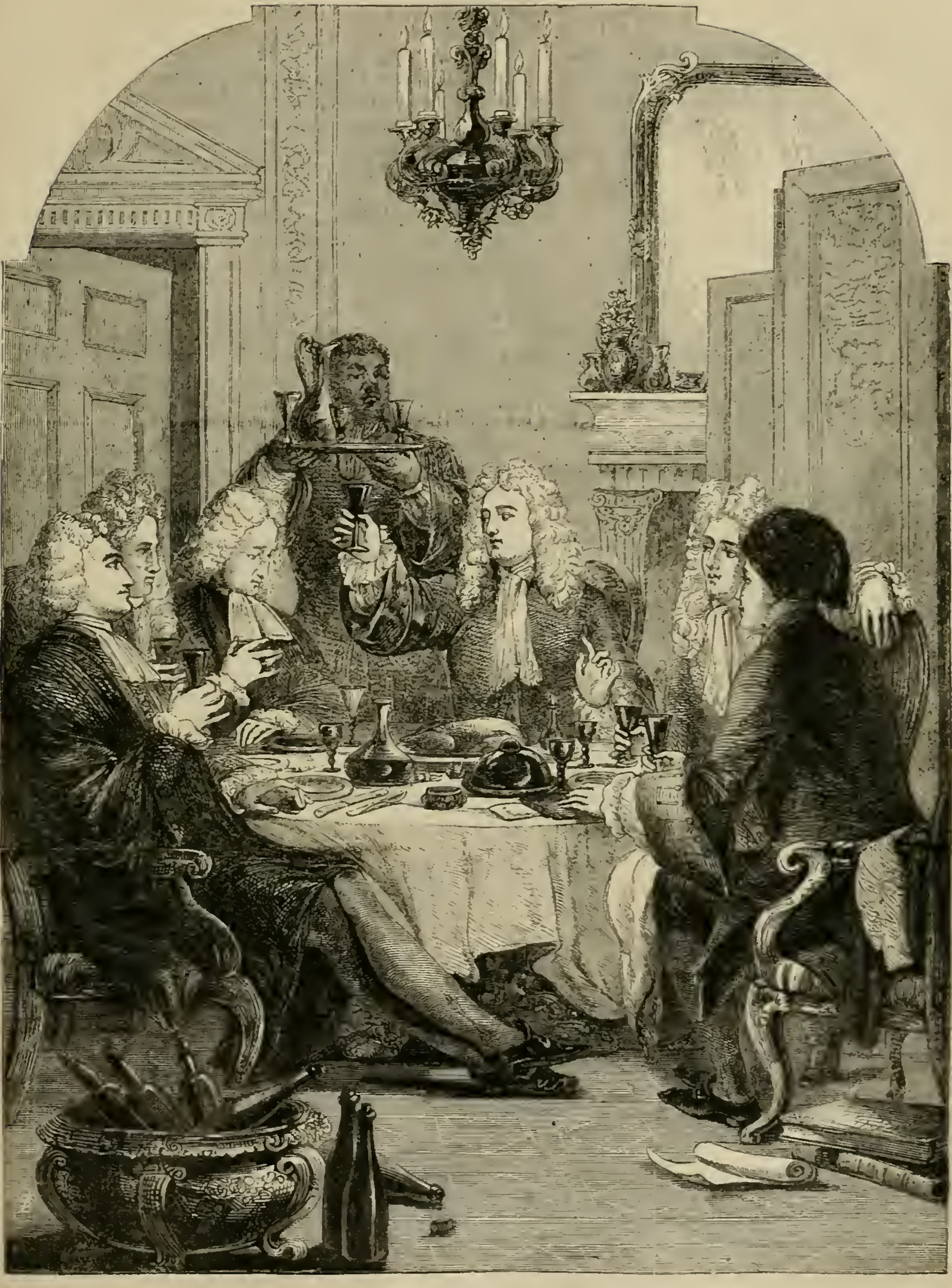
It is evident that, notwithstanding all the ingenious arguments which have been advanced to vindicate the conduct of the tory ministers on this occasion, that there never was a more base and unpatriotic surrender of all the advantages won by England through the military genius of Marlborough. This great general was still in Flanders, and a very short time would have brought the news of his brilliant manœuvre by which he entered the vauntedly impregnable lines of the French, and of the conquest of Bouchain, the key to the lands of France. As it was, Louis, who never omitted the slightest occasion to hang enormous pretensions upon, was able to bring forward, with much boast, the unfortunate battle of Almanza, and the surrender of the British forces. Had the ministers been inspired by a just and honest desire of peace, they would, for the sake of the reputation and the substantial advantages of England, have at least concealed their eagerness for it, and awaited the overtures which, if they were properly informed of the condition of France, they must have known could not have been long deferred. Without seeming, on the one hand, to be weakly anxious for peace, or, on the other, displaying a stubborn disposition to repel reasonable overtures for it, they would have sought to secure the best terms for themselves and their allies. England had suffered much, though not from invasion; Germany, Holland, and Flanders had suffered more, though they had not spent so much, through the invading armies of France, and all had a just claim for compensation and redress. Louis had laid waste whole districts with fire and sword, especially where the unhappy inhabitants had been protestants, as in the case of the Palatinate; and he ought not to have been suffered to escape without being compelled to make recompence, if not in money, in territory—a demand necessary to the future peace of Europe. Any English ministers, therefore, of whatever party, ought to have stood by their allies from a principle of justice, and by their own country from both justice and patriotism. Though the whigs had originated and carried on the war, that was no motive, with honourable men, for avenging their party enmities on their country. The whigs had brought the war to a point from which able management might soon have crowned it with ample success; and the glory of that success must in a degree have remained with those who finished it well, and extorted from the enemy the proper amends. But no such honest sentiments animated the tory faction of those days. They were blinded by their party rancour to everything but crushing with disgrace and mortification their political opponents; and to do this they hastened to abandon their allies, to sweep away at a blow all the glories of Marlborough and their country—for the glory ceased when the utility ceased—and to lay up for posterity a fresh recurrence of the same insolence, aggression, and destructive domination from the same country. Providence alone, not to be defrauded of its righteous retributions, reserved to itself the execution of the merited punishment on France by avenging the nations upon her in the fearful revolution of 1789, the seeds of which were sown in the miseries and despotism entailed by the wars of Louis XIV.

So far as the English ministers were concerned, they now rushed on with all that reckless impetuosity of which wily politicians like Louis and De Torcy were sure to take every advantage. Gualtier was authorised to write to De Torcy in the name of the English ministry, requesting his most Christian majesty would communicate to them the terms on which he would feel disposed to make a general peace—just as if England and not France was at an extremity, and in a condition not to dictate, but only accept of terms. Louis was so general in his answer, that it was necessary for Gualtier to make another journey to Versailles—thus giving the idea that it was England rather than France which was all anxiety for a peace. Gualtier returned with certain propositions, but Marlborough was now driving Villars before him, and was in possession of Bouchain, and prepared to make himself master of Paris in another campaign. We were entitled to make the amplest demands, and our allies were entitled to know what they were, and to enjoy the benefit of circumstances. Our ministers continued to negotiate without the Dutch and Germans, because they meant to accept terms which they knew they would not condescend to. But the intelligence of our proceedings soon reached the Hague, and the States-General quickly demanded an explanation, and at the same time announced again, through Petikum, to De Torcy, that they were prepared to treat in co-operation with England. The English ministers were thereupon compelled to communicate the French memorial to the States-General. Lord Raby, our ambassador at the Hague, wrote, urging the necessity of keeping faith with the Dutch, who were greatly incensed at our taking measures for a peace without them, and apprising them that every letter received from France conveyed the delight of the French in the prospect of being able to sow discord amongst the allies. The States soon informed the ministers of England that they were quite prepared to go along with them in the treaty for peace, but they would insist on the conditions being ample and satisfactory. In order to convert lord Raby, our ambassador, into a devoted advocate of our disgraceful and undignified policy, Mr. St. John wrote to inform him that it was her majesty's pleasure that he should come over to England, in order to make himself perfect master of the important subjects about to be discussed; and, as lord Raby was a Wentworth, nearly allied in descent to the earl of Strafford, who had lost his head in making himself head of his family, and had long been soliciting for himself the renewal of that title, St. John announced to him that, on his reaching London, it was her majesty's gracious intention to confer that honour upon him. This at once threw Raby into a fever of gratitude, and he made the most ardent professions of doing all in his power to serve her majesty.

These obstacles to their entering into a disgraceful peace being removed, Gualtier was once more dispatched to Versailles, and this time accompanied by Matthew Prior, a poet of some pretension and much popularity, but much more distinguished as a diplomatist. He had lived in France, knew the French and French court well, having been secretary to the embassies of the earls of Portland and Jersey. Prior was a man of courtly and insinuating manners, and was most thoroughly devoted to Harley and the tory interests. The propositions which he brought from the queen as the basis of the peace were—That the Dutch should have a barrier in the Netherlands; the German empire another on the Rhine; that the duke of Savoy should receive back all towns or territories taken during the war; that proper protection should be obtained for the trade of England and Holland; that France should acknowledge the title of Anne and the protestant succession; that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be destroyed; that Gibraltar and Port Mahon should continue in our possession; that Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay should also be acknowledged as ours, but that the French should be allowed to trade to Hudson's Bay; that in all other respects France and England should retain their possessions in America as they did before the war; that the Assiento, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies of South America with slaves—which had formerly been held by the Portuguese, but, since 1702, by the French—should be made over to England, with four towns on the Spanish main, anywhere betwixt the straits of Magellan and California, as depôts for the slaves when



JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. FROM THE ORIGINAL PORTRAIT BY KNELLER.



THE SUPPER PARTY AT ST. JOHN'S, AT WINDSOR.

first brought over. This was the only paltry advantage which these strange diplomatists of England asked for in recompense of our enormous outlay and our enormous loss of men during the war the disgraceful distinction of being kidnappers-general for the Spaniards! This was the sole and scandalous benefit which Mr. Prior, a poet, and the friend of Pope and Addison, dwelt upon as the recompense for all our labours and our enormous debt in defence of the liberties of Europe—the power to lay waste the liberties and persons of Africa! In return for this singular and Satanic modesty—so far now from demanding the expulsion of Philip from the throne of Spain, much less that Louis should expel his grandson thence—the queen of England was ready not only to leave him there but to maintain him there. And all this without consulting the emperor of Germany, whose right to this kingdom we had acknowledged, and which we had so often assured him and the world we would never give up! Prior particularly dwelt on the sacrifices the queen was making, the emperor having engaged, by secret treaties, to admit the flag of England in all the ports of South America as freely as the flag of Spain. But De Torcy, being now aware of the impatience of England for peace, and of the party motives for it, made very light of these vaunted sacrifices. He told Prior that these promised advantages were mere empty dreams; that Philip was firmly seated on the Spanish throne, and that neither Spain nor the colonies would ever fall into the hands of Austria. He appealed to him triumphantly whether it was desirable for the peace of Europe that they should; that Louis was ready to guarantee, as he had ever been, that the crowns of France and Spain should never rest on the same head; that this Charles of Austria was now become emperor of Germany, and that, if his sway were to extend over Spain, the Indies, Naples, Sicily, and Milan, nothing could be more ominous for Europe than such a gigantic power. Were the allies, he asked, desirous again to see the colossal empire of Charles V. revive, with all the tyrannies and desolations of Europe created by that monarch and Philip II.? that Charles had made no promise of keeping separate the Spanish kingdom, if he obtained it, from the kingdom of Austria and the empire; whereas Louis had engaged that France and Spain should never be united.

There was great force in these representations; and, as Charles was now emperor, the allies had a right to demand of him that the Spanish monarchy should pass to some other prince; though there was nothing like the danger to Europe from a union of Austria and Spain, considering their distance, that there was from a union of France and Spain, which would become one great and overwhelming empire; yet the precaution against the union of Austria and Spain was necessary, and, in any probability of such a union, must have been enforced. None of these reasons, however, warranted a peace which should leave Spain and all its colonies virtually in the power of France; and such was the peace Harley and the tories were aiming at.

As Prior and Gualtier had no powers warranting them to accept terms from France, M. Mesnager, an expert diplomatist, deputy from Rouen to the board of trade in Paris, was dispatched to London with the English envoys. They were to return in all secrecy, and Mesnager was furnished with certain instructions wholly unknown to Prior and Gualtier. These were, that an equivalent for the destruction of the fortifications of Dunkirk was to be demanded; and that some towns in Flanders which the French had lost, particularly Lille and Tournay, should be restored. These demands he was to keep very close, and only cautiously but firmly open to the principal negotiators.

An unluckly incident befel these three private negotiators on landing at Deal. The information of the journey to Paris of Prior and Gualtier had reached the vigilant ears of John Mackay, the master of the packet-boats, who had been placed in that position by king William and the whigs, and had enjoyed in that office a liberal share of the secret service money. This was the Mackay who in his memoirs has furnished us with so many lively accounts of the transactions of these times, being deeply in the secret of them. He had discovered many treasons and correspondences betwixt the Jacobites of England and the courts of Versailles and St. Germains. Mackay remained in his office, perhaps, by an oversight, for his services were no longer used by the present government; but St. John, Harley, and the rest, as we have seen, had their own channels of communication. Mackay, having now come upon the traces of Prior and Gualtier, informed St. John of it, who bade him take no notice of it, but look out for their return; supposing, no doubt, that Mackay would immediately apprise him of that fact, and that he could at once set all right with this vigilant official. Mackay soon after became aware of the landing of the two persons in question at Deal, accompanied by a third; and, hastening to Canterbury, he found that they were no other than his old acquaintance, Prior, the abbé Gualtier, and M. Mesnager, and, to his astonishment, that they were travelling with a pass from St. John. This, no doubt, let a light in upon Mackay, for he at once dispatched a letter to Marlborough at Bouchain, informing him of the circumstance, and at the same time rode off to Tunbridge to inform the bishop of Winchester and lord Aylmer that they might apprise the earl of Sunderland of it. The alarm spread, and Mackay being found to be the person who had discovered all this to the whigs, the vengeance of the ministry was let loose upon him. He was dismissed from his post, he was thrown into prison, his creditors being hounded out upon him; he was threatened with hanging by St. John for keeping a correspondence with France; and the unfortunate man was still lying in gaol on the accession of George I.

The secret negotiators were speedily liberated by their friends in power, and proceeded to London, but the secret was out that a treaty was on foot with France, and the general opinion was, that the ministers were bent on making peace on any terms. The government, nevertheless, kept the matter as much out of sight as possible. The queen sent Prior to apologise to Mesnager for his being received in so secret a manner, and Oxford, St. John, Jersey, and Shrewsbury were appointed to confer with him privately. On the 8th of October the English commissioners and Mesnager had agreed upon the preliminaries and signed them. Mesnager was then privately introduced to the queen at Windsor, who made no secret of her anxiety for peace, telling him she would do all in her power to complete the treaty and live in good fellowship with the king of France, to whom she was so closely allied in blood. At supper she said publicly that she had agreed to treat with France. The ministers were just as incautious, for Swift, who was a devoted fortune hunter at the elbows of Harley and St. John, and had recently been introduced to the queen by them, was invited by St. John the same evening to sup with him and a small party in his apartments in Windsor Castle. This party consisted of no other persons than Mesnager himself, Gualtier, and the infamous Abbé Dubois, tutor to the young duke of Orleans, this profligate having also been engaged in assisting Mesnager in the treaty. With them was Prior. All these particulars Swift wrote, as he wrote everything, to Stella, his mistress in Ireland. Yet when the preliminaries were handed to count Gallas, the imperial ambassador, who, in his indignation, immediately had them translated and inserted in one of the daily papers, the queen was so indignant, that she forbade his reappearing at court, and informed him that he could quit the kingdom as soon as he thought proper. He departed immediately, and the queen, to prevent an explosion on the part of the allies, wrote to the emperor to say that she should be happy to receive any other person that he might send. Raby, now earl of Strafford, was hurried to the Hague to announce to the States the fact of her having signed these preliminaries, and to desire them to appoint a spot where the plenipotentiaries of the allies and France should meet to discuss them. Both the Dutch and the emperor were startled and greatly confounded at the discovery of the nature of the terms accepted. They used every means to persuade the queen to draw back and accept no terms except those which had been offered to France after the battle of Malplaquet, but rather to push on the war vigorously, certain that they must very soon obtain all they demanded.

Nor was the excitement less at home. The news was out—the preliminaries were before the public by the act of the imperial ambassador, and the whigs were in a fury of indignation. They accused the ministers of being about to sacrifice the country, its power, and interests, to a shameful cowardice at the very moment that the labours and sufferings of years had brought it to the verge of triumph, and when Louis XIV. was old and tottering into the grave, leaving his kingdom exhausted and powerless. The tories, on the other hand, represented the whigs as insatiable for war and bloodshed, never satisfied to obtain honourable conditions when they could have them, but for their own selfish and sanguinary views seeking to reduce this country to the same depth of misery and poverty to which France was reduced. The press teemed with pamphlets: libels, Mesnager wrote, flew about as thick as bullets on a battlefield. The queen was in a great state of alarm and agitation; fell several times into fainting fits, and her agitation aggravated the gout, with which she was affected. Hearing that the apprentices of London were going to burn all the ministry in effigy on "Queen Bess's day," she issued an order in council forbidding the usual procession and bonfires. The whigs had hired Tom D'Urfey to write a song for the occasion, with the refrain, "Save the Queen;" and the prime minister represented as the devil, with the pope on one hand and the pretender on the other, was to be burnt in a great pyre at the foot of queen Elizabeth's statue, near Temple Bar. Swift, who was busy writing squibs and libels for the ministers, went to see these puppets, which he found figuring amid a crowd of other effigies of ministers, cardinals, Jesuits, and Franciscan friars placed round a great cross eighteen feet high.

But notwithstanding the violent opposition both at home and abroad, the ministers persisted in their course. The queen wrote to the electress Sophia of Hanover, entreating her and her son to use their exertions with the allies for the peace of Europe. She sent over the earl of Rivers to further her appeal; but the electoral prince, so far from dreading to endanger his succession, sent back a letter by earl Rivers to the queen, strongly condemning the terms on which the peace was proposed, and he ordered his ambassador, the baron von Bothmar, to present a memorial to the queen, showing the pernicious consequences to Europe of allowing Philip to retain Spain and the Indies. This bold and independent act greatly exasperated the queen and her ministers, and was extolled by the whigs. There had been attempts to influence the elector by offering him the command of the army in Flanders, in case of the removal of Marlborough, but that also he declined. Many of the tories were as much opposed to the terms of the treaty as the whigs, and it was proposed to unite in a strong remonstrance against the conduct of the ministers in being willing to accept them; but the intention getting wind, the queen suddenly prorogued parliament to the 7th of December, with the expectation of the arrival of absent Scottish peers, who were all tories, and a determination, if necessary, to create a batch of English tory peers. Notwithstanding all resistance, it was finally settled with the allies that their representatives should meet those of England and France, to treat for a general peace, at Utrecht, on the 1st of January, 1712.

The ministers, in the meantime, went on strengthening their position. Raby, now lord Strafford, whom Swift says was not worth the buying, being a man of no parts or learning, went to his post at the Hague. Sir Simon Harcourt was created baron Harcourt, and was raised from lord-keeper of the seal to lord chancellor; the duke of Buckingham was appointed president of the council in the room of lord Rochester, deceased; and was succeeded in his office of steward of the household by earl Paulet, who had quitted the treasury to make way for Harley's elevation to the treasurership. The duke of Newcastle dying, Robinson, bishop of Bristol, was made lord privy seal, a new thing for a churchman since the days of Wolsey and Laud. In Scotland the Jacobites were so much elated by the proceedings of the tories, and by whispers of what really took place, while Mesnager was in secret conference with the queen—namely, a zealous advocacy on his part of the setting aside the protestant succession, and the readmission of the pretender's claims—that they proceeded to great lengths. They were in the end so daring as to induce the faculty of advocates of Edinburgh to receive a medal of the pretender from the same ardent duchess of Gordon who had sent him word to come when he pleased, and to what port he pleased, and that he would be well received. This medal had on the obverse side a head of the pretender, with the words, "Cujus est?" and on the reverse the British isle and the word "Redditc." This they not only received, but sent hearty thanks to the duchess for it. The Hanoverian ambassador was made aware of it, and presented a memorial on the subject, which, however, only served to bring Sir David Dalrymple, a zealous whig and advocate for the protestant succession, into trouble, on the plea that he ought to have prosecuted Mr. Dundas of Arniston, for returning public thanks for the medal, whilst Arniston himself, who went on boldly, and published a vindication of his conduct, was suffered to escape.

On the opening of parliament on the 7th of December, the queen announced that "notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, both time and place were appointed for opening the treaty for a general peace." This was carrying into the royal speech the animus which the tories had shown against the whigs in all their speeches and pamphlets lately. They had endeavoured to make the whigs odious to the nation as a faction that was bent on war solely for its own selfish interests, regardless of the interests of the nation or the sufferings of mankind. Though the speech contained other matters, everything else passed without thought or notice. This declaration produced a vehement sensation, and roused all the party fire on both sides. The ministers were astonished to see the earl of Nottingham, who had hitherto gone with them, now adopt the whig side, in a very vigorous and telling speech. He denounced the preliminaries as basely surrendering the great objects of the war, and moved that a clause should be inserted in the address to the effect, that no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or to Europe, if Spain and the Indies should be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon. In the discussion it was shown that it was utterly untrue what had been said in the queen's speech, that the allies were all prepared to adopt the preliminaries. The earl of Anglesey contended, on the other side, that it was high time to ease the nation of the monstrous burthens of the war; and he aimed some heavy blows at the duke of Marlborough, affirming that a good peace might have been effected after the battle of Ramillies, but for the private interests of certain persons.

This called up Marlborough in his own defence. He bowed towards the place where the queen was listening to the debate *incognito*, and appealed to her, much to her embarrassment, whether, when he had the honour to serve her majesty as plenipotentiary as well as general, he had not always faithfully informed her and her council of all the proposals of peace which had been made, and had desired instructions for his guidance in such affairs. He appealed also to God, in whose presence he expected soon to stand, and who was infinitely above all the powers of the earth, whether he was not always anxious for a safe, honourable, and lasting peace, and whether he was not always very far from entertaining any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. When the question was put, the amendment of the earl of Nottingham was carried by a majority of sixty-two to fifty-four, that is of only eight, notwithstanding all the exertions of the court party, and much to its astonishment. It was observed that Oxford was not in his place to support the original address, but was all the time conversing with the queen. There was probably great occasion for this, for from what we find in Swift's journal on this occasion, there is every reason to believe that Anne was greatly alarmed by the spirit and the decision come to by the lords, if she were not convinced for the moment that her tory ministers were leading her into a disgraceful peace. When she was about to retire from the house, the duke of Shrewsbury, as lord chamberlain, asked her majesty "whether he or the great chamberlain, Lindsay, should lead her out?" She replied very curtly, "Neither of you," and gave her hand to the duke of Somerset, who had been more urgent than any one of the peers against the conditions of peace. Swift, with Dr. Arbuthnot, the queen's favourite physician, hurried to St. James's and to Mrs. Masham, and told her that either she and the lord treasurer had joined with the queen to betray them, or that they too were betrayed by the queen. Mrs. Masham protested that it was not Oxford. When Oxford came in, Arbuthnot asked him how he had managed not to procure a majority. Oxford replied, how could he help it if people would lie and forswear. Swift thereupon asked Oxford to lend him his white staff, which he did in a joke, and then Swift said, "If I could but be secured in possession of this for one week, I would set all to rights." "How?" asked Oxford. "I would turn out Marlborough, his two daughters, the duke and duchess of Somerset, and lord Cholmondeley." Oxford only replied that the hearts of kings were unsearchable, and he went home, called for a court list, and marked every one for expulsion who voted against him. This view of the matter is confirmed by the manner in which the queen received the address of the lords. She said she should be sorry if any one could think that she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the Indies from the house of Bourbon. In the commons, however, the ministry had a stronger party, and there they assured the queen in their address, that they would do all in their power to disappoint as well the acts and designs of those who for private views might delight in war, as the hopes of the enemy conceived from the divisions amongst themselves. Walpole moved an amendment similar to that of the lords, and it was lost by a majority of two hundred and thirty-two to one hundred and six against it.

The tory ministers were determined now to be rid of Marlborough. He not only stood at the head of the whigs at home, and threw his great military reputation into the scale against them in this question of peace or war, but whilst he retained his command of the army, he immensely strengthened the opposition of the allies to the present terms of pacification. It was resolved that he should be dismissed, a measure which they felt would destroy much of his influence. The whigs, moreover, at this crisis fell into a snare laid for them by the earl of Nottingham, which extremely damaged them, and in the same proportion benefited the tories. He persuaded them that if they would only consent to the passing of the occasional conformity bill, there were numerous persons of influence ready to quit the ranks of Oxford and St. John; and though they were entirely opposed in principle to this illiberal and unjust measure, they were weak enough, in the hope of strengthening their party, to permit it to pass. The dissenters, greatly exasperated at this treachery, abandoned the whig cause; the promised proselytes did not come over, and lord Dartmouth adds that "lord Nottingham himself had the mortification afterwards to see his bill repulsed with some scorn, and himself not much better treated."

In this state of affairs closed the year 1711. During the Christmas holiday the ministry matured several measures for the advancement of their party. It was necessary to augment the number of their friends in the house of lords. The Scotch lords had generally voted with them as tories, and there had been an attempt to increase their number in that house, by giving English titles to such Scotch peers as had not seats in the lords. The whigs saw this stratagem, and resolutely opposed it. The duke of Hamilton was created duke of Brandon, but when he went to take his seat as an English peer, there was a strong opposition. The whig lords represented that their house might soon be crowded by Scotch lords with English names, for there were plenty of tnem poor enough to be ready to take bribes and vote as government pleased. They declared the constitution to be in danger, and that there ought to be no extension of the number of Scottish peers qualified to sit in that house, prescribed by the act of union. The right of the duke to take his seat was rejected by a majority of five. The whigs had not been so rigorous when the duke of Queensberry claimed his seat on being made duke of Dover; and the Scottish lords were so greatly incensed at this partiality, and at the remarks on the poverty and venality of their order, that they absented themselves for some time both from court and parliament; and it was only by well applied blandishment, on the part of the queen, and, as it was asserted, as well applied money, that they were won back again.

But, with the aid of the Scottish peers, the ministers were still in a minority in the lords, and they sought to remedy this by inducing the queen to create twelve new peers. Lord Dartmouth, in his notes to Burnet, expresses his astonishment on seeing the queen suddenly take from her pocket a list of twelve new lords, and ordering him to bring warrants for them. Dartmouth, unprepared for so sweeping a measure, asked whether her majesty intended to have them all made at once; and Anne replied, Certainly; that the whigs and lord Marlborough did all they could to distress her; that she had made fewer lords than any of her predecessors, and that she must help herself as well as she could. Amongst these new peers were again two Scotchmen, but not peers, only the sons of peers, and the husband of her favourite, Mrs. Masham. The claims of the favourite herself to this distinction were not remarkable, but they were quite as good as lady Marlborough's had been, for she was precisely of the same family and original standing; but Masham himself had no victories like Marlborough's to plead in his favour. He was the very poor son of a ruined cavalier baronet, and, though he was made a general, he was of the feather-bed school only; and, if we are to trust lady Marlborough's not good authority where the Mashams are concerned, he was "a soft, good-natured, insignificant man, always making low bows to everybody, and ready to skip to open a door." He was, however, of royal descent, being descended legitimately from George Plantagenet, duke of Clarence, through Margaret, countess of Salisbury. Anne, therefore, was fully justified in this respect.

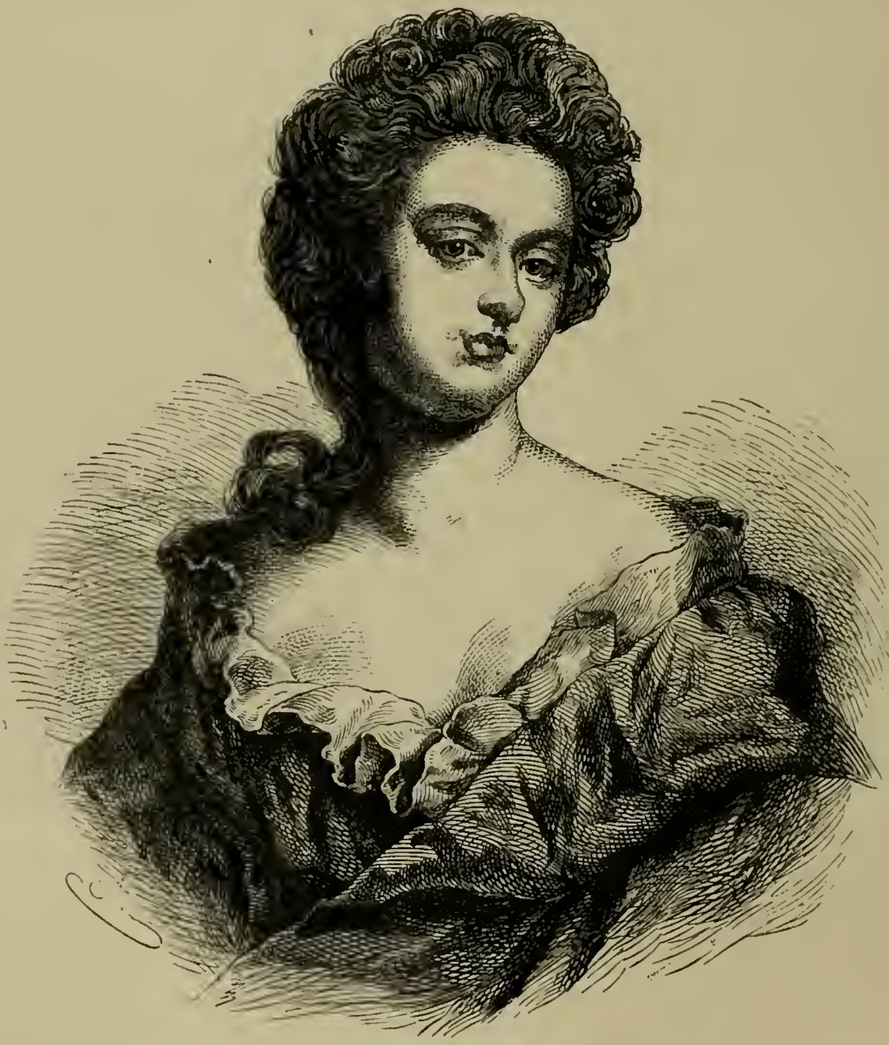
The twelve were—lord Compton, eldest son of the earl of Northampton; lord Bruce, eldest son of the earl of Aylesbury; lord Duplin, eldest son of the earl of Kinnoul, who was married to one of the lord treasurer's daughters, made baron Hay; Thomas, viscount Windsor of Ireland, made baron Mountjoy in the Isle of Wight; the son of lord Paget, made baron Burton; Sir Thomas Mansell, of Margam, county of Glenmorgan, made baron Mansell; Sir Thomas Willoughby, of Nottingham, made baron Middleton; Sir Thomas Trevor, chief justice of common pleas, made baron Trevor; George Grenville, made baron Lansdowne, of Biddeford, in Cornwall; Samuel Masham, of Oates, in Essex, made baron Masham; Thomas Foley, of Whitby, in Worcestershire, made baron Foley; and Allen Bathurst, of Battlesdon, in the county of Bedford, made baron Bathurst. A motion of adjournment to the 14th of the month being made immediately after the introduction of these new peers, to which the opposition was opposed, they enabled the government to carry it by all voting for it. The witty lord Wharton did not spare a joke upon them at the time, by asking one of them, when the question was put, whether "they voted by their foreman?" as though they had been a jury.

The disgrace of Marlborough was now completed. On the 21st of December he had been charged in the house of commons with having made use of his command of the army to make enormous sums of money at the expense of the men; that he had appropriated more than half a million by taking two and a half per cent. out of the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England, and sixty-three thousand pounds from Sir Solomon de Medina and Antonio Alvarez Machado, the Jew contractors for bread for the army; that his secretary, Cardonel, had exacted five hundred gold ducats from the contractors each time a new contract was signed, all which had to be taken out of the quality of the food or clothing of the soldiers.

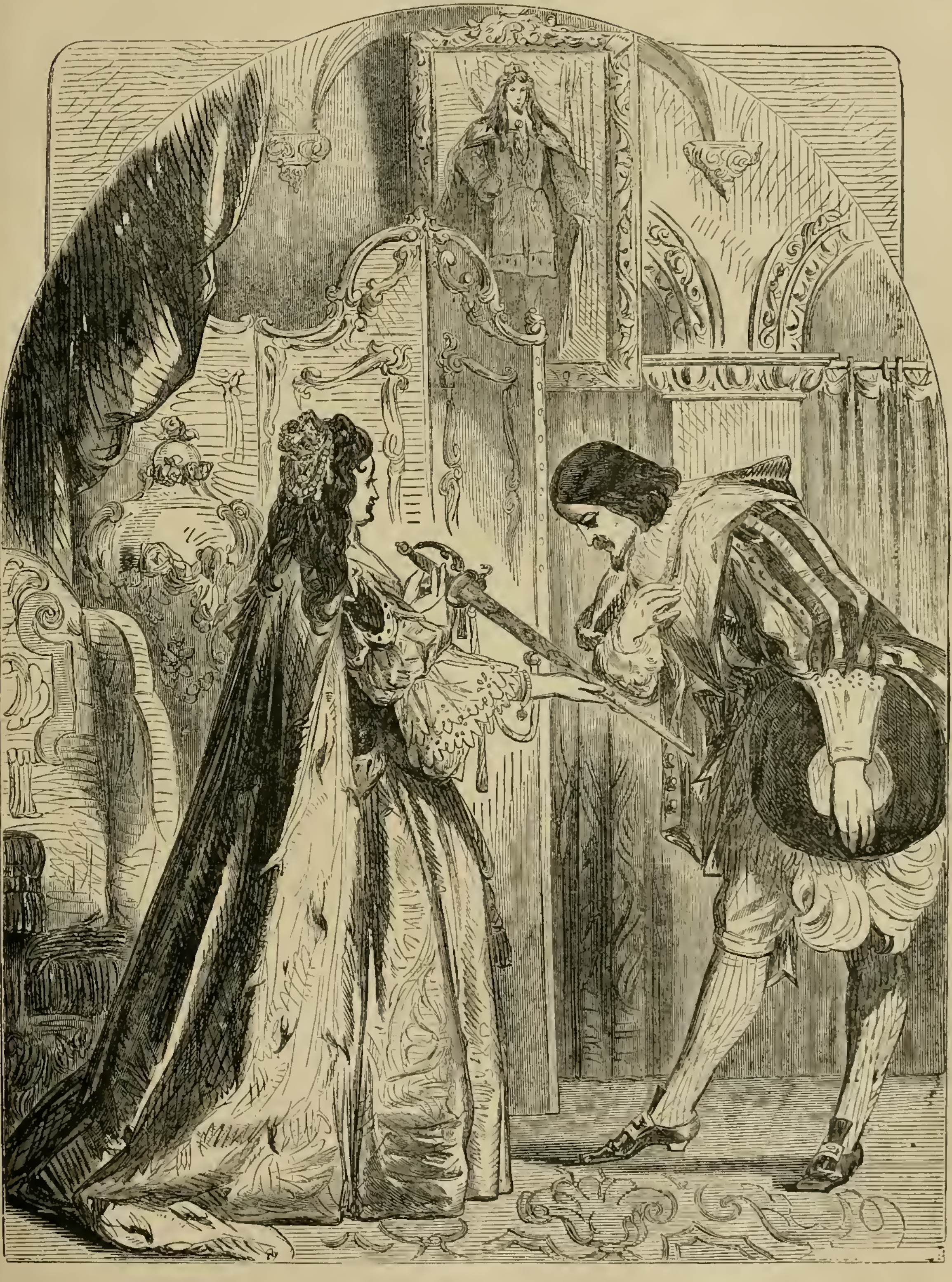
In order to move the queen's indignation, care was taken that some of the soldiers who had returned from the Netherlands should throw their old clothing over the wall of the queen's garden; and equal care was taken that these miserable garments should be brought to the queen to let her see what sort of defence the avarice of the general and of the contractors had provided for the poor soldiers against the damp and cold of the marshy low countries; and Anne is said to have wept over them. She was consequently soon moved to forget all the glory which the victories of Marlborough had shed on her reign, and to remember only his sins. She therefore wrote to him, informing him that, as there was a serious charge made against him by the commissioners of accounts, she thought it best to dismiss him from all his employments in order that the matter might be impartially investigated. Nor did she neglect to add that the conduct of his wife towards herself had made her more willing to adopt this measure.

Marlborough, in defence, pleaded to the queen as he had to the commissioners of inquiry, that he had appropriated nothing which had not been the established perquisites of the commander-in-chief of the army in the low countries both before the revolution and since; and that, whatever sums he had received from those sources, he had employed in the service of the public in keeping secret correspondence, and in getting intelligence of the enemy's motions and designs; and that, and he could certainly say it with justice, he had employed this money so successfully, that he had on no occasion suffered himself to be surprised, but had often been able to surprise and defeat the enemy. To this cause, next to the blessing of God and the bravery of the troops, he attributed most of the advantages of the war.

There can be little doubt that Marlborough made the best of the power granted him for appropriating these sums; that was his weak point; but he does not appear to have exceeded the letter of his warrant; and the truth is that the system itself was more in fault than the general. This enormous power of raising money at the cost of the comfort of the troops had long existed, and has, in fact, come down to our own times, as the exposures subsequent to the Crimean war have shown. And, whilst condemning Marlborough, there is no evidence that the ministers, in their virtuous indignation against him, took the slightest measures to prevent similar abuses in future. They were merely using these charges to destroy the great commander, at a moment when the country had more than ever occasion for his services to complete what he had so well done to that point; and the Jew contractors were now made to turn upon him in the house of commons, in order to win the favour of the new ministers, and future pickings from them in consequence. It must also be added that, when the soldiers were examined whether they had not been supplied with very bad bread, they denied it. Marlborough complained in his letter to the queen that he thought his dismissal and the attempt to load him with such calumnies was a poor return for his long services, and that he felt that he had yielded to the malignity of his enemies rather than to her better sentiments. His two daughters. the countess of



SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH. FROM THE ORIGINAL PICTURE BY KNELLER.



PRINCE EUGENE RECEIVED BY QUEEN ANNE.

Sunderland and lady Railton, resigned their places of ladies of the bedchamber.

But, notwithstanding Marlborough's proofs that his appropriations were according to long-established custom, the commons admitted no such plea. They voted that the two and a half per cent. deducted by him from the pay of the foreign troops was public money, and that he ought to account for it. They threatened to institute proceedings for its recovery through the law officers of the crown, and they expelled Cardonel, the duke's secretary, from the house for his receipt of the fees mentioned in the contracts. They had the satisfaction, also, of punishing Robert Walpole, one of Marlborough's most stanch defenders, for taking five hundred guineas, and a note for five hundred more, on the signing of a contract for forage for her majesty's troops quartered in Scotland when secretary of war. The deed deserved punishment, but it was one which all secretaries perpetrated equally with Walpole, as he showed, and which would never have been noticed had Walpole yielded to the tory entreaties and carried his great abilities to their side. They, however, voted the fact a high breach of trust, and of notorious corruption, and ordered his expulsion from the house and his committal to the Tower. The borough of Lynn, which Walpole represented, immediately re-elected him; but the commons pronounced him incapable of sitting in that parliament, and declared the election void. Many of the members of the house added that expulsion and imprisonment were wholly inadequate punishments; that he ought to be hanged; but Walpole was destined to escape hanging for long years of more flagrant corruption in the coming days of his own power, when he more truly deserved it.

The houses of parliament reassembled on the 17th of January, and the queen sent a message stating that she was not able to attend in person, not having recovered sufficiently from her attack of the gout. She announced that the plenipotentiaries were now assembled at Utrecht, and were already engaged in endeavouring to procure just satisfaction to all the allies according to their several treaties, and especially with relation to Spain and the Indies. This was a delusion, for, by our treaty with the emperor, we had engaged to secure Spain and the Indies for his son; and it was now, notwithstanding the assurance in her message regarding them, fully determined to give them up to Philip. There was a strong protest in the message against the evil declarations that there had been an intention to make a separate peace, though nothing was more notorious than that the ministers were resolved, if the allies did not come to their terms, to go on without them. The message did not end without recommending one of the ever favourite measures of the tories—a restriction of the liberty of the press. Much alarm was expressed at the great license taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, though the ministers had in their employ some of the most vindictive and unscrupulous writers, and, above all, Jonathan Swift, who was working hard, by the most virulent abuse of the whigs, for a bishopric. Unfortunately, the malice of Swift, one of the most bitter and cold-blooded men that ever lived, was so exuberant that he scattered his venomous witticisms without sufficient foresight, and some of his arrows rebounded upon himself when he least expected it. The tories at this time were bent on getting the duke and duchess of Somerset out of favour. It was well known that both of them were strongly opposed to the peace, and the preference shown to the duke after the debate in the lords on that question made the ministers dread an attempt to patch up a party with the Somers division of the whigs. The duke, however, resigned his post of master of the horse, but the duchess retained her place as mistress of the robes; and the whole rancour of the ministry was now turned upon her. Swift was employed to make her ridiculous. The duchess, being the heiress of the house of Percy, had been the victim of two marriages of *convenance* before she married the duke. She was married at about eleven years of age to lord Ogle, the son of the duke of Newcastle. Ogle died when she was only thirteen, and she was wearing widow's weeds at Charles II.'s court at that infantile age, the monarch calling her *la triste héritière*. She was again married to a man of immense wealth, Thomas Thynne, of Longleat. Being seen by a German fortune-hunter, count Königsmark, this adventurer shot Thynne in his carriage in the Haymarket. Being a widow again at little more than fourteen, she was married to the duke of Somerset. These particulars afforded subjects for Swift's envenomed pen; and, endeavouring to make the duchess guilty of having been accessory to her husband's assassination, he wrote the following lines and handed them about, showing them to the favourite, Mrs. Masham, not forgetting the red hair of the duchess. The verses are called "A Windsor Prophecy," and equally libelled the earl of Nottingham and the duke of Marlborough, saying—

> But, spite of the Harpy which crawls on all four,
> There shall be peace, par Dieu, and war no more.

Mrs. Masham, of course, was complimented under the name "the Hill."

> But England, dear England, if I understand,
> Beware of *carrots* from Northumberland.
> Carrots, however *Thynne*, a deep root may get,
> If so be they are in *Summer-set*.
> Their *Cunning's-mark* thou, for I have been told
> They *assassine* when young, and poison when old.
> Root out these carrots, thou whose name
> Spelled backwards and forwards is always the same. (Anna, the queen).
> And keep close to thee always that name
> Which backwards and forwards is *almost* the same. (Masham.)
> And, England, would'st thou be happy still,
> Bury those carrots under a *Hill*. (Mrs. Masham's maiden name.)

These verses fell into the duchess's hands, who hoarded them up, and made use of them in due time, to the calumniator's signal damage. But whilst Swift was thus scattering his filthy venom on the highest names at the command of his masters, the tory ministers, those ministers were anxious to muzzle all reply. The lords, having the addition of twelve span-new peers, made a zealous reply to this appeal, and the commons went still farther. They declared that they would do their utmost to punish the licentiousness of the press, which was so daring and impious that it neither spared God, religion, nor her majesty's government.

The high church party next proceeded to repeal such acts as restrained the exercise of that church in Scotland. An act was passed to prevent all interference with the exercise of the episcopal worship in that country; another to restore the rights of patronage to the noblemen and other landholders, which had been reserved to the church at the revolution; and they repealed an act against all baptisms and marriages, performed by the episcopal church and other dissenters in Scotland. The general assembly protested against these alterations, declaring the establishment of presbyterianism was part and parcel of the deed of union, and that no parliaments whatever had any power to interfere with those particulars. But the British parliament paid no attention to this remonstrance, or to those made by the Scottish members. They went on to pass an other act for the discontinuing the courts of judicature during the Christmas holidays. Whilst these enactments certainly made very free with the articles of the union, they undoubtedly extended toleration, and, by a particular clause, deprived the kirk of its power of persecuting those who differed from it in a desirable manner.

On the 6th of January landed at Greenwich a very illustrious visitor to the court, but on a most unwelcome errand—namely, prince Eugene. The allies, justly alarmed at the ministerial revolution which had taken place in England, and at the obvious design of the tories to render abortive all the efforts of the whigs and the allies through the war, from mere party envy and malice, sent over Eugene to convince the queen and the government of the fatal consequences of such policy. That to discharge and disgrace Marlborough, and remove him from the army before the conditions of 1706 were obtained, would be most fatal to the interest and honour of the allies, of England not less than any. That to obtain proper terms from a man of Louis's subtle and serpentine character, it was necessary to press on all advantages in the field, and that Marlborough was the only man who could lead on the English army victoriously. The soldiers had confidence only under him; with him at their head they could do anything, without him they would lose their spirit, and the consequences might be ruinous. That if any reverse took place, Louis would instantly seize on it to raise his demands. That they had him now on his knees, and it was due to all parties to extort full satisfaction from him. He was to represent that England could not, without abandoning her honour, desert the allies at this crisis; that repeated treaties bound her solemnly to stand by them till their demands were righteously obtained; and that the emperor would take upon himself a larger proportion of the expense of the war, on condition that it was pushed to its legitimate result.

The fame which the prince had acquired in England, both by his distinguished military talents, and by the integrity and nobility of his character, made the allies hope much from his mission; but the very soundness of his moral qualities operated against his success. He was more of a warrior than a courtier. He was too noble to conceal his real sentiments, and to turn his back on his old friends merely because they happened to be out of favour with the court. There had always been a great friendship betwixt the prince and Marlborough; these two great generals had always done justice to each other's merits; there appeared no jealousies betwixt them, and when Eugene came to England, though Marlborough was dismissed from his command and disgraced, he still showed the same regard to him as ever, bore the same open testimony to his military genius and services, and visited at his house, and took the same delight in his company as if he were still in the full glow of royal favour. The people at large received the prince with enthusiastic acclamations, and ran impetuously to any place where they could get a sight of the great captain whose fame had filled so long the gazettes. Both whigs and tories were equally zealous in outward marks of respect towards him; but the attentions of the tories were hollow, or only exerted to win him over to their views. The queen received him graciously, but court etiquette was wofully annoyed at his appearing in the royal presence in a tye-wig when full-bottomed wigs were all the fashion. Eugene did not conceal his contempt for this petty etiquette. He satirically said that he had sent to all his valets and footmen to see if they could lend him a periwig, never having had one in his life, but that none of them had such a thing. The queen smiled on him and complimented him, though inly dreadfully chagrined at his breach of court custom; and the courtiers, instead of feeling the respect which was due to so great and honourable a man, were laughing at him behind his back, and quizzing his person and dress. Swift records—in a style worthy of his heartless and malicious temper—that he had seen prince Eugene at court, and that he was "plaguy yellow, and literally ugly besides." If the souls of those two men could have been seen in their true aspect instead of their outsides, what a frightful contrast there would have been betwixt the unassuming but great and generous Savoyard, and the spiteful and cantankerous hanger-on of Harley and St. John

Harley paid, however, obsequious court to the prince as long as he hoped to win him over. He gave a magnificent dinner in his honour, and declared that he looked on that day as the happiest of his life, since he had the honour to see in his house the greatest captain of the age. The prince, who felt that this was a mean blow at Marlborough, replied with a polite but cutting sarcasm, which must have sunk deep in the bosom of the lord treasurer, "My lord, if I am the greatest captain of the age, I owe it to your lordship." That was to say, because he had deprived the really greatest captain of his command. The queen, on her part, though she was compelled to treat him graciously, and to order the preparation of costly gifts to him as the representative of the allies, regarded him as a most unwelcome guest, and in her private circle took no pains to conceal it. The whole tory party soon found that he was not a man to be seduced from his integrity, or brought to acquiesce in a course of policy which he felt and knew to be most disgraceful and disastrous to the peace of Europe; and being fully convinced of this, they let loose on the illustrious stranger all the filth and virulence of the press, that press which they themselves pretended to be so desirous of restraining and purifying. The vilest ballads were printed and hawked and sung about the streets, most scandalous to the memory of the prince's mother, Olympia Mancini, niece of cardinal Mazarin, who probably was no better than the ladies of her time, but whose faults, whatever they were, none but the most brutal of populaces would have endeavoured to cast in the face of this great son, then visiting the nation as the representative of the emperor, and the advocate of measures essential to the nation's real honour. So far from any means being taken to suppress these villanous attacks by the ministry their party strongly countenanced the most absurd rumours, that he was in the most formidable conspiracies against the peace of the country and the queen. That, say the Coxe MSS. in the British Museum, he gave "his advice to the duke of Marlborough to suborn bands of ruffians called Mohawks, to scour the streets by night and strike terror into the population." These Mohawks were bands of young men, many of them of good families, but of dissipated and degraded character, who issued into the streets and committed all sorts of riots and brutalities on even women and children, on helpless and infirm men, whom they met with in the badly-lighted city. "These evil doers," says Cunningham, "were never seen in the daylight; nay, many persons averred that they were never seen at all." They created such terror that people began to imagine them demons; as in truth they were, only incarnate.

Well, the tories did not hesitate to attribute to Eugene, and to Marlborough, at his instigation, a design by these miscreants, "to strike terror into the populace, by whom the queen was beloved; to set fire to London in different places, especially the palace of St. James's, where the queen then lodged, where the guards on duty were commanded by an officer in the whig interest; that Marlborough, at the head of the guards, should seize the Tower, the bank, the public offices, make the queen prisoner, and by terror force her to sign warrants for inquiry into the Jacobite correspondence of Abigail Masham, Harley, and Bolingbroke, put them to death, and force her to dissolve parliament. There is," adds Coxe, "no evidence of the truth of these intentions but the letter of Plunket, the Jacobite." There needed none to demonstrate that the whole was one of the basest and most inhospitable attempts to destroy the character of one of the noblest characters in history, of a man who had rendered the most distinguished services to all Europe, and whose private and public character were alike far above the taint of the subtlest calumny. The attempt upon that character displays the low and detestable grade to which had sunk the whole tory clique of that day, and leaves an additional stain on the names of Harley, St. John, Swift, and the rest of their party, and its tools. Bishop Burnet, who saw much of the prince, bears the same high testimony to his worth as do the continental historians. He says that he was of a most unaffected modesty, and scarcely could bear the acknowledgments which the world paid him; that he descended to an easy equality with those with whom he conversed, and seemed to assume nothing to himself whilst he reasoned with others; that when he (the bishop) talked with him of the scandalous libels that were every day published against the duke of Marlborough, in which they did not even allow him personal bravery, but allowed that he had *once* been fortunate, the prince replied that that was the highest commendation that could be bestowed upon him, as it implied that all his other successes were owing to his courage and conduct. If anything had been needed to show that the prince had no concern with the Mohawks, as was asserted, this was furnished by the melancholy fact that his own nephew was set upon by them, and was so savagely handled by them that he soon after died. The visit of prince Eugene to this country is one of the most disgraceful and humiliating incidents in our history. Seeing that his mission was utterly useless, he took his departure on the 13th of March, the queen having presented to him on her birthday a sword worth four thousand pounds.

Whilst prince Eugene had been labouring in vain to recall the English government from its fatal determination to make a disgraceful peace, the Dutch envoy, Van Buys, had been equally active, and with as little success. The ministers incited the house of commons to pass some severe censures on the Dutch. They alleged that the States-General had not furnished their stipulated number of troops both for the campaigns in the Netherlands and in Spain; that the queen had paid above three millions of crowns more than her contingent. They attacked the Barrier Treaty, concluded by lord Townshend with them in 1709, and declared that it contained several articles destructive to the trade and interests of Great Britain; that lord Townshend was not authorised to make that treaty, and that both he and all those who advised it were enemies to the queen and kingdom. They addressed a memorial to the queen, averring that England, during the war, had been overcharged nineteen millions sterling—which was an awful charge of mismanagement or fraud on the part of the whig ministers. They further asserted that the Dutch had made great acquisitions; had extended their trade as well as their dominion, whilst England had only suffered loss. The queen gave her sanction to this address by telling the house that she regarded their address as an additional proof of their affection for her person and their attention to the interests of the nation; and she ordered her ambassador at the Hague, the new earl of Strafford, to inform the States of these complaints of her parliament, and to assure them that they must increase their forces in Flanders, or she must decrease hers.

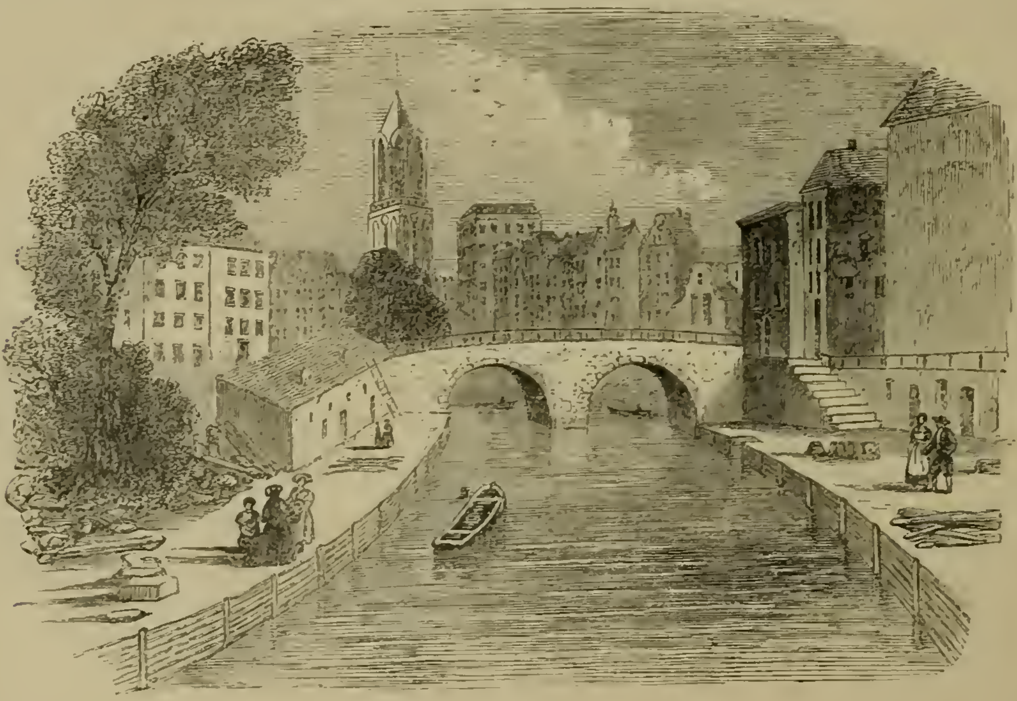
This naturally roused the States, who made a very different statement; contending that, by the treaties, every ally was bound to do all in its power to bring the common enemy to terms; that England, being more powerful than Holland, ought, of course, to bear a larger share of the burden of the war; yet that the forces of Holland had been in the Netherlands often upwards of a hundred thousand, whilst those of England had not amounted to seventy thousand; that this had prevented the Dutch sending more soldiers to Spain; and that, whilst England had been at peace in her own territory, they (the Dutch) had suffered severely in the struggle. To this a sharp answer was drawn up by St. John, and dispatched on the 8th of March, of which the real gist was, that, according to the Dutch, England could never give too much, or the United Provinces too little. Nothing could exceed the bitterness of tone which existed betwixt England and the allies, with whom it had so long manfully contended against encroaching France; for the whole world felt how unworthily the English generally were acting under the tory ministry, and this did not tend to forward the negotiations, which had been going on at Utrecht since the 29th of January. To this conference had been appointed as the British plenipotentiaries, the new earl of Strafford—whom Swift, a great partisan of the tory ministry, pronounces a poor creature—and Robinson, bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal. This prelate opened the conference with a solemn declaration, which was as false as it was professedly religious:—"We bring," he said, "sincere intentions and positive orders from our principals to concur in everything on their parts which may tend to the furtherance and happy conclusion of so beneficial and Christian-like a work." Now, this bishop knew very well that his principals had already agreed to certain conditions of peace, as we have stated, which were utterly at variance with the wishes of the rest of the allies, but which the English government was determined to adhere to, or to make a peace without them. On the part of France appeared the marshal D'Uxelles, the abbé de Polignac, and Mesnager, who had lately been in England settling the preliminaries. On the part of the Dutch were Buys and Vanderdussen; and, besides these, the emperor, the duke of Savoy, and the lesser German princes had their representatives.

France and England being already agreed, independent of the consent of the rest of the allies, the conference began on a basis which was sure to lead to immediate confusion and contention. The Dutch plenipotentiaries were astonished to see the different tone displayed by the French ambassadors. They were no longer the humble and conceding personages that they had been at Gertruydenburg. The abbé Polignac, who was the chief speaker, assumed a high and confident manner. He knew that England was resolved to settle the peace on the terms agreed upon, and knew that the rest must come in or fight France themselves, and in that case France did not fear them. He knew, too, that, though the English army was still in the field, the terrible Marlborough was no longer with it, and that the commander had orders not to fight. The French envoys, therefore, when the Dutch deputies demanded that the treaty should be carried out on the basis of the terms offered at Gertruydenburg, told them plainly that matters were now quite altered, and that the conditions offered at Gertruydenburg could not be entertained by France at all, but those to which the queen of England had agreed in London; that unless the Dutch were willing to treat on these conditions, they would find their allies concluding peace without them, and that on the spot. The chief article to which the allies objected was the concession of Spain to Philip; and they were the more resolute on this head, because imminently necessary from the changes which had now taken place in France. The dauphin had died of the smallpox during the last year. The title had been conferred on his son, the duke of Burgundy; but the duke of Burgundy had just now expired too in the sixth year of his age; and of the dauphin's children there only now remained the duke of Anjou, a sickly child of two years old. This child was the only remaining obstacle to Philip, the king of Spain, mounting the throne of France. The danger was so obvious of the union of France and Spain in a very few years—to prevent which was the great object of the war—that the English government was compelled to demand from Philip a distinct renunciation of all claims on the French crown, and from France as distinct a one in the treaty that any such claim should be resisted. St. John entered into a correspondence with De Torcy, the French minister, on this head; and the answers of De Torcy must have shown the English government how perfectly useless it was thus attempting to bind Frenchmen on any such matters. He replied that any such renunciation on the part of Philip or any French prince would be utterly null and void according to the laws; that on the king's death the next heir male of the royal blood succeeded, independently of any disposition or restriction of the late king, or any will of the people, or of himself, even; that he was, by the laws of France, sovereign by the right of succession, and must be so, spite of any circumstances to the contrary; that neither himself, the throne, nor the people had anything to do with it, but to obey the constitution. Therefore, even if Philip did bind himself to renounce the crown of France, should the present dauphin die, he would be king, independent of any circumstances whatever.

This was enough to have satisfied any prudent government of the folly of our asking for a renunciation, that nothing but the evacuation of the throne of Spain in case of the succession of Philip to that of France should be accepted. They had seen how easily Louis XIV., who was now tottering on the brink of the grave, had absolved himself from the oaths taken by himself on his marriage with an infanta of Spain, and that it was therefore certain that Philip would do the same. But St. John was satisfied with replying that it mattered not much to the English what notions were entertained in France of the right of succession, so long as in England the opinion was held that every man was at liberty to surrender his own rights; and as the allies in such a treaty bound themselves to compel its fulfilment by force of arms. This was the height of diplomatic absurdity; it was negotiating on the basis of compulsion, the futility of which the present situation of the allies most amply demonstrated. They had entered into this war of the succession to compel such a surrender, and here they were, negotiating because they had been unable to enforce it. Another expedient, however, was proposed by the English ministry, who must have seen clearly enough the folly of their treating on such hollow ground. That was, if Philip did not like to renounce the crown of France, he should at once quit the throne of Spain, and agree that the duke of Savoy should take it and the Indies, surrendering his own territories to Philip, to which should be added Naples, Sicily, Montserrat, and Mantua, all of which, whenever Philip succeeded to the French crown, should be annexed to France, with the exception of Sicily, which should be made over to Austria. Louis XIV. professed to be delighted with this arrangement, but Philip would not listen to it, showing plainly that he meant, notwithstanding any renunciation, to retain his claim to both France and Spain.

On such utterly unsubstantial ground did the English ministers continue this negotiation. They assured De Torcy that the queen of England insisted on Philip's renunciation of one throne or the other, and he at length renounced that of France, everybody seeing in what sense he renounced it, as in fact no renunciation at all, but a pretence to get the peace effected; and thus the English ministers, with their eyes open to the fraud, went on urging the allies to come into these most delusive and unsatisfactory terms. But as the renunciation of Philip did not arrive till after midsummer, the negotiators at Utrecht continued to talk without advancing, and the armies in the field continued to look at each other without fighting.

Marshal Villars, like the French plenipotentiaries, had made a great display of forces, pretty certain, from his private information, that there was little fear of being seriously attacked. The allies had a fine army of one hundred and twenty thousand men opposed to him; but so far as the English were concerned, their commander had his hands tied. The duke of Ormonde was sent to take the place of the duke of Marlborough—a certain indication that he was meant only for a mere show-general. He was a firm Jacobite, but no general of the talents or experience proper to succeed to a man like Marlborough. On arriving at the Hague he assured the States-General that his instructions were to act zealously with the allies, and especially the Dutch, and from his letters it would appear that such were his orders. But before his arrival, Mr. Thomas Harley, a relative of Oxford's, and the Abbé Gualtier, had reached the Hague, and had assured the plenipotentiaries that the government had determined on peace, and would not allow the army to fight. They also brought over with them the scheme of the treaty, which was not yet to be made known to the Dutch. But the States-General were too well aware of the hollow proceedings of the English court, and, disgusted at the withdrawal of Marlborough and the substitution of Ormonde, they would not intrust their troops to him, but appointed Eugene as their own general. Thus, instead of one generalissimo of consummate genius, the army was divided under two heads, and the best head, the prince Eugene, having the utmost contempt for the martial talents of his colleague. All on the part of England, both in the conference and in the army, was hollow, treacherous, and disgraceful. Yet, though there was to be no fighting, the pretence of it was kept up. The earl of Albemarle marched with a detachment of the army to Arras, where he burnt and destroyed some magazines of the French. Ormonde, too, joined prince Eugene on the 26th of May, and the united army passed the Scheldt, and encamped betwixt Haspre and Solennes. Eugene proposed to attack Villars in his lines, and Ormonde consented to it, but he immediately received a peremptory order from Mr. Secretary St. John against engaging in any siege or battle, and he was directed to keep this order profoundly secret from the allies. Ormonde was also instructed, that if Villars should intimate that he was aware of these secret proceedings, he was to take no notice of it; nor was Villars long in letting him know that they might now consider each other as friends. The situation of Ormonde thus became one of extreme embarrassment. On the one hand, Eugene urged him to prepare for an engagement; on the other, the Dutch were impatient to see some stroke which should humble the French and make negotiation more easy; but Ormonde was as unable to move, notwithstanding previous assurances, as if he had been a mere image of wood. He wrote to St. John, expressing in strong terms the embarrassing nature of his situation, assuring him that the Dutch were exclaiming that they were betrayed; but St. John encouraged him to hold out as well as he could, and Ormonde condescended to play this false and degrading part, equally disgraceful to him as a general and a man of any pretences to honour. The prince urged forward the necessity of laying siege to Quesnoi, and Ormonde was allowed, for the sake of keeping up appear-



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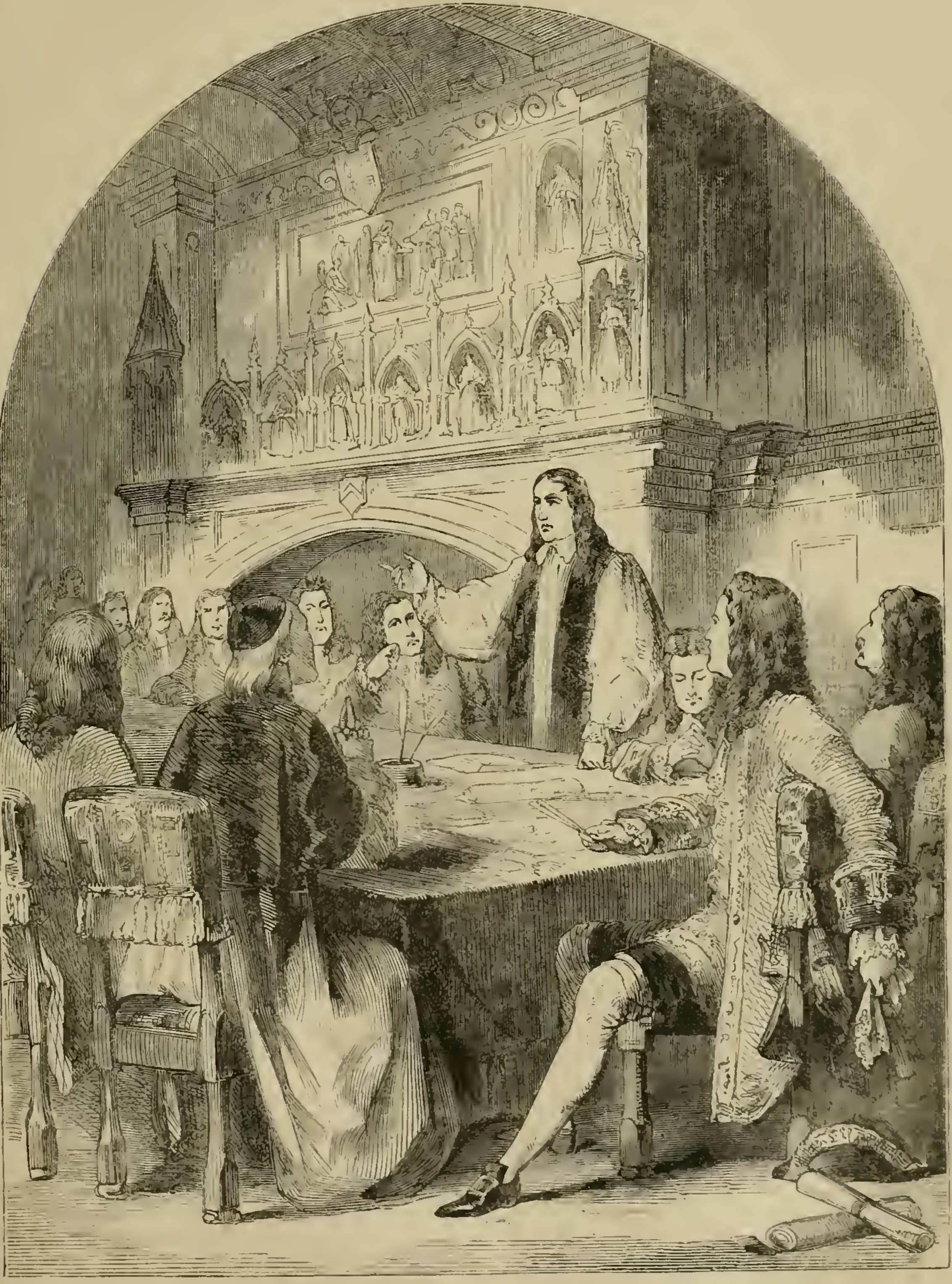


CONGRESS AT UTRECHT.

ances, to furnish a considerable detachment for the purpose. But there was so evident a backwardness in the duke's movements, that the Dutch deputies complained vehemently to the English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht of his refusal to act in earnest against the enemy. Thereupon Robinson, the bishop, took high ground, and retorted that the States-General had met the queen's proposals for peace so strangely, that her majesty now felt herself released from any further obligation to maintain the treaties and engagements betwixt herself and them. This roused the States to great and indignant activity. They entered into communication with the electors of Hanover, of Hesse-Cassel, and other princes of the empire, regarding the effective service of their troops in the pay of Great Britain. They sent off warm remonstrances to the queen of England, and the queen was obliged to summon a council, in which it was agreed that Ormonde should appear as much as possible to concur with Eugene in the siege. The subject was brought to the knowledge of the whigs by the ambassadors of the allies, who presented letters from prince Eugene, and on the 7th of June that party took up the subject in the house of lords. The earl of Halifax moved for the production of the orders given to Ormonde, and that fresh commands should be issued to him to co-operate cordially with the prince. The lord treasurer declared that the orders could not be produced without mischief to the treaty pending; that Ormonde was only acting a prudent part in avoiding any serious engagement, which might have the effect to entirely defeat all the efforts at an honourable peace, and especially with such a monarch as Louis XIV., who was so apt to break his word. Lord Wharton replied that the king of France's disregard of his word was a strong reason for keeping no measures with him; and the duke of Marlborough, on Oxford saying that, notwithstanding, lord Ormonde had had orders to co-operate with the allies in the siege, asked how they were to carry on a siege and yet avoid a battle, in case the enemy should endeavour to relieve the place, unless the English were shamefully to abandon their posts. The duke of Argyll, to annoy Marlborough, declared that there had not been such a captain as Eugene since Julius Cæsar, yet as the house of Austria had motives for war very different to any which England had, it might not be prudent to trust him with the chief command, lest he should render peace impossible. He threw out reproaches against Marlborough for not having taken Arras and Cambray two years ago, instead of wasting time on such petty places as Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant. But lord Paulet went further in invective against the great English general, and said that no one could doubt of the courage of the duke of Ormonde; but that he was not like a certain general, who led troops to the slaughter, and caused a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, that he might fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions. This murderous accusation was not likely to pass unnoticed by Marlborough. He suppressed his resentment in the house, but he immediately afterwards sent lord Mohun with a challenge to Paulet, who was much more valiant in speech than in action. He let his wife know of the challenge, so that the affair was quickly communicated to the secretary of state, who placed a couple of sentries at lord Paulet's door, and informed him that he was under arrest, whilst the earl of Dartmouth carried her majesty's command to Marlborough. that the affair should go no further, which Marlborough assured her should be punctually obeyed.

After the attack in the house of lords on Marlborough, the debate became very warm, but Oxford protested that there was no intention whatever of making a separate peace without the allies; that such a peace would be so base, so knavish, so villanous, that every one who served the queen knew that they must answer it with their heads to the nation. He contended that the nation would find that the peace intended would be a glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest of the nation than the first preliminaries insisted on by the allies: a most daring and unfounded assertion, the surrender of Spain being in the demands of the allies, but not in the treaty. The earl of Strafford, who had come over from Holland, asserted that the Dutch had made private offers at the conference at Gertruydenburg, which were kept from the knowledge of the allies, and should be the last to complain, and moved that the papers relating to the negotiations at the Hague and Gertruydenburg should be laid on the table, as they would show that the Dutch offered to make over Naples and Sicily to Philip, showing that they even then admitted the impossibility of regaining the whole Spanish monarchy. The motion of Halifax was negatived by a majority of sixty-eight to forty, but twenty-five peers entered a protest against it.

The same question was debated in the commons on the motion of Mr. Pulteney, and ministers were accused of carrying on clandestine and dishonourable negotiations with France independent of the allies. To this St. John replied in a high strain and in a very arrogant tone, trusting that it was not treachery to act for the good and advantage of Great Britain; that he gloried in his share of the proceedings, and that, whatever censure he might endure, he should feel a comfort his whole life in acting in it as he had done. The house called also for a copy of the transactions at the Hague and Gertruydenburg, and voted that the house had confidence in her majesty's promise to communicate to it the terms of peace before it should be concluded.

Accordingly, on the 5th of June, the queen proceeded to the house of lords, and stated in a long speech the terms on which it was proposed to make the peace with France—namely, that Louis XIV. should acknowledge the protestant succession and remove the pretender out of France; that Philip should renounce the crown of Spain, should it devolve on him; and that the kings of both France and Spain should make solemn engagements for themselves and their heirs that the two kingdoms should never be united under one crown; that Newfoundland, with Placentia, Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as it was then termed by the French, as well as Gibraltar, Port Mahon, and the whole island of Minorca, should be ceded to England; that the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places on the Tuscan coast, formerly belonging to Spain, should be yielded to Austria, the appropriation of Sicily being not so far determined; that France would make the Rhine the barrier of the empire, yielding up all places beyond it, and razing the fortresses on the German side as well as in the river; that the barriers of Savoy, the Netherlands, and Prussia, should be made satisfactory to the allies. The electoral dignity was to be acknowledged in the house of Hanover.

The house of commons received the speech with enthusiasm, and carried up an address of thanks in a body. Very different, however, was the reception of the speech in the house of lords. Lord Wharton proposed that in the address they should declare themselves against a separate peace, and the duke of Marlborough supported that view. He said that for a year past the measures pursued were directly opposed to her majesty's engagement with the allies, had sullied the glories of her reign, and would render our name odious to all nations. Lord Strafford, who had come over from the Hague purposely to defend the government policy, and his own share in it at Utrecht, asserted that the opposition of the allies would not have been so obstinate had they not been encouraged by a certain member of that house who corresponded with them, and stimulated them by assurances that they would be supported by a large party in England. This blow aimed at Marlborough called up lord Cowper, who directed his sarcasm against Strafford on the ground of his well-known illiterate character, observing that the noble lord had been so long abroad that he had forgotten not only the language but the constitution of his country; that according to our laws it could never be a crime in an individual to correspond with its allies, but that it was a crime to correspond, as certain persons did, with the common enemy, unknown to the allies, and to their manifest prejudice. The amendment of lord Wharton, however, was rejected, and the protest, entered against its rejection by twenty peers and bishops, was voted violent and indecorous, and erased from the journal. The matter was carried to such a degree of heat, that the protest was printed and widely circulated, to the great indignation of the ministers, who endeavoured to discover the printer and publisher, in order to punish them, but in vain. The house of commons, however, took the opportunity to retaliate on the whig bishop, Dr. Fleetwood, of St. Asaph, something of the treatment of the whigs on Dr. Sacheverel. They ordered the preface to certain sermons, which he had recently published, and in which he had extolled the former ministry at the expense of the present, to be burnt by the common hangman, which was done accordingly, and they presented an address to the queen, expressing their sense of the insult which had been offered to her by the printing and publishing of the letter of remonstrance sent by the States-General to her majesty. It went on to declare that the house would support her majesty against faction both at home and abroad. In this violent tone of the opposing parties on the question of the peace, the parliament was prorogued on the 8th of July, when the queen asserted that both houses had approved her scheme of the peace, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition, and that they had gone no further than a general vote of confidence. The conflicting spirit excited by this topic extended over the whole kingdom; the whigs showed everywhere much discontent, but the tory corporations, including that of London, sent up addresses approving of the queen's conduct.

Notwithstanding these addresses and the confident tone of the queen's speech, the funds fell, and there was a general dissatisfaction at the conditions of the proposed pacification. In order to stimulate the proceedings and excite a jealousy of the Dutch, St. John professed to discover that they were secretly negotiating themselves with France, and urged that, if we did not take care, they would have the management of the negotiations and not her majesty. Lord Strafford hastened back to the Hague, and from thence to Utrecht, where he proposed a cessation of arms, which was rejected by the allies. He then went on to the army, where the duke of Ormonde was in a situation of the utmost difficulty, He had received orders from government, in consequence of the clamour in parliament, to support prince Eugene at the siege of Quesnoy, which he had invested on the 8th of June, and in consequence he had appeared before the place with such forces as threatened speedily to reduce it. At the same time he had received from the marquis de Torcy a copy of the articles of peace signed by him, and from the marquis of Villars the most bitter remonstrances on his conduct, which he did not hesitate to declare most perfidious and disgraceful. On the other hand, prince Eugene, who did not find the English forces, notwithstanding their presence, rendering any active service, was equally irritated by his proceedings. Ormonde could but reply to each party that such were his orders, and leave the government to bear the ignominy of it. To extricate themselves from the just censures on this dishonourable policy, St. John instructed Ormonde to demand from Villars the surrender of Dunkirk, which, it was asserted, must be put into the hands of the queen's troops, as a pledge that France would perform all that she had promised, before there could be a cessation of hostilities.

The French hastened to comply with this condition, on the understanding that Ormonde would immediately draw off his troops from Quesnoy; and the duke was obliged to announce to prince Eugene that he was under this necessity, in consequence of the terms agreed upon betwixt France and England; in fact, that he must cease all opposition to the French. Ormonde, therefore, not only gave the command for the retirement of the English troops, but also of all those belonging to the German princes which were in British pay. Eugene and the Dutch field deputies protested most indignantly against this proceeding, and the mercenary troops themselves refused to follow Ormonde. In vain did he endeavour to move the officers of those troops; they despised the conduct of England in abandoning the advantageous position at which they had arrived for terminating the war gloriously, and releasing the common enemy of Europe from his just punishment to gratify party spirit in England. "Up to this point," says Cunningham, "these mercenaries had punctually obeyed orders; but now, when they were required to separate from the allied army, the men made answer to their own officers that they would obey the duke of Ormonde in everything else except in this single point, in which the common safety and their own honour were in the utmost danger; that in this particular instance they could not be prevailed upon by any promises or threatenings to follow him without the commands of their respective sovereigns, and they would rather perish than desert their allies."

Prince Eugene represented that the duke, in not only withdrawing his own troops but the troops in the queen's pay too, would leave the allies at the mercy of the French, and be productive of the most disastrous and disgraceful consequences; and he therefore exhorted the foreign troops to stand firm to their duty, declaring that they could not separate from the confederacy without express consent of the princes their masters. An extraordinary conference was summoned at the Hague to consider this difficulty, and a delay of five days before marching was demanded of the duke and consented to by him. At length the princes to whom the troops belonged assured them that they would maintain them at their own expense for one month under the command of prince Eugene, and afterwards at half the charge, provided the States-General and the empires would defray the rest. On learning this conclusion, St. John wrote a most arrogant letter to Ormonde, declaring that the British government was much at a loss to know what these princes meant; adding:—"A beggarly German general commands the troops which have been so many years paid by her majesty, and which are actually so at this time, to desert from the queen, and to leave her subject forces, for aught they knew, exposed to the attacks of the enemy."

This language, applied to such a man as prince Eugene, was nothing less than infamous; and the argument was equally false, because St. John knew perfectly well that there was no danger at this moment of the French attacking the English. But the German princes stood firm, calling God to witness that they had furnished their troops with higher objects than the mere pay—those of their duty to the German empire, and the common safety and interest of Europe. Ormonde, on this, declared that the poor German soldiers should never get the arrears of their pay; and he ordered a cessation of arms for two months, according to his orders received from St. John—now advanced to the dignity of baron St. John and viscount Bolingbroke.

When, however, the French saw that Ormonde could not induce the mercenary troops to move, they refused to surrender Dunkirk, and an English detachment which arrived there to take possession found the gates shut in their faces. At this insult the British troops burst out into a fury of indignation, and, says Cunningham, "cursed the duke of Ormonde as stupid fool and general of straw." The officers as well as the men were beside themselves with shame, and shed tears of mortification, remembering the glorious times under Marlborough. Ormonde himself, thus disgraced, thus helpless—for he had not the satisfaction, even, of being able to avenge himself on the French—thus deserted by the auxiliaries, and made a laughing-stock to all Europe by the crooked and base policy of his government, retired from before the walls of Dunkirk, and directed his course towards Douay. "This," continues Cunningham, "was the inauspicious day which caused so much sorrow and disgust to the allies, and branded the British name with infamy and disgrace."

But Ormonde had not yet got to the bottom of his humiliation as the general of such a government. When he approached Douay the Dutch shut him out there too, and repeated the contempt wherever they had a garrison, as at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lisle. Here was a spectacle of that English army which reaped the laurels of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, wandering outcast, and subject to every insult from both the French and the allies, doomed to endure their ignominious fate from the dishonourable and unpatriotic policy of a set of mean men, who would ruin their country if they could thereby ruin their political rivals. Any man of spirit would have at once thrown up such a command; but Ormonde tamely continued it, and had yet more exquisite mockeries and chagrins to endure. Villars, with a refined raillery, sent him word that, if none of his old friends would receive him and his army, he was welcome to a retreat in France; and, to add to his vexation, he saw Dunkirk surrendered to another British commander. Louis had sent to order its surrender, and Sir John Leake, who had arrived with the fleet before the place, took possession of it. Ormonde thus saw even this small honour snatched from him, and had to march back from Ghent, where at length he had found a shelter, to support brigadier Hill, whom Leake had landed in Dunkirk. Towards the end of October he returned to England, where the tories endeavoured to cover his and their own dishonour by receiving him as if he had been a conqueror greater, even, than Marlborough; but they could not, by their feigned enthusiasm, hide from the nation how much they had disgraced it.

Eugene, during these proceedings, had been actively pushing on the fortunes of the allies with his remnant of an army. He pushed on the siege of Quesnoy, and took it. He sent a flying detachment of one thousand five hundred cavalry, under major-general Grovestein, to make an incursion into France. This force made a rapid raid in Champagne, passed the Noire, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Saar, ravaged the country, reduced a great number of villages and towns to ashes, rode up to the very gate of Metz, and then retired to Traerbach with a load of rich booty. This was a proof of what might have been done in France at this period with the whole united army, and a commander like Marlborough, in place of miserably giving up everything to that country in the moment of power. As it was, it created the utmost consternation in Paris, the people of which already saw the English at their gate; whilst Louis, trembling for his safety, did not think himself safe at Versailles, but gathered all the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital around his palace, leaving the city to take care of itself. What a glory to this country, what a satisfaction to the world would have been such an event—the old despot and troubler of Europe compelled in terror to yield all the just demands of the allies, and all necessary securities for the future peace of the world.

But the Harleys and St. John had deprived the nation of this triumph, and left the way open to fresh insults and humiliations. No sooner did Villars see the English forces withdrawn from the allies, than he seized the opportunity to snatch fresh advantages for France, and thus make all her demands on the allies certain. He crossed the Scheldt on the 24th of July, and, with an overwhelming force, attacked the earl of Albemarle, who commanded a division of the allied army at Derrain. Eugene, who, from the reduction of Quesnoy, had proceeded to lay siege to Landrey, instantly hastened to the support of Albemarle; but, to his grief, found himself, when in sight of him, cut off from rendering him any assistance by the breaking down of the bridge over the Scheldt; and he had the pain to see Albemarle beaten under his very eyes. Seventeen battalions of Albemarle's force were killed or taken. He himself and all the surviving officers were made prisoners. Five hundred wagons loaded with bread, twelve pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, horses and baggage, fell into the hands of the French. Villars then marched on to Merchiennes, where the stores of the allies were deposited, and took it on the 31st of July, the garrison of five thousand being sent to Valenciennes prisoners. He next advanced to Douay, where Eugene would have given him battle, but was forbidden to do so by the States, and, consequently, Douay fell into Villars' hands. This was followed by the speedy fall of Quesnoy and Bouchain, which had cost Marlborough and Eugene so much to win them.

It was now the turn of the French to triumph, and of the allies to suffer consternation. Louis, once more elate, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung in Notre Dame, and all Paris was full of rejoicing. He declared that God had given a direct and striking proof of the justice of his cause and of the guilty obstinacy of the allies. His plenipotentiaries assumed at Utrecht such arrogance that their very lacqueys imitated them; and those of Mesnager insulted one of the plenipotentiaries, count von Richteren, and Louis justified them against all complaints. Under such circumstances, all rational hope of obtaining peace except on the disgraceful terms accepted by England vanished.

In fact, though the allies still held out, it was useless. Bolingbroke, accompanied by Matthew Prior, had been in Paris since the beginning of August, where they were assisted also by the abbé Gualtier, determined to close the negotiations for England, whether the allies objected or not. To make this result obvious to all the world, the troops which Ormonde had brought home were disbanded with all practicable speed. The ostensible cause of Bolingbroke and Prior's visit to Paris was to settle the interests of the duke of Savoy and the elector of Bavaria; but the real one was to remove any remaining impediment to the conclusion of the treaty of peace. France and England were quite agreed; Bolingbroke returned to London, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France, as if the articles of peace were, in fact, already signed. A truce, indeed, for four months longer by land and sea was proclaimed in Paris. It was agreed that the pretender should return to Lorraine; that all hostilities should cease in Italy in consequence of the arrangement of the affairs of the duke of Savoy; and that the Austrian troops should be allowed to quit Spain and return to Naples.

The secession of the duke of Savoy only the more roused the indignation of the allies. The Dutch breathed a hotter spirit of war just as their power of carrying it on failed; and even the experienced Heinsius made an energetic oration in the States-General, declaring that all the fruits of the war would be lost if they consented to the peace proposed. But to avoid it was no longer possible. The English plenipotentiaries pressed the allies more and more zealously to come in, so much so that they were scarcely safe from the fury of the Dutch populace, who insulted the earl of Strafford and the marquis del Bergo, the minister of the duke of Savoy, when the news came that the duke had consented to the peace. Every endeavour was made to detach the different allies one by one. Mr. Thomas Harley was sent to the elector of Hanover to persuade him to co-operate with her majesty; but, notwithstanding all risk of injuring his succession to the English crown, he boldly replied—"Whenever it shall please God to call me to the throne of Britain, I hope to act as becomes me for the advantage of my people; in the meantime, speak to me as a German prince, and a prince of the empire." Similar attempts were made on the king of Prussia and other princes, and with similar results. The English ministers now began to see the obstacles they had created to the conclusion of a general peace by their base desertion of the allies. The French, rendered more than ever haughty in their demands by the successes of Villars, raised their terms as fast as any of the allies appeared disposed to close with those already offered. The Dutch, convinced at length that England would make peace without them, and were bending every energy to draw away their confederates, in October expressed themselves ready to treat, and to yield all pretensions to Douay, Valenciennes, and Mauberg, on condition that Condé and Tournay were included in their barrier; that the commercial tariffs with France should be restored to what they were in 1664; that Sicily should be yielded to Austria, and Strasburg to the empire. But the French treated these concessions with contempt, and Bolingbroke was forced to admit to Prior that they treated like pedlars, or, what was worse, like attorneys. He conjured Prior "to hide the nakedness of his country" in his intercourse with the French ministers, and to make the best of the blunders of his countrymen, admitting that they were not much better politicians than the French were poets. But the fault of Bolingbroke and his colleagues was not want of talent, it was want of honesty; and, by their selfish desire to damage their political rivals, they had brought their country into this deplorable dilemma of sacrificing all faith with their allies, of encouraging the unprincipled disposition of the French, who were certain to profit by the division of the allies, and of abandoning the glory and position of England, or confessing that the whigs, however much they had erred in entering on such enormous wars, had in truth brought them to the near prospect of a far more satisfactory conclusion than they were taking up with.

Whilst matters were in this discouraging condition, lord Lexington was sent to Spain to receive the solemn renunciation of the crown of France for Philip and his successors, in the presence of the Cortes, which accordingly took place on the 5th of November. Portugal, also, on the 7th of November, signed, at Utrecht, the suspension of arms, at the same time admitting to the allies that she did it only as a matter of absolute necessity. The Portuguese had held out firmly till the English refused to give them any assistance, when the marquis de Bay invaded the kingdom at the head of twenty thousand men, and laid siege to Campo-Major. The English troops in Spain were ordered to separate from those of the allies under count Staremberg, and were marched into Catalonia to embark at Barcelona. The people of that province beheld the English depart with sentiments of indignant contempt. England had first incited them to take up arms and declare for king Charles under the most solemn engagements never to make peace without them. But now they had broken their faith in the most shameless manner, and left them to the vengeance of the French triumphant in Spain. Such on all sides were the facts which forced on the world the conviction of the perfidy of England, which had hitherto borne so fair a reputation.

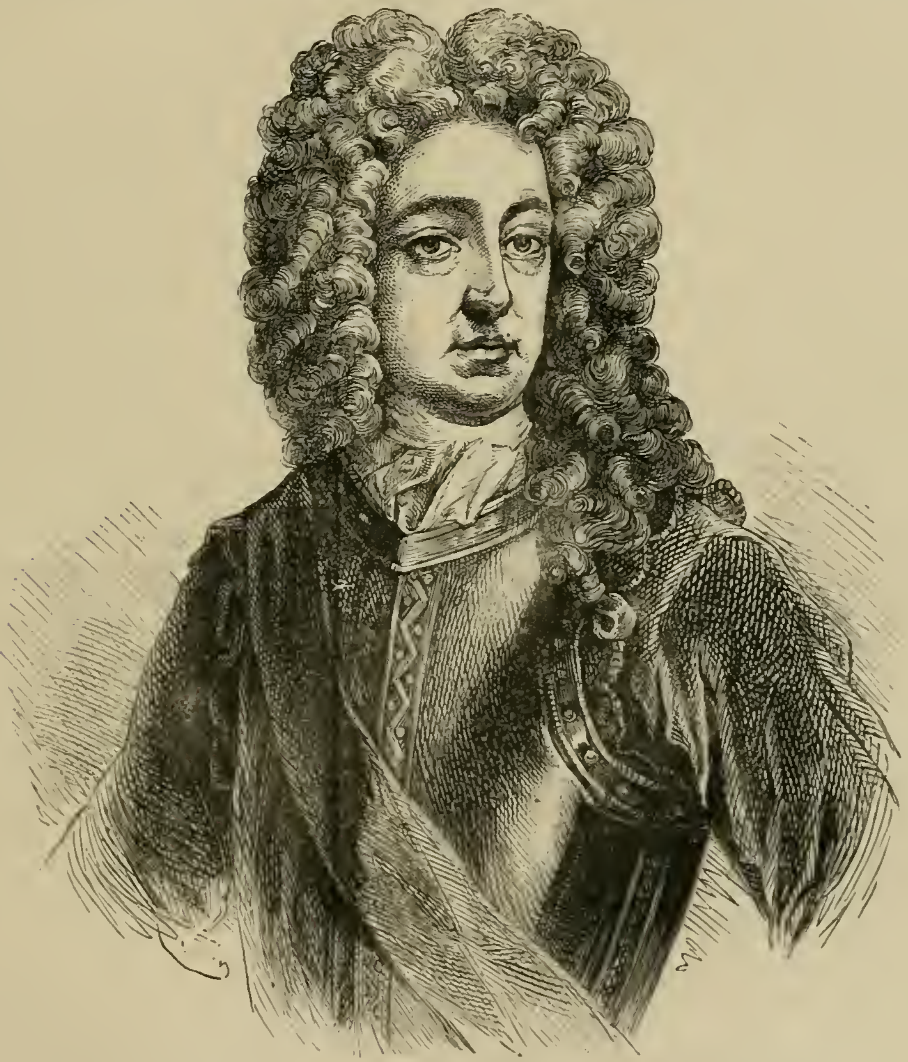
Another dishonourable characteristic of the ministers of queen Anne at this period was that they were in secret zealous partisans of the pretender, and whilst openly professing a sacred maintenance of the protestant succession, were doing all in their power to undermine it. They had given mortal offence to the elector George of Hanover, the heir to the throne, by their treachery to the allies; and, as the health of the queen was most precarious from her excessive corpulence and gout, which was continually menacing a retreat to her stomach, this was equally a cause for their hastening the peace, however disgracefully, and for paving the way, if possible, for the return of the pretender at the queen's death. Bolingbroke was the great correspondent with St. Germains, as his letters in the Stuart Papers—which were obtained by George IV. from Rome, and which are now preserved at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor—abundantly show. But Oxford, although always more cunning and mysterious, was equally concerned in it; nor was the queen, if we may believe these remarkable papers, by any means averse to the succession of the pretender, notwithstanding his stubborn adhesion to popery. The Jacobite party was numerous, powerful, and indefatigable. They were in the ministry and in both houses of parliament. At this moment a public appointment was made which filled the whigs with consternation and rage. This was no other than that of the duke of Hamilton, one of the most notorious partisans of the pretender, one who had most zealously advocated his return to Scotland whilst he had appeared publicly to discourage it, to be ambassador to the court of Versailles. Prior was still there, and had all the requisites of a clever and painstaking envoy; but, being only a commoner and a poet, it did not suit the aristocratic notions of England that he should be accredited ambassador. Hamilton was appointed, and would thus have had the amplest opportunity of concerting the return of the Stuarts with the base ministers at home. But he was not destined to see Versailles. "The duke of Hamilton," says Burnet, "being now appointed to go to the court of France, gave melancholy speculations to those who thought him much in the pretender's interest. He was considered, not only in Scotland, but here, in England, as the head of his party; but a dismal accident put an end to his life a few days before he intended to have set out on his embassy."

The duke of Hamilton in early life had seduced the youngest daughter of Charles II., by the duchess of Cleveland, lady Barbara Fitzroy, a mere girl of seventeen, by whom he had a son, for which offence he had been thrown into the Tower by order of Mary II , and the poor victim was forced into a convent in France, where she soon died. In spite of this, Hamilton was always a favourite of queen Anne's, and, on his appointment to the court of France, she conferred on him the unprecedented honour of the order of the garter in addition to that of the thistle. When this was remarked to Anne, she replied that "Such a subject as the duke of Hamilton had a pre-eminent claim to every mark of distinction which a crowned head can confer; and henceforth I will wear both orders myself." It was also whispered that the heir of the duke, the earl of Arran, was to marry the sister of the pretender, the princess Louisa Stuart, the youngest daughter of James II., who is represented by all parties to have been a young lady of singularly fascinating and amiable character. Thus Hamilton would have had the strongest motives to promote the return of the pretender. But just before this the princess Louisa died of smallpox, and the duke's fate was at hand.

He and Lord Mohun, one of the most violent and dissipated men of the time, who is said by Swift to have been concerned in three murders—and two of which affairs we have had to record; the first being the disgraceful murder of Montfort, the player—had married sisters of the house of Gerrard, who were co-heiresses. Bitter quarrels and litigation regarding their property had long existed betwixt Hamilton and Mohun, and at a meeting concerning these matters, the fierce temper of Mohun led to mutual insults, followed by a challenge from Mohun. The parties met in a thickety place near the Serpentine brook, behind Kensington-palace, attended by colonel Hamilton as second to his kinsman the duke, and general Macartney as second to Mohun. The seconds as well as the principals fought, according to a fashion introduced from the court of France, where ten or a dozen combatants on a side were known to engage, and leave sometimes half that number dead on the spot. In this affray, both Hamilton and Mohun were killed; and as they were whig and tory, and the party feeling respecting Hamilton's appointment ran high, it was soon reported that the duke had been murdered by Macartney, whilst his second, colonel Hamilton, was supporting him after being stabbed by Mohun. Macartney fled, Colonel Hamilton remained on the spot, and was taken. He deposed that Macartney had stabbed the duke over his, colonel Hamilton's shoulder; and added, in proof, that the wound given by lord Mohun was by a Saxon blade, whilst the second wound was by a triangular blade—in fact, by his, colonel Hamilton's rapier, which he had laid on the ground to assist his wounded kinsman, and which Macartney snatched up. Dr. Garth, a tory, however, it should be recollected, gave evidence that the wounds were as colonel Hamilton described, and that one of them could not have been given by lord Mohun, but by somebody standing above the duke, as it slanted downwards.

The party warfare in the newspapers and journals was fierce and virulent. Swift declaimed against Mohun with his usual savageness, as a profligate dyed with three foul murders, and the tories generally maintained that Mohun and Macartney, as whigs, "had been incited to undertake the quarrel by a certain party of men who were no great friends to the government." The whigs, on the other hand, denied the charge, and contended that though Macartney might have given the finishing blow to Hamilton, as all four were fighting together, yet Macartney, finding himself left one against two, might have defended himself so desperately as to kill Hamilton in fair fight. Macartney escaped to the continent, where he remained till George I. ascended the throne, when, believing that he could have an impartial trial, he returned and surrendered himself. On this trial colonel Hamilton prevaricated, and several persons who had witnessed the combat at a distance, materially contradicted his testimony. Macartney was accordingly acquitted, to the joy of the whigs, and the intense rage of the opposite party.

Instead of Hamilton, the duke of Shrewsbury was sent to Versailles, where Matthew Prior remained to lend his superior knowledge of French affairs and superior address to the negotiations. The weight of tory vengeance now fell on the duke of Marlborough, whom the ministers justly regarded as the most dangerous man amongst the whigs by his abilities and the splendour of his renown. The earl of Godolphin died in September of this year. He had always been a stanch friend of the Marlboroughs. His son, lord Rialton, was married to Marlborough's eldest daughter, and during Godolphin's later years he was nearly a constant resident with the Marlboroughs, and died at their lodge in Windsor-park. Godolphin was one of the best of the whigs; of a clear, strong judgment, and calm temper. He had rendered the most essential services during the great conflict against France, by ably and faithfully conducting affairs at home, whilst Marlborough was winning his victories abroad; and that great general knew that he should be supported against all his enemies and detractors so long as Godolphin remained in power. The highest eulogium on Godolphin's honesty lies in the fact that he died poor. But at Godolphin's death Marlborough stood a more exposed object to the malice of his foes. They did not hesitate to assert that he had had a deep concern in the plot for Hamilton's death. He therefore resolved to retire to the continent.



THE CHEVALIER ST. GEORGE, COMMONLY CALLED THE PRETENDER. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

Burnet gives the following reasons for this retirement of Marlborough:—"Upon the earl of Godolphin's death, the duke of Marlborough resolved to go and live beyond sea

He executed it in the end of November, and his duchess followed him in the beginning of February. This was variously censured. Some pretended that it was the giving up and abandoning the concern of his country, and they represented it as the effect of fear, with too anxious a care to secure himself; others were glad that he was safe out of ill hands, whereby, if we should fall into the convulsions of a civil war, he would be able to assist the elector of Hanover, as being so entirely beloved and confided in by all our military men; whereas, if he had stayed in England, it was not to be doubted but, upon the least shadow of suspicion, he would have been immediately secured, whereas now he would be at liberty, being beyond sea, to act as there might be occasion for it. There were two suits begun against him—the one was for the two and a half per cent. that the foreign princes were content should be deducted for contingencies, of which an account was formerly given; the other was for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim House. The queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence: all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her; and in the preambles of the acts of parliament that confirmed the grant of Woodstock to him and his heirs, it was said the queen built the house for him. Yet, now that the tradesmen were let run into arrears of thirty thousand pounds, the queen refused to pay any more, and set them upon suing the duke of Marlborough for it, though he had never contracted with any of them. Upon his going beyond sea, both these suits were stayed, which gave occasion to people to imagine that the ministry, being disturbed to see so much public respect put upon a man whom they had used so ill, had set these prosecutions on foot only to render his stay in England uneasy to him."

Besides the hostility of the ministry, Marlborough owed to his fiery duchess, there is every reason to believe, the stoppage of the queen's payment of the workmen at Blenheim House. Marlborough House being completed just as the final rupture between the queen and the Marlboroughs took place, they quitted their apartments in St. James's; and when these apartments were examined, according to Cox, they appeared to have been sacked by an enemy. The locks were torn off the doors, the looking-glasses and pictures rent from their panels, and the marble slabs forced out; and the queen declared, in her anger, "that as the duchess of Marlborough had dilapidated her house at St. James's, she would not build her one;" she, therefore, stopped the payments to Blenheim.

But the causes which drove Marlborough from England were undoubtedly complicated. The tory party subjected him to repeated insults, and Oxford, aware of his correspondence with St. Germains, it is asserted by Dalrymple, had procured the original letter which he wrote to that court, betraying the expedition to Brest in 1694, by which it was defeated, and the life of general Talmadge sacrificed. If this was the case, the life of Marlborough was in Oxford's hands, though Marlborough must have been aware of Bolingbroke's correspondence with the same court, if not of the more cautious Oxford's. According to the same authority, however, a private meeting took place betwixt Oxford and Marlborough, at the house of Mr. Thomas Harley, to which Marlborough went in a sedan, and to the back-door; that this letter was shown to him, and that he quitted England immediately.

What if there should have been still further reasons for this expatriation? Marlborough, great general as he was, had all his life been a selfish and double-dealing man. He had made a princely fortune, and he wished to keep it under any change. He, therefore, continued to keep up a correspondence with the elector of Hanover and the pretender to the last, so that whichever came in he might stand well with him. He wrote to St. Germains, showing that though he had appeared to fight against the king of England, as he styled the pretender, it was not so. He had fought to reduce the power of France, which would be as much to the advantage of the king when he came to the throne, as it was to the present queen. He gave his advice to the pretender for his security and success. "The French king and his ministers," he says, "will sacrifice everything to their own views of peace. The earl of Oxford and his associates in office will probably insist upon the king's retiring to Italy; but he must never consent. He must neither yield to the French king, nor to the fallacious insinuations of the British ministry, on a point which must inevitably ruin his cause. To retire to Italy, by the living God, is the same thing as to stab himself to the heart. Let him take refuge in Germany, or in some country on this side of the Alps. He wants no security for his person; no one will touch a hair of his head. I perceive such a change in his favour, that I think it is impossible but that he must succeed. But when he shall succeed, let there be no retrospect towards the past. All that has been done since the Revolution must be confirmed." He added that queen Anne had no real aversion to her brother's interests, but that she must not be alarmed, as she was very timid.

Now, uneasy, humiliated, and unsafe at home, it is very obvious that, with these views, no place could be so likely to serve Marlborough's objects as an abode in the Netherlands. He was then in a country covered with his battle fields and his fame; he was most conveniently situated at Brussels or at Antwerp, where he finally located himself, for corresponding with and watching the movements of the rival claimants to the British throne, and would be ready to avail himself instantly of the ascendency of either. He did not return to England till Anne lay on her death-bed, nor to London till she was in her coffin.

At length it was announced in England that peace was signed with France at Utrecht, and it was laid before the council. Bolingbroke had made another journey to the continent to hasten the event, but it did not receive the adhesion of the emperor at last. Holland, Prussia, Portugal, and Savoy had signed, but the emperor, both as king of Austria and head of the empire, stood out, and he was to be allowed till the 1st of June to accept or finally reject participation in it. This conclusion had not been come to except after two years' negotiation, and the most obstinate resistance on the part of all the others except England. Even in the English cabinet it did not receive its ratification without some dissent. The lord Cholmondley refused to sign it, and was dismissed from his office of treasurer of the household.

On the 9th of April the queen opened parliament, though she was obliged to be carried thither and back in a chair in consequence of her corpulence and gout. She congratulated the country on this great event, declared her firm adherence to the protestant succession, advised them to take measures for reducing the scandalous licentiousness of the press, and to prevent duelling, in allusion to the tragic issue of that betwixt Hamilton and Mohun. She finally exhorted them to cultivate peace amongst themselves, to endeavour to allay party rage, and as to what forces should be necessary by land and the sea, she added, "Make yourselves safe, I shall be satisfied. Next to the protection of Divine Providence, I depend on the loyalty and affection of my people; I want no other guarantee."

On the 4th of May the proclamation of peace took place. It was exactly eleven years since the commencement of the war. The conditions finally arrived at were those which we have stated, except that it was concluded to confer Sicily on the duke of Savoy for his great services in the war; on the elector of Bavaria, as some equivalent for the loss of Bavaria itself, Sardinia, with the title of king; and that, should Philip of Spain leave no issue, the crown of Spain should also pass to him. We have fully expressed our opinion of the disgraceful motives which guided the ministry in making this peace, the equally disgraceful manner in which it was effected, and the advantages which were recklessly sacrificed in it. It was not that peace was made, but that it was made without regard to the national honour or the interests of Europe at large. In confirmation of our own opinions, we will here quote those of two of our most distinguished historians, lord Mahon, now earl Stanhope, and Mr. Hallam.

Lord Mahon says:—"To our enemies I would willingly leave the task of recounting the disgraceful transactions of that period. Let them relate the bedchamber influence of Mrs. Masham with her sovereign, and the treacherous cabals of Harley with his colleagues; by what unworthy means the great administration of Godolphin was sapped and overthrown; how his successors surrendered the public interests to serve their own; how subserviency to France became our leading principle of policy; how the Dutch were forsaken, and the Catalonians betrayed, until at length this career of wickedness and weakness received its consummation in the shameful peace of Utrecht. It used to be observed, several centuries ago, that, as the English always had the better of the French in battle, so the French always had the better in treaties; but here it was a sin against light—not the ignorance which is deluded, but the falsehood which deludes. We may admit that it might be expedient to depart from the strict letter of the grand alliance—to consent to some slight dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy—to purchase the resignation of Philip, or allow an equivalent for the elector of Bavaria by the cession of Sicily and Sardinia, or, perhaps, of Naples. So many hands had grasped at the royal mantle of Spain, that it could scarcely be otherwise than rent in the struggle. But how can the friends of Bolingbroke and Oxford possibly explain or excuse that they should offer far better terms at Utrecht in 1712 than the French had been willing to accept at Gertruydenberg in 1709? Or, if the dismissal of the duke of Marlborough had so far raised the spirits of our enemies and impaired the chances of the war, how is that dismissal itself to be defended?"

Hallam's remarks are equally cogent:—"That an English minister should have thrown himself into the arms of his enemy at the first overture of negotiation; that he should have renounced advantages on which he might have insisted; that he should have restored Lille, and almost attempted to procure the sacrifice of Tournay; that, throughout the whole correspondence, and in all personal interviews with De Torcy, he should have shown the triumphant queen of Great Britain more eager for peace than his vanquished adversary; that the two courts should have been virtually conspiring against those allies without whom we had bound ourselves to enter on no treaty; that we should have withdrawn our troops in the midst of a campaign, and even seized upon the towns of our confederates, while we left them exposed to be overwhelmed by a superior force; that we should have thus deceived those confederates by the most direct falsehood in denying our clandestine treaty, and then dictated to them its acceptance—are facts so disgraceful to Bolingbroke, and in somewhat a less degree to Oxford, that they can hardly be palliated by establishing the expediency of the treaty itself."

The treaty of peace, discreditable as it was, received the sanction of the parliament; not so the treaty of commerce. By this treaty it was provided that a free trade should be established according to the tariff of 1664, except as it related to certain commodities which were subjected to new regulations in 1669. This went to abolish all the restrictions on the importation of goods from France since that period, and that within two months a law should be passed that no higher duties should be levied on goods brought from France than on the like goods from any other country in Europe. Commissioners were appointed to meet in London to carry these propositions into effect; but there immediately appeared a violent opposition to these regulations, which were contained in the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce. It was declared that these articles violated the treaty of Methuen, according to which the duties on Portuguese wines were always to be lower by one-third than the duties on the French wines. Out of doors the merchants attacked the treaty in a paper started by Sir Charles Cooke, Sir Theodore Janson, and others, in which they contended that a free trade with France would be more serious to England than the fire of London had been; that if the wines of France were introduced on equal terms with those of Portugal, we should immediately lose the trade with Portugal for our woollen manufactures, by which we netted a sum of six hundred thousand pounds yearly. The French wines were far more to the taste of the English than the Portuguese; and such had been the longing for them during the war, that the English voluptuaries would, if they could have had their will, have made peace at any time with France in order to get them cheap and plentifully. The same opinions were loudly proclaimed in the house by the whig members, and by tories, too, connected with trade. On the side opposed to the treaty were Sir Nathaniel Gould, formerly governor of the bank of England, Mr. Lechmere, an eminent lawyer, Sir Peter King, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and general

Stanhope. They contended that since the revolution France had encouraged woollen manufactures, and prepared at home several commodities which they formerly depended on England for; that the English, on the other hand, had learned to make silk stuffs, paper, and all manner of toys, formerly imported from France, by which means an infinite number of hands were employed, and a vast sum annually saved to the nation; that all these artificers would be at once reduced to beggary by the influx of French articles of the same kind, which could be sold cheaper because labour was cheaper in France; that the silk manufacture would be attended with another injury; that our merchants vended in Turkey and Italy great quantities of woollen cloths in exchange for raw silk, which trade would be immediately lost if we could not take their silk. They declared that, had the English army been allowed to act honestly and vigorously with the allies till peace was made, the French dared not even to have asked for such a privilege, and we should have been far enough from granting it them.

On the other hand the tories, converted into advocates of free trade by their peculiar position, contended that the whigs ought to have made peace at Gertruydenberg when they could have had their own terms. Amongst the leaders on the side of free trade and the treaty were Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Arthur Moore, Sir George Newland, and Mr. Heysham—the two last, whigs. Arthur Moore was a wealthy and enlightened merchant, who by his industry and ability had raised himself from the rank of a footman. He it was who had suggested to Bolingbroke the principles of the treaty, far in advance of the time, though Bolingbroke, with his selfish ambition, for a time managed to get all the credit of it. Wyndham argued that it was a mere fallacy that England would lose the exportation of woollen cloths to Portugal by equalising the duties of French and Portuguese wines; that the Portuguese wanted the cloths, must have them, and could get them nowhere else; that it was optional for Portugal to sell her wines at a price to compete successfully with France in return for our corn and woollens. Spite of the vigorous opposition, leave was granted to bring in the bill by a majority of two hundred and fifty-two against one hundred and thirty.

This appeared very promising for the ministry; but on the 9th of June, when the house of commons went into committee on the bill, a great number of merchants desired to be heard against it. For several days their statements were heard, and the Portuguese ambassador also presented a memorial declaring that should the duties on French wines be lowered to those of Portugal, his master would renew the woollen and other duties on the products of Great Britain. This seemed to enforce the mercantile opinions; the sense of the whole country was against the treaty, and the speech of Sir Thomas Hanmer, a tory, made a deep impression. There was, however, a growing rumour, during the latter days of the debate, that Oxford had given the treaty up—a rumour probably not without foundation, for Oxford and Bolingbroke were no longer at unity. The latter, ambitious and unprincipled, was intriguing to oust his more slow and dilatory colleague; and, as the bill was ostensibly the work of Bolingbroke, probably Oxford was by no means unwilling that it should be thrown out and damage him. When the question, therefore, was put on the 18th of June, that the bill be engrossed, it was negatived by a majority of one hundred and ninety-four to one hundred and eighty-five. Thus the commercial treaty was lost, much to the joy of the nation, and certainly to its immediate benefit, for, although free trade principles are undoubtedly the most advantageous in the long run, there is no denying that these changes, suddenly introduced, would have produced ruinous effects for a time. Bishop Burnet's opinion that "if we had been as often beaten by the French as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard treaty," was no doubt the feeling of the majority of the nation. It was calculated by merchants that the balance against, or loss to, Great Britain annually from the treaty, would not have been less than a million and a half. This could not have adjusted itself but in a course of many years, and through much popular suffering, which, with the principles of reciprocity yet untried, was not likely to be tamely endured, especially as such advantages offered to France only increased the public disgust at the precipitate surrender of so many others in the general treaty.

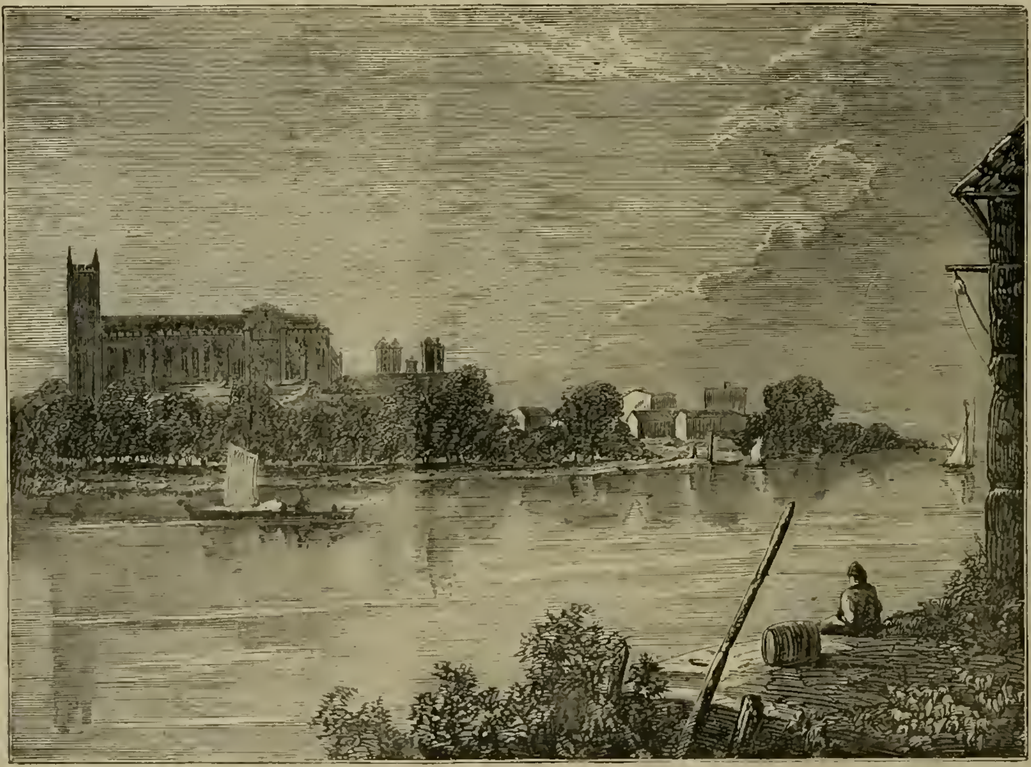
The defeated party, however, did not give up the idea of the treaty of commerce. Another bill was introduced to modify, or, as it was called, to render the commercial treaty more effectual; but such a host of petitions was presented against it, that it was abandoned. Sir Thomas Hanmer, however, proposed and carried an address to the queen, which was intended to cover in some degree the defeat of the ministers; and as he had got rid of the bill itself, he did not hesitate to move for what appeared inconsistent with his proceedings, namely, thanking her majesty for the care she had taken of the security and honour of the kingdom by the treaty of peace, and also by her anxiety for a treaty of commerce; and, further, recommending her to appoint commissioners to meet those of France, and endeavour to arrange such terms of commerce as should be for the good and welfare of her people. This was laid hold of, as was no doubt intended, in the queen's reply, which assumed this to be a declaration of a full approbation of the treaty of commerce as well as that of peace; and she thanked them in the warmest terms for their address.

Encouraged by their success against the commercial treaty, the whigs demanded that the pretender, according to the treaty of peace, should be requested to quit France. It had been proposed by the French court, and privately acceded to by Anne, that he should take up his residence at Bar-le-duc or Lorraine. The duke of Lorraine had taken care to inquire whether this would be agreeable to the queen, and was assured by her minister that it would be quite so. As his territory—though really a portion of France—was nominally an independent territory, it seemed to comply with the terms of the treaty; but the whigs knew that this was a weak point, and on the 29th of June, lord Wharton, without any previous notice, moved in the peers that the pretender should remove from the duke of Lorraine's dominions. The court party was completely taken by surprise, and there was an awkward pause. At length lord North ventured to suggest that such a request would show a distrust of her majesty, and he asked where was the pretender to retire to, seeing that most, if not all, the powers of Europe were on as friendly terms with the king as the duke of Lorraine. Lord Peterborough sarcastically remarked that as the pretender had begun his studies at Paris, he might very fitly go and finish them at Rome. No one, however, dared to oppose the motion, which was accordingly carried unanimously. On the 1st of July, only two days afterwards, general Stanhope made a similar motion in the house of commons, which was equally afraid to oppose it, seeing that the house was still under the triennial act, and this was its last session. The slightest expression in favour of the pretender would have to be answered on the hustings, and there was a long silence. Sir William Whitelock, however, was bold enough to throw out a significant remark, that he remembered the like address being formerly made to the protector to have king Charles Stuart removed out of France, "leaving to every member's mind to suggest how soon after he returned to the throne of England notwithstanding." The addresses carried up from both houses were received by the queen with an air of acquiescence, and promises to do her best to have the pretender removed. Prior, in Paris, was directed to make the wishes of the public known to the French government, but this was merely *pro formâ;* it was well understood that there was no real earnestness on the part of the English queen or ministry. Prior, writing to Bolingbroke, said that De Torcy asked him questions, which for the best reason in the world he did not answer; as, for instance, "how can we oblige a man to go from one place when we forbid all others to receive him?" In fact, the abbé Gualtier, in his private correspondence, assures us that Bolingbroke himself suggested to the duke of Lorraine the pretexts for eluding the very commands that he publicly sent him.

Another subject agitated parliament before its close nearly as much as the debate on the commercial treaty. The commons granted an aid of two shillings in the pound, and proposed to renew the malt duty for another year, and to extend it to Scotland. The Scotch members objected to this, that it was contrary to an article of the union; and, during the adjournment for the Whitsuntide holidays, the Scots of both houses, and of all parties, met to determine on their mode of action on the subject. They deputed the earl of Argyll, the earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburn, to lay their grievances before the queen. They represented to her majesty that their countrymen, already incensed by the violations of various articles of the union, would probably, should this bill be passed, determine on dissolving the union. The queen was alarmed at this menace, replied that they might have cause to repent so precipitate a resolve, but promised that she would endeavour to make all easy. On the 1st of June, however, the earl of Findlater, in the house of lords, declared that the Scotch found the union broken at the pleasure of the English; that even in the observance of it they were deprived of a privy council, were rendered incapable of being created British peers, and that as they were now to be oppressed with the malt tax—a war tax, when they were calculating on the blessings of peace—he therefore moved to bring in a bill to abolish the union. A violent debate ensued. Lord North declared the complaints of the Scots utterly groundless, the repeal of the union impossible, and made some contemptuous allusions to the poverty of that nation. Lord Eglinton retorted that it was because they were poor they could not bear the imposition of the malt tax. The earl of Peterborough contended that the union was like a marriage. That England was like the husband, Scotland the wife, but that because the husband was in some measure unkind, the lady ought not to seek a divorce, inasmuch as by the marriage she had greatly improved her fortune. He said the Scots wanted to have all the advantages of the union, and to pay nothing, though they had received more money than would have purchased all their estates. This called up the duke of Argyll in great anger; but amidst his wrath, he made the very pertinent observation that taxing malt in Scotland, where it fetched only one fourth of the price it did in England, was like taxing land in Scotland which would not fetch many shillings an acre at the same rate as land near London would fetch as many pounds. Faction, however, and not reason, was exerted on the occasion; and the monstrous sight was seen of the whigs now voting with Scots eagerly for the destruction of their own handiwork, the union, perhaps the noblest work they accomplished; and the tories were beheld as zealous, but not as disgracefully defending the very measure they had formerly done their utmost to prevent. The result was that the motion for the dissolution of the union was negatived, but not till the proxies were called in, when, there being thirteen in the affirmative and seventeen in the negative, the union was only preserved by a majority of four. The discussion, however, was not lost on the government. Bolingbroke, in a letter to the duke of Shrewsbury, confessed that it had caused the government to reflect that at once more firmness and more indulgence to Scotland were necessary. "We shall, I believe, grant on this motion a bill to make it high treason to attempt, by any overt act, the dissolution of the union. If after this we go on to show them all reasonable indulgence, and at the same time to show to them and to all mankind a firmness of resolution and a steadiness of conduct, good will have come out of evil, and we shall reap some benefit from this *contretemps.*"

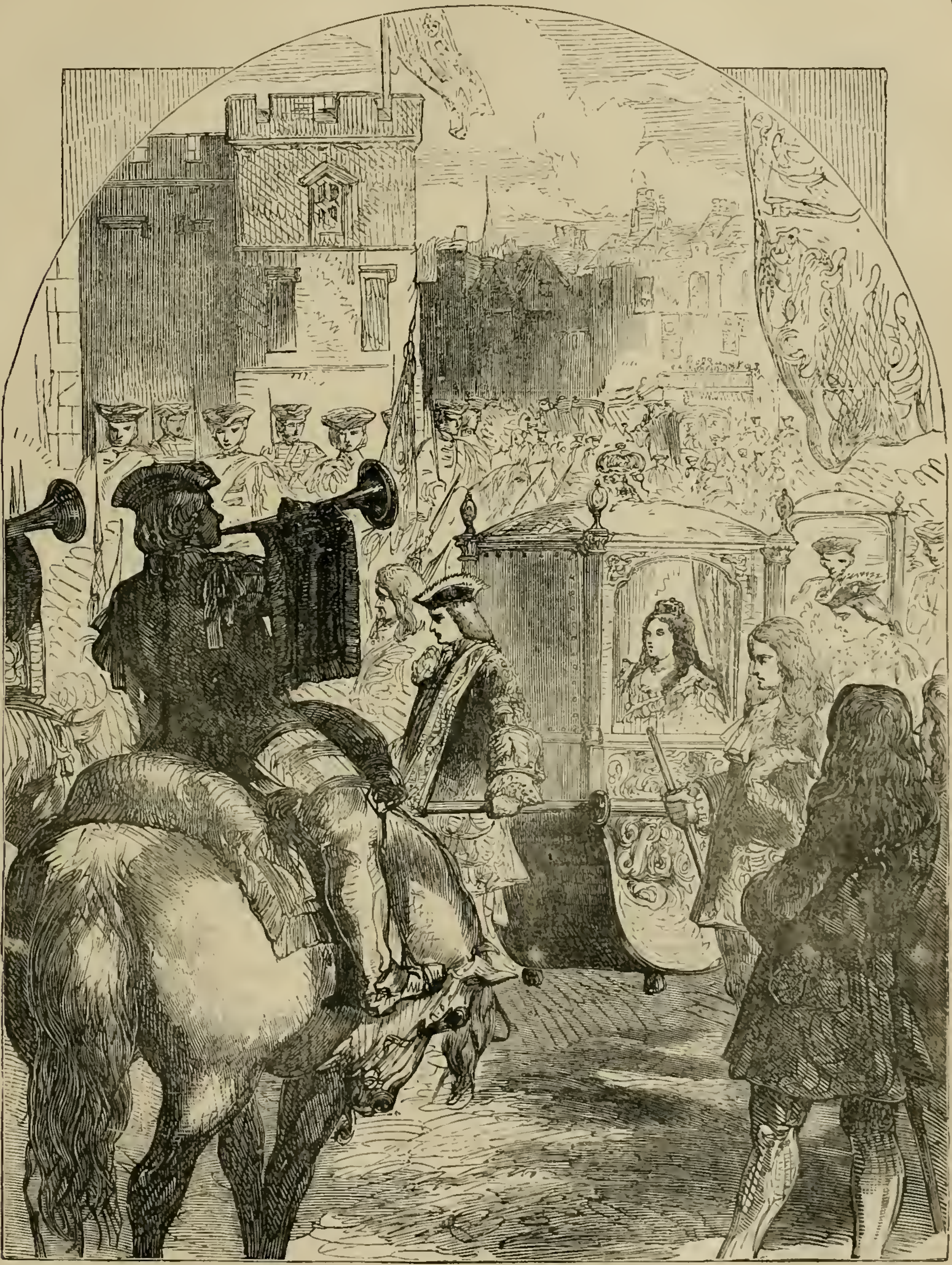
Anne prorogued parliament on the 16th of July in a speech, in which she congratulated herself on having conducted a long and bloody war, which she had inherited, and not occasioned. She trusted also that before the meeting of the next parliament the commercial interests of France and England would be better understood, so that there would be no longer any obstacle to a good commercial treaty. She said not a word regarding the pretender, so that it was felt by the whigs that she had followed the dictates of nature rather than of party in regard to him. On the 8th of August she dissolved parliament by proclamation, its triennial term having expired. Burnet says it had acquired the name of the pacific parliament; and here winds up his own history with the remark that "no assembly but one composed as this was, could have sate quiet under such a peace." There was every effort made, however, to impress on the constituencies the high merit of the parliament in making an *advantageous* and glorious peace, medals being cast for that purpose bearing the effigy of the queen and a Latin motto laudatory of peace. The chief negotiator of the peace, Robinson, bishop of Bristol, and lord privy seal, was advanced to the see of London, vacant by the death of the stout old militant bishop Compton, and Atterbury, the defender of Sacheverel, another strong tory divine, not to say strong Jacobite, was made bishop of Rochester in place of a poor poet and diligent time-server. Nor did Sacheverel himself go without his honour and reward. His term of three years' suspension had expired in March, and on the very first Sunday of his again taking possession of his pulpit at St. Saviour's, he preached a sermon from the text, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do;" in which he almost blasphemously drew a comparison betwixt his own sufferings and those of the Redeemer. There were great rejoicings on account of his restoration to his clerical functions; the house of commons appointed him to preach before them on the anniversary of the restoration, and the crown conferred on him the rich living of St. Andrew's, Holborn. Yet all the tory interest could not procure even a decent reception to the French ambassador, the duke D'Aumont, who now came over. He was insulted by the populace, scurrilous ballads in both French and English were published about him, and he received many threatening letters, informing him that if he did not withdraw himself, his house should be burnt over his head; and this base threat was actually carried into effect.

The magistrates of Dunkirk sent over a deputation praying the queen to spare the harbour and defences of Dunkirk, and representing that they would be just as useful to her as they had been to France; but their arguments were answered by Addison, Steele, and Mainwaring, commissioners were sent over to see the fortifications razed, and the port filled up, which was done. D'Aumont, the ambassador, quitted his uneasy post in England in November. Whilst, however, the queen had been firm in seeing the terms of the treaty observed, she had not hesitated to remonstrate with Louis on the barbarous severity shown by him to the protestants of his own kingdom, thousands of whom were languishing in prison, and other thousands enduring the worst of slavery in the galleys. At her urgent request a hundred and thirty-six of these wretched protestants of the Cevennes were liberated from the galleys, and afterwards, on her representation that she understood yet more were in a similar condition, there was another liberation; but after all thousands remained under the pitiless endurance of the bigoted cruelty of the much-lauded but monstrous sovereign.



WESTMINSTER FROM THE RIVER IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ANNE.

The elections were now carried on with all the fire and zeal of the two parties. The tories boasted of their successful efforts to stem the tide of expenditure for the war, to stanch the flow of blood, and restore all the blessings of peace. The whigs, on the contrary, made the most of their opposition to the treaty of commerce, which they represented as designed to sacrifice our trade to the insane regard now shown to the French. To show their interest in trade, they wore locks of wool in their hats, and the tories, to show their attachment to the restoration and the crown, wore green twigs of oak. Never was shown more completely the want of logical reason in the populace, for



QUEEN ANNE'S LAST PROGRESS TO THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

whilst they were declaring their zeal for the protestant succession, and whilst burning in effigy on the 18th of November, queen Bess's day, the pope, the devil, and the pretender, they sent up a powerful majority of the men who were by no means secretly growing more and more favourable to the pretender's return. Never, indeed, had the chances of his restoration appeared so great. General Stanhope, on the close of the elections, told the Hanoverian minister that the majority was against them, and that if things continued ever so short a time on the present footing, the elector would not come to the crown unless he came with an army.

In the Macpherson and Lockhart papers we have now the fullest evidence of what was going on to this end. The agents of both Hanover and St. Germains were active, but those of Hanover were depressed, those of St Germains never in such hope. The Jesuit Plunkett wrote, "The changes go on by degrees to the king's advantage, none but his friends advanced or employed in order to serve the great project. Bolingbroke and Oxford do not set their horses together, because Oxford is so dilatory, and dozes over things, which is the occasion there are so many whigs chosen this parliament. Though there are four tories to one, they think it little. The ministry must now swim or sink with France."

In fact, Oxford's over caution, and his laziness, at the same time that he was impatient to allow any power out of his own hands, and yet did not exert it when he had it, had disgusted the tories, and favoured the ambitious views which Bolingbroke was cherishing. He had now managed to win over the confidence of lady Masham from the lord treasurer to himself; and, aware that he had made a mortal enemy of the elector of Hanover by his conduct in compelling a peace and deserting the allies, he determined to make a bold effort to bring in the pretender on the queen's decease, which every one, from the nature of her complaint, felt could not be far off. To such a pitch of openness was the dislike of the queen carried, that she seemed to take a pleasure in speaking in the most derogatory terms of both the old electress Sophia and her son. Oxford's close and mysterious conduct disgusted the agents of Hanover, without assuring those of the pretender, and threw the advantage with the latter party more and more into the hands of Bolingbroke. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian agent, wrote home that he could make nothing of Oxford, but that there was a design against his master; and when lord Newcastle observed to the agent of the pretender that, the queen's life being so precarious, it would be good policy in Harley to strike up with the king, and make a good bargain, the agent replied, "If the king were master of his three kingdoms to-morrow, he would not be able to do for Mr. Harley what the elector of Hanover had done for him already." Thus Oxford's closeness made him suspected of being secured by the elector at the very moment that the elector deemed that he was leaning towards the pretender.

Meantime the changes made in the government offices betrayed the rising influence of Bolingbroke. The duke of Shrewsbury was made lord lieutenant of Ireland; the duke of Ormonde, a noted Jacobite, was appointed warden of the Cinque Ports and governor of Dover Castle, as if for the avowed purpose of facilitating the landing of the pretender; lord Lansdowne was made treasurer of the household; lord Dartmouth, privy seal; Mr. Bromley, the tory leader of the commons, joint secretary with Bolingbroke; Benson, chancellor of the exchequer, was created lord Bingley, and sent as ambassador to Spain; and Sir William Wyndham, till now a friend of Bolingbroke's, succeeded Benson as chancellor. Thus Bolingbroke was surrounded by his friends in office, and became more daring in his rivalry with Oxford and in his schemes to supplant the house of Hanover and introduce the pretender.

Whilst the English court was distracted by these dissensions, the emperor was endeavouring to carry on the war against France by himself. He trusted that the death of queen Anne would throw out the tories, and that the whigs coming in would again support his claims, or that the death of Louis himself might produce a change as favourable to him in France, he trusted to the military genius of prince Eugene to at least enable him to maintain the war till some such change took place. But he was deceived. The French, having him alone to deal with, made very light of it. They knew that he could neither bring into the field soldiers enough to cope with their arms, or find the means of maintaining them. They soon overpowered Eugene on the Rhine by numbers, and reduced Landau and Friburg. He was glad to make peace, and Eugene and Villars met at Rastadt to concert terms. They did not succeed, and separated till February, but met again at the latter end of the month, and, on the 3rd of March, the treaty was signed. By this treaty the emperor retained Friburg, old Brisac, Kehl, and the forts in the Breisgau and Black Forest; but the king of France kept Landau, Strasburg, and all Alsace. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne were readmitted to their territories and dignities as princes of the empire. The emperor was put in possession of the Spanish Netherlands, and the king of Prussia was permitted to retain the high quarters of Guelders.

The peace with Spain was also ratified in London on the 1st of March. By this, Spain, so far as diplomatic contracts could effect it, was for ever separated from France. Philip acknowledged the protestant succession, and renounced the pretender. He confirmed the detestable Assiento, or exclusive privilege of the English supplying the Spanish West Indies and South American colonies with slaves, one-fourth of the profit of which the queen reserved to herself—a strange proof of the little idea of the infamy of this traffic which prevailed then in England, whilst so truly benevolent a woman could calmly appropriate money so earned to her own use. Gibraltar and Minorca were also confirmed to England, on condition that the Spanish inhabitants should enjoy their own property and their religion. There was a guarantee given by Philip for the pardon and security of Catalans. They were to be left in possession of their lives, estates, and honours, with certain exceptions, and even these were at liberty to quit the country and remove to Italy with their effects. But the Catalans, who had taken up arms for Charles of Austria at our suggestion, were greatly incensed at the dishonourable manner in which we had abandoned them and the cause, and, putting no faith in the word of Philip, they still remained in arms, and soon found themselves overrun with French troops, which deluged the country with blood, and compelled them to submit. Amid all the disgraceful circumstances which attended the peace of Utrecht, none reflected more infamy on England than its treatment of the people of Catalonia.

During these transactions the activity of the pretender and his agents was encouraged by the growing influence of Bolingbroke in the English court. Bolingbroke proposed to Oxford that they should pay the dowry of the pretender's mother, the widow of James II.; but to this Oxford objected, saying, that the widow of James had not contented herself with the title of queen-dowager of England, but had assumed that of queen-mother, which, observed Oxford, could not be lawfully admitted after the attainder of her son. This strengthened the hands of Bolingbroke with lady Masham, who was violently in favour of the pretender, which was the same as doing it with the queen. Lady Masham's disgust with Oxford was wonderfully increased. In writing to Mesnager she did not hesitate to say that, if the court of St. Germains trusted to Oxford, they would be deceived; that he was famous for loving a secret, and making intricacies where there needed none, and no less renowned for causing everything of such a nature to miscarry. The pretender, having every day increased encouragement from lady Masham and Bolingbroke, demanded of the emperor of Germany one of his nieces in marriage, and it was reported that the emperor was agreeable to it, and ready to espouse his cause. It was well known that distinct propositions had been made to the pretender through the duke of Berwick, at the instance of lady Masham, before her breach with Oxford, by which his restoration on the demise of Anne was agreed to on condition that he should guarantee the security of the church and constitution of England, and that not even his mother should be admitted to the knowledge of this agreement. At the last point, however, Oxford failed to conclude this secret treaty. The duke of Berwick, in his memoirs, says that, in consequence of this conduct of Oxford's, the friends of the pretender turned their attention to other parties about the court—to lord Ormonde, the duke of Buckingham, and many other persons. Buckingham—who was married to the lady Catherine Darnley, a daughter of James II. by Catherine Sedley, and was, therefore, brother-in-law to the pretender—wrote the earl of Middleton, the pretender's minister, how earnestly he desired to see the king back on the English throne; that nothing but his religion stood in the way; that this was the only thing which prevented the queen acknowledging him; and he strongly urged him to follow the example of Henry IV. of France, who gave up the protestant religion when he saw that he could not securely hold the crown without doing so. But the pretender was, much to his credit—being firmly persuaded of the truth of his religion—much too honest to renounce it, even for the crown of such a kingdom as Great Britain; and he argued that the English people ought to see in his sincerity a guarantee for his faithful dealing with them in all other matters. But, unfortunately, the example of his father had barred the way to any such plea. No man was more positive in the adherence to his religion, or in his sacrifices on its account; but no man had at the same time so thoroughly demonstrated that he had no such honourable feeling as to breaking his word where any political matter was concerned.

In the midst of these secret correspondences the queen was seized at Windsor with a serious illness, and considering the general state of her health, it was most threatening. The hopes of the Jacobites rose wonderfully; the funds went rapidly down; there was a great run upon the bank, and the directors were filled with consternation by a report of an armament being ready in the ports of France to bring over the pretender at the first news of the queen's decease. They sent to the lord treasurer to inform him of the danger which menaced the public credit. The whole of London was in excitement, from a report that the queen was actually dead. The whigs did not conceal their joy, but were hurrying to and fro, and meeting in large numbers at the earl of Wharton's. The lord treasurer, to keep down the public alarm, remained in town, and contented himself with sending expresses to obtain constant news of the queen's state, for his hurrying to Windsor would have had an inconceivable effect. He, therefore, let himself be seen publicly where he could be questioned regarding the condition of the queen, and gave assurances that she was better. To allay the public panic, Anne was induced to sign a letter prepared for her, announcing to Sir Samuel Stancer, the lord mayor, that she was now recovering, and would be in town and open parliament on the 16th of February. This news being confirmed, those who had been too hasty in pulling off their masks, found some awkwardness in fitting them on again. The press was active. Steele published a pamphlet called the "Crisis," in advocacy of the revolution, and on the danger of a popish succession, whilst on the other hand came out a reply, supposed to be written by Swift, not without a few touches from Bolingbroke; it was styled, "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," and was distinguished by all the savage sarcasm and scurrility of the authors. The Scotch peers were shamefully attacked in it. The queen's recovery, and the perception that the French armament was a fiction, quieted the storm and again restored the funds.

The parliament was punctually opened on the 16th of February, 1714, by the queen, as she had promised at Windsor, though she was obliged to be carried there; for during this autumn she had been obliged, by her gout and obesity, to be raised into her chamber by pullies, and so let down again, like Henry VIII. After congratulating the two houses on the peace with Spain, she turned to the subject of the press, and the rumours spread by it regarding the danger of the protestant succession. "I wish," she said, "that effectual care had been taken, as I have often desired, to suppress those seditious papers and factious rumours, by which designing men have been able to sink credit, and the innocent have suffered. There are some also arrived to that pitch of malice, as to insinuate that the protestant succession in the house of Hanover is in danger under my government. Those who go about thus to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, can only mean to disturb the present tranquillity, and to bring real mischief upon us. After all I have done to secure our religion and your liberties, and to transmit both safe to posterity, I cannot mention these proceedings without some degree of warmth; and I must hope that you all agree with me, that attempts to weaken my authority, or to render the possession of my crown uneasy to me, can never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession."

Bolingbroke had been active enough in prosecuting the press because it was dangerous to the designs which he was cherishing, notwithstanding the affected warmth which he and Oxford had put into the queen's mouth. They had taxed the penny sheets and pamphlets which agitated these questions; but this, according to Swift, had only done their own side mischief. The additional halfpenny had discouraged the tory publications, but not the whig; "a proof," says lord John Russell in his "History of Europe," "of the superior wealth, popularity, or wit of the opposition." Bolingbroke had, further, arrested eleven printers and publishers in one day. But now the war was opened in parliament, lord Wharton in the house of peers called for the prosecution of "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," and the printer and publisher were brought to the bar. These were John Morphew, the publisher, and one John Bache, the printer. But lord Wharton, who was aiming at higher quarry, said, "We have nothing to do with the printer and publisher, but it highly concerns the honour of this august assembly to find out the villain who is the author of that false and scandalous libel, that justice may be done to the Scottish nation." Oxford denied all knowledge of the author, yet, on retiring from the debate, he inclosed one hundred pounds to Swift, and promised to do more. Lord Wharton then turned upon the printer, whom he had first affected to disregard, and demanded that he should be closely examined; but the next day the earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state, declared that her majesty had ordered his prosecution. This was to screen him from the parliamentary inquiry. On this, the next day, the Scottish peers, headed by the duke of Argyll, presented an address to the queen demanding satisfaction, and, in compliance with their request, a reward of three hundred pounds was offered for the discovery of the author.

Here the matter dropped, for Swift was too well screened by his patrons, who had lately rewarded him by church preferment, but not to the extent to which they wished. They requested the queen to confer on him the vacant see of Hereford, and it was only his own malicious deeds which prevented his receiving it. The queen expressed her compliance; but the moment was now come when the maligned duchess of Somerset was to take vengeance for his infamous libel on her, called "The Windsor Prophecy," in which he did more than ridicule her red hair—he accused her of murdering her husband. The queen, on consulting the archbishop of York as to nominating Swift to Hereford, that prelate, duly primed by the duchess, startled Anne by asking whether her majesty had not better ascertain whether

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Dr. Swift was a Christian before she made him a bishop? The queen, in alarm, demanded what he meant; and the archbishop pulled out Swift's "Tale of a Tub," and pointed out the coarse and ribald attacks which the author had made on all forms of religion, not sparing the church to which he belonged. The queen read these profane gibes with horror; and the hope of a mitre vanished for ever from the polemic divine. When the duchess saw the effect, she clenched it by stepping forward, and, falling on her knees, presented to her the "Windsor Prophecy," imploring her royal mistress "not to prefer to the sacred office of a bishop of souls a man capable of disseminating such false witness against an innocent lady." The affair was decided. Lady Masham, who was present, hurried to Swift with the recital of all that had passed, and he poured out his venomous revenge in fresh calumnies in vain. Yet, after all, though disappointed in making their libellous scribe a bishop, Oxford and Bolingbroke succeeded in procuring for him the deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, to which the queen, though he was no Christian in her opinion, was willing to banish him.

The attempt of the whigs in the lords to unearth the new vituperative dean, though it had failed, stimulated the tories in the commons to retaliation. Richard Steele, author of the "Tatler," an eloquent and able writer, had not sought to screen himself from the responsibility of the honest truths in the "Crisis," as Swift had screened himself from the consequences of his untruths, and a whole host of tories assailed him in the commons, of which he was a member. Amongst these were Thomas Harley, the brother of Oxford, Foley, the auditor, a relative of Oxford's, and Sir William Wyndham, the chancellor of the exchequer. They flattered themselves with an easy triumph over him, for Steele, though popular as a writer, was new to the house of commons, and had broken down in his first essay at speaking there; but he now astonished them by the vigour, wit, and sarcasm of his defence. He was ably supported, too, by Robert Walpole, who had again obtained a seat in this new parliament. He asked why the author was answerable in parliament for a book written in his private capacity? If he were amenable to the law, why was he not left to the law? Why was parliament, which used to be the scourge of evil ministers, now converted into a scourge for the subject? "From what fatality," he said, "does it arise, that what is written in favour of the protestant succession, and what was countenanced by the late ministry, is deemed a libel by the present administration? General invectives in the pulpit against any particular sin have never been deemed a reflection on individuals, unless the darling sin of those individuals happens to be the vice against which the preacher inveighs. It becomes then a fair inference, from the irritability and resentment of the present administration against its defender, that their darling sin is to obstruct and prevent the protestant succession."

These were hard blows, and they were followed up by lord Finch, son of the tory lord Nottingham, from gratitude to Steele, who had defended the reputation of his sister, lady Charlotte Finch, in the "Guardian." Lord Finch justified Steele's abuse of the peace of Utrecht. "We may," he said, speaking of that peace, "if we please, give it fine epithets, but epithets do not change the nature of things. We may, if we please, call it honourable, but I am sure it is accounted scandalous in Holland, Germany, Portugal, and over all Europe, except France and Spain. We may call it advantageous, but all the trading part of the nation find it to be otherwise; and if it be really advantageous, it must be so to the ministry that made it." Sir William Wyndham denied that it was advantageous to ministers. "Then," retorted Finch, "it is plain that it is advantageous to no one but our late enemies." Nothing, however, could shield Steele, as Swift's being anonymous had shielded him. Steele was pronounced by the votes of a majority of two hundred and forty-five to one hundred and fifty-two, to be guilty of a scandalous libel, and was expelled the house. During the debate Addison had sate by the side of Steele, and, though he was no orator to champion him in person, had suggested continual telling arguments.

The war of faction still went on furiously. In the lords there was a violent debate on an address recommended by Wharton, Cowper, Halifax, and others, on the old subject of removing the pretender from Lorraine; and they went so far as to recommend that a reward should be offered to any person who should bring the pretender, dead or alive, to her majesty. This was so atrocious, considering the relation of the pretender to the queen, that it was negatived, and another clause, substituting a reward for bringing him to justice should he attempt to land in Great Britain or Ireland. Though in the commons as well as in the lords it was decided that the protestant succession was in no danger, an address insisting on the removal of the pretender from Lorraine was carried. Anne received these addresses in anything but a gratified humour. She observed in reply, that "it really would be a strengthening to the succession of the house of Hanover if an end were put to these groundless fears and jealousies which had been so industriously promoted. I do not," she said, "at this time see any necessity for such a proclamation. Whenever I judge it necessary, I shall give my orders to have it issued."

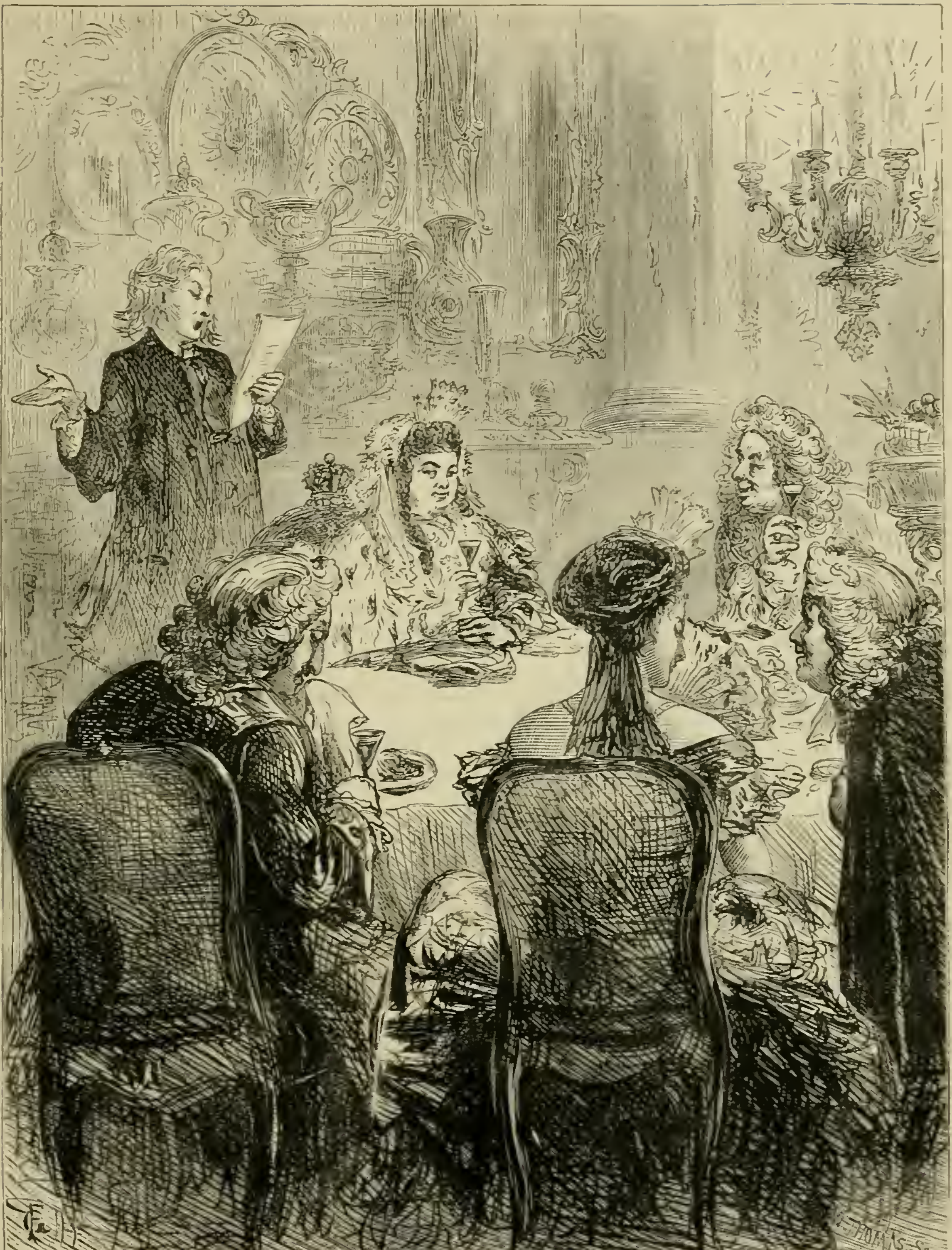
The whigs were as active to bring over the electoral prince of Hanover as they were to drive the pretender farther off. With the prince in England, a great party would be gathered about him; and all those who did not pay court to him and promote the interests of his house would be marked men in the next reign. Nothing could be more hateful than such a movement to both the queen and her ministers. Anne had a perfect horror of the house of Hanover; and of the ministers, Bolingbroke, at least, was staking his whole future on paving the way of the pretender to the throne. When the whigs, therefore, instigated baron Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, to apply to the lord chancellor Harcourt for a writ of summons for the electoral prince, who had been created a British peer by the title of the duke of Cambridge, the chancellor was thrown into the greatest embarrassment. He pleaded that he must first consult the queen, who, on her part, was seized with equal consternation. The court was equally afraid of granting the writ and of refusing it. If it granted it, the prince would soon be in England, and the queen would see her courtiers running to salute the rising sun; the Jacobites, with Bolingbroke at their head, would commit suicide on their own plans now in active agitation for bringing in the pretender. If they refused it, it would rouse the whole whig party, and the cry would spread like lightning through the nation that the protestant succession was betrayed. Schutz was consulted by the leading whigs, Devonshire, Somerset, Nottingham, Somers, Argyll, Cowper, Halifax, Wharton, and Townshend, to press the chancellor for the writ. He did so, and was answered that the writ was ready sealed, and was lying for him whenever he chose to call for it; but at the same time he was informed that her majesty was greatly incensed at the *manner* in which the writ had been asked for; that she conceived that it should have first been mentioned to her, and that she would have given the necessary orders. But every one knew that it was not the *manner*, but the fact of desiring the delivery of the writ which was the offence.

The earl of Oxford—who had enough to do to support himself against the united influence of Bolingbroke and lady Masham, both of them bent on bringing in the pretender, and therefore of getting Oxford out—wrote to the court of Hanover, making the most solemn assurances of his zeal for the house of Hanover, reminding the elector that he had the chief hand in settling the succession in that line, and should continue firm to it to the last; that the queen had given to both the house of Hanover and to the English nation such repeated proofs of her attachment to the protestant succession, that the nation wholly relied upon it. And he then went on to assert what he knew was most false—that lady Masham was as entirely for their succession as he was. As for Oxford himself, it was known that he was constantly vacillating from one side to the other. He was for the strongest side if he could know which it was, and would at this moment, no doubt, have joined the whigs and Hanoverian tories—a section of the tories which had long been for that house—but that he was aware that Bolingbroke and lady Masham could immediately bring to light his correspondence and tamperings with the court of St. Germains. He could not go completely over to the pretender's cause like Bolingbroke, because he had not the courage and decision, and because he knew that now Bolingbroke and lady Masham had far outbid him. He was, therefore, compelled to play a shuffling game to hold office as long as he could cling to it, and watch for some lucky opportunity to extricate himself, if possible, from the miserable and degrading dilemma into which his want of high principle or ordinary courage had led him. But as for lady Masham, whom he now represented to be so stanch for the house of Hanover, in order to allay the fears of that house, he knew that she was out and out for the pretender, and deep in all Bolingbroke's plans.

Schutz, encouraged by the whigs, still pressed for the writ, but did not obtain it till after several days of shuffling and hiding by the lord chancellor. Meantime, it was resolved to send lord Paget to Hanover, to remove from that court any jealousies created by the evident reluctance to grant the writ, and at the same time to represent the impolicy of the electoral prince coming to England under the present excitement of party. Oxford declared in his letters that he wished, least of all things, to see the prince only the prince of a party in England, and that he was sure that any kindness shown by the electoral house in sparing the queen's feelings, which were agitated by the violent contentions, would have the greatest effect in binding her to their cause—as if the cause of the succession at this time depended in any degree on the favour or disfavour of the queen, and not on the most solemn acts of parliament, and the strong protestant feeling of the nation.

To make all sure, Oxford had already hastened his brother Thomas Harley over to Hanover, and he now instructed him to use all his influence in preventing the coming over of the prince. But Schutz wrote as strongly, warning the court to be on their guard against Harley, and by all means to send the prince over, as that was the only thing, according to the whole whig party, which could secure the house of Hanover against the designs of the pretender's friends. Lord Townshend also wrote in confirmation of Schutz's advice. He congratulated the court of Hanover on having ordered Schutz to take bolder and more active measures; that their friends in England had thought them too easy in their policy, and thus allowed the pretender's partisans too great advantages; that their show of activity had encouraged their own friends, and had been unmistakably well received by the public. "Monsieur Schutz," he says, "will acquaint you with the consternation our ministers were under upon this occasion, and the fright the chancellor was in lest it should be thought *he* had denied the writ. They were so sensible that this step, if it be followed by the immediate coming of the prince, will so effectually ruin their designs, and tend so directly to the securing the succession from all future danger, that you may depend upon their making use of all arts and contrivances imaginable to prevent his coming. Neither threats nor flattery will be spared. They are so intent and so bent upon prevailing with you to stop the prince, that they will not rely upon Mr. Harley's dexterity, but have determined to send you my lord Paget. You must, therefore, be prepared to be very vigorously attacked by way of message. They see the spirit of the people here seems so high in your favour, that they have no hopes of bringing either them or parliament up to anything that may discourage the prince's coming. They are, therefore, forced to turn all their views towards you, and are reduced to the miserable necessity of trying whether they can persuade your court to betray itself."

But every engine of the English court was put in motion to prevent the coming of the electoral prince. Oxford had an interview with Schutz, in which he repeated that it was his making the application for the writ to the chancellor instead of the queen that had done all the mischief; that her majesty, had it not been for this untoward incident, would have invited the prince to come over and spend the summer in England—forgetting, as Schutz observed, that the minute before he had assured him that the queen was too much afraid of seeing any of that family here. He advised Schutz—who could not be convinced that he had done anything irregular in his application, quoting numerous proofs to show that it was the accustomed mode of applying for writs—to avoid appearing again at court; but Schutz, not appearing disposed to follow that advice, immediately received a positive order to the same effect from the queen through another channel. Schutz, therefore, lost no time in



QUEEN ANNE AND THE BALLAD-WRITER.

returning to Hanover to justify himself. At the same time lord Strafford was instructed to write from the Hague, blaming the conduct of Schutz in applying for the writ in the manner he did, as disrespectful to the queen; for, though strictly legal for an absent peer to make such application, the etiquette was that he should defer it till he could do it personally. Strafford ridiculed the idea of any movement being afoot in favour of the pretender, and observed that, as to sending him out of the duke of Lorraine's territory, it was not practicable, because the French king maintained that he had fulfilled the treaty, Lorraine not being any part of France. On the other hand, there were striking signs that the cause of Hanover was in the ascendant. Men who watched the course of events decided accordingly. Marlborough, who so lately had been making court to the pretender, now wrote from Antwerp, urging the house of Hanover to send over the prince without delay to England; that the state of the queen's health made prompt action necessary; and that the presence of the prince in London would secure the succession without risk, without expense, and without war, and was the likeliest measure of inducing France to abandon her design of assisting the pretender. Lord Townshend announced that many tories were coming over, in expectation that the prince was about to arrive, and that not only the lord treasurer, but both parties would be obliged to pay court to him. Many other whigs wrote in the same tone, and amongst them the archbishop of York sent the warmest expressions of attachment. As if some intimations of the archbishop's correspondence had got wind, the queen sent for him a few days after he had sent off his letter, and made the strongest protestations of her attachment to the protestant succession, both from conscience and affection for the church. But Kreyenburg, the Hanoverian secretary, who had remained after the departure of Schutz, informed his court that the archbishop was by no means convinced, seeing much around him to the contrary.

The real fact was, that exertions equally strenuous were all this time being made on the part of the pretender. As the state of Anne's health became more and more precarious, both parties increased their efforts to secure their ground, and there was a most active and incessant struggle going on round the throne to enable the head of either party to step into it the moment it became vacant. It was considered essential for the claimant to be on the spot, and, therefore, every means was used to induce the queen to admit the pretender as well as a member of the electoral house to court. Yes, it was seriously agitated to obtain her consent to the coming over of the pretender. It was a scheme of the duke of Berwick, which he communicated to Oxford through the abbé Gualtier, that the queen should be induced to consent to do her brother justice; that he should go to St. James's, and that on the understanding that he consented to allow liberty of the subject and of religion, the queen should pass such acts as were necessary for the public security on these heads, and then should suddenly introduce him in full parliament, saying, "My lords and gentlemen, here is the true prince, ready to promise you himself religiously to keep all I have engaged for him, and to swear to the observance of it. I require you, therefore, instantly to repeal all the acts passed against him, and acknowledge him immediately as my heir and your future sovereign, that he may owe you some good will for your concurrence with me in that which your conscience, your duty, and your honour should already have prompted you to."

"An unexpected step of this sort," argued the brave but romantic Berwick, "would have so astonished the factious and delighted the well-affected, that there would not certainly have been the least opposition. There is no reason to doubt but that everything would have been immediately executed agreeably to the queen's command; for no person would have doubted but that the queen had taken her measures in anxious obedience; so that on one hand the fear of punishment, and on the other the hope of taking advantage of a new change, would have determined the parliament immediately to restore all things to their natural order, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom."

It is certain that a bold scheme of this kind, combined with all the other necessary arrangements, would have greatly startled the whig party, and might for a time have been successful. If the pretender had had a powerful armament ready in the ports of France; if the Highlands had been well prepared to make a descent on England, and the Jacobites and tories duly instructed to surround and support the pretender on his thus revealing himself in the very midst of London and of parliament, sanctioned by the queen, the consequences might have been extraordinary. But, had all these matters been perfectly arranged, there were a thousand chances against their being matured before their full detection took place. The whigs were a party powerful and alert; the highlands had been tested; the duke of Breadalbane had been sent down to Scotland, and it was spread through the hills that the pretender would be there before the end of May; and one Mackintosh, of Borlum, had been sent over from Bar-le-duc with a great number of commissions from the pretender. But it does not appear that these things had produced much sensation in the highlands. It would have been necessary for the chevalier to have gone thither in person to call forth the necessary enthusiasm of the Gaels, and that would not agree with his sudden appearance in London. Had he really made this startling appearance there, though this apparition might have paralysed the whigs for a moment, it would not have required long to enable them to recover themselves and prepare for resistance, at the same time that the Hanoverian tories would have been sure to join with them. A short civil war could have been the only result, ending in one more expulsion of the Stuart, in whose assurances of freedom and religious toleration the nation at large had no faith.

But there was another circumstance taken for granted in such a scheme which would never have been realised—the consent of the queen. Anne, like most other sovereigns, abhorred the idea of a successor. She never liked the contemplation of the occupation of her throne after death, much less did she relish the presence of a competitor during her lifetime. In her days of disease and weakness she had enough to do to manage her ministry, much less to encounter a prospect of divided authority either from Hanover or St. Germains. She would not admit a single member of the electoral house to her metropolis, much less one who must be regarded by his own party as the rightful king, and she as the usurper.

There is no doubt that Anne was well convinced that the pretender was her own brother; that she was tormented in her mind, as her latter days drew on, with the reflection that she had joined in the base scheme of branding his birth as spurious, and was occupying the throne which was his proper claim so far as hereditary right was concerned. And although the nation had determined against hereditary right, and had justly excluded his father and himself from the throne on account of their adhesion to a faith which was hostile to the best interests of the country, yet Anne, surrounded by those who were zealously endeavouring to bring in this brother again, was haunted with secret remorse and pangs of conscience for what she only regarded as her usurpation. She would, in fact, have gladly given her consent to his being her successor could she have prevailed on him to become protestant; but, as she failed in this endeavour, it was not likely that she would ever be persuaded to adopt Berwick's chimerical scheme. She would not adopt it, because she was as firmly attached to the English church as her brother was to the Roman; and she would not adopt it, even had he consented to proselytise, for the reason stated—because she loved her power, and would not risk it for any consideration whilst she retained a spark of existence.

There was still another obstacle—the unsatisfactory conduct of Oxford, who had professed great zeal for the pretender till he got the peace of Utrecht signed, because this secured him the vote of the Jacobites, but who since then had trifled with them, and never could be brought to any positive decision. Berwick had sent over the abbé Gualtier to endeavour to bring Oxford to a point. Gualtier soon informed his employer that Oxford was actively corresponding with the house of Hanover, and, therefore, Berwick and De Torcy wrote a joint letter to him, putting the plain question, what measures he had taken to secure the interests of the pretender in case of the death of the queen, which no one could now suppose to be far off. Oxford, with unwonted candour this time, replied that, if the queen died soon, the affairs of the prince and of the cabinet too were ruined without resource. This satisfied them that he had never really been in earnest in the pretender's cause, or he would long ago have taken measures for his advantage, or would have told them that he found it impossible. They determined, therefore, to throw the interests of the Jacobites into the party of Bolingbroke, and this was another step in Oxford's fall. They managed to set lady Masham warmly against him, and this undermined him more than ever with the queen.

Berwick wrote to many of the Jacobites, and amongst them to Ormonde, telling them that now was the time to bestir themselves; that as the queen could not last long, they ought to be prepared with their measures; that it was necessary to awake from their lethargy, and not be taken by surprise; for if the queen died before they were ready, all was lost for ever; that their own interests were identical with those of the pretender; that there was no longer time for hesitation; they must choose betwixt his restoration and their own ruin. The pretender himself was all activity, for he was watched both from London and Hanover. In May he was at Plombières, drinking the waters; but on the 1st of June, being informed that the electoral prince was about to embark for England, he suddenly returned to Bar-le-duc. It was reported by the secret agents that the duke of Berwick was there incognito, and that something of great interest was evidently in agitation. What it was, however, was kept profoundly secret; but there were whispers of the pretender's speedy departure with his immediate followers.

The scene grew every day more busy as the queen became more obviously failing. Harley, at Hanover, was plying the elector and his family with reasons why the prince ought not to go to England. The elector himself appeared quite of the same opinion, but not so the electress or her son. The electress, who was now nearly eighty-four, and who was undoubtedly a woman of a very superior character, still had that trace of earthly ambition in her, that she used frequently to say she should die contented if she could only once for a little while feel the crown of England on her head. She was the youngest daughter of Elizabeth of Bohemia, who had ruined her husband by a similar longing after a far less resplendent diadem. When pressed by Harley, the electress and her son presented him with a memorial, which he was desired to forward to the queen. In this they announced, on the good authority of their own agent, that the pretender was preparing an expedition to land in Scotland, where he was expected, calculating on the great deficiency of troops in Great Britian. Under these circumstances they represented the necessity of a member of the electoral family residing in England to give encouragement to the friends of the protestant religion, and that a pension and establishment should be granted by parliament as the nearest heir to the crown; that whilst the nation had been burdened with a war, their electoral highnesses had refrained from putting forward their natural claims, but that, as peace was now happily restored, they trusted that her majesty would order during this session of parliament a provision so just and customary, which was, indeed, but the legitimate consequence of all that she had already done for them. They concluded by requesting that her majesty would be pleased to grant the usual titles of the princes of the blood to such of the electoral family as had not yet received them.

The arrival of this memorial threw Anne into great agitation, and an aggravation of her complaints. She seems to have renewed her favour towards Oxford, as more influential with the Hanover family; and Cadogan wrote to the court of Hanover, as well as its own secretary, Galke, that Oxford now boasted that he could turn out Bolingbroke; and the lord treasurer's adherents did not hesitate to talk of Bolingbroke's design of bringing in the pretender. The baron de Wassenaer Duvensnerde wrote to Oxford from Hanover, urging him to take the necessary step of inducing the queen to permit the electoral prince to come over, declaring that all the friends of the protestant succession deemed this absolutely necessary; that the prince was inviolably attached to the queen, her ministers, and the constitution, and would take no measures which could in any way give uneasiness to her majesty. Meantime there were the most continual and urgent demands from the whigs in England that the prince should use his right—whether the queen willed it or not—come over. and act upon his writ.

Lord Anglesea, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Sir Richard Onslow, and other whigs wrote thus. They represented the insolent carriage of the Jacobites as the queen grew worse and the electoral prince delayed his coming; that the queen evidently favoured them; and when Dr. Bedford had been condemned for writing a pamphlet, proving that the electress had no claim to the English crown, the queen had pardoned him; that the queen was every day worse; that she was now attacked with erysipelas, and that mortification was expected; and that the Jacobites exultingly asked, "Where is your duke of Cambridge? Where is the succession? Is it not more than a month since the writ was demanded?" Marlborough, who was now again roused to exert himself on the side of Hanover, either from the neglect of the court of St. Germains, or that he saw the English nation bent on the maintenance of the protestant line, sent a friend of his, Mr. Molyneux, to Hanover, to urge the departure of the prince for London without delay. He represented to the electoral family the strange reconciliation of Oxford and Bolingbroke, or the sorcerer and his familiar, as he termed them, and that there was no safety for the succession but in the prince being on the spot and giving life to his friends.

Things were now come to such a crisis, that Anne contemplated nothing but the setting off of the prince, whether she opposed it or not, and this roused her to speak out plainly in forbiddance of it. On the 19th of May she had addressed a letter to the electress, telling her that she had never till then believed that she would fall into the idea of fixing a prince of the blood in her dominions during her lifetime; but, hearing that such was now the case, she thought it right to let her know that any such project would draw after it consequences dangerous to the succession itself; that there were, to her misfortune, a great many people seditiously disposed, and she left her to judge what tumults they might be able to raise if they only found a pretext for beginning; that she could not persuade herself that her aunt and cousin would do anything that should encourage this spirit, or disturb the repose of one who would do everything for the succession with zeal, provided it did not derogate from her dignity, which she was resolved to maintain. A similar note was addressed to the electoral prince.

Such was the embittered state of the queen's mind, that at this period she condescended to employ Tom D'Urfey, the song-writer of the time, to indite doggerel lyrics in ridicule of the octogenarian electress; and used to have him during her dinner hours stand by the sideboard to sing them. Fifty pounds is said to have been the fee for one of these, in which such stanzas as the following appeared:—

The crown's too weighty
For shoulders of eighty,
She could not sustain such a trophy,
Her hand, too, already
Has grown so unsteady,
She can't hold a sceptre—
So Providence kept her
Away from old dowager Sophy.

But as neither ridicule at home nor remonstrance abroad appeared availing to keep away the prince, on the 30th of May, N.S., Anne indited a more determined epistle to the elector himself:—"As the rumour increases that my cousin, the electoral prince, has resolved to come over to settle in my lifetime in my dominions, I do not choose to delay a moment to write to you about this, and to communicate to you my sentiments upon a subject of this importance. I then freely own to you that I cannot imagine that a prince who possesses the knowledge and penetration of your electoral highness can ever contribute to such an attempt, and that I believe you are too just to allow that any infringement shall be made on my sovereignty which you would not choose should be made on your own. I am firmly persuaded that you would not suffer the smallest diminution of your authority. I am no less delicate in that respect; and I am determined to oppose a project so contrary to my royal authority, however fatal the consequences may be. Your electoral highness is too just to refuse to bear me witness that I give on all occasions proofs of my desire that your family should succeed to my crown, which I always recommend to my people as the most solid support of their religion and their laws. I employ all my attention that nothing should efface these impressions from the hearts of my subjects; but it is not possible to derogate from the dignity and prerogative of the prince who wears the crown without making a dangerous breach on the rights of the successor, therefore I doubt not but, with your usual wisdom, you will prevent the taking such a step, and that you will give me an opportunity of renewing to you assurances of the most sincere friendship, with which I am," &c.

This put matters beyond all chance of mistake. The menace contained in it had such an effect on the aged electress that she was taken ill and died suddenly in the arms of the electoral princess, afterwards queen Caroline. If we are to believe Molyneux, the agent of Marlborough, the shock was made the greater by the express messenger keeping the letter from the day on which he arrived till the next, and meantime announcing that he was come to invite the prince over to England. Molyneux writes to Marlborough that he went, on the 28th of May, O.S., to Herrenhausen, the country seat of the court, and the first thing he heard was that the electress was dying in one of the public walks. He says:—"I ran up there, and found her just expiring in the arms of the poor electoral princess, and amid the tears of a great many of her servants, who endeavoured in vain to help her. I can give you no account of her illness, but I believe the chagrin of those villanous letters I sent you word of last post has been in a great measure the cause of it. The rheingravine, who has been with her these fifteen years, has told me she never knew anything make so deep an impression on her as the affair of the prince's journey, which I am sure she had to the last degree at heart; and she has done me the honour to tell me so twenty times. In the midst of this concern those letters arrived, and those, I verily believe, broke her heart, and brought her with sorrow to the grave."

A shower of rain came on as the electress and her ladies were in the garden, and, whilst walking briskly to avoid it, she fell and instantly expired. Sophia, the electress, was a very accomplished as well as amiable woman. She was perfect mistress of the German, Dutch, French, English, and Italian languages; and, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Jacobite party in England to render her ridiculous, had always maintained an elevated and honourable character. She was more of an Englishwoman than a German, and, had she lived a few weeks longer, would have had—according to her often avowed wish—"Here lies Sophia, Queen of England," engraven on her coffin. The journey of the prince was wholly abandoned; not that the inclination of the prince for the journey was abated, nor that the whigs ceased to urge it. Townshend, Sunderland, Halifax, and others pressed it as of the last importance; and both the elector and his son wrote to the queen, assuring her that, had the prince been allowed to come, he would soon have convinced her majesty of his desire to increase the peace and strength of her reign rather than to diminish them.

Instead of lord Paget, after all, being sent to Hanover, the queen sent over her kinsman, the earl of Clarendon—as weak a personage as his grandfather, the chancellor, had been an able one. He had already been governor of Pennsylvania, and had shown himself so absurd there as that, because he represented the queen, he thought it necessary to receive the council dressed in female apparel. The business of this imbecile was solely to prevent the prince's coming over; and, as it was evident that this journey could not be accomplished, the elector sent baron Bothmar from the Hague to London, the better to watch the progress of events.

The two rival ministers of England became every day more embittered against each other; and Bolingbroke became more daring in his advances towards the pretender, and towards measures only befitting a Stuart's reign. In order to please the high church, whilst he was taking the surest measures to ruin it by introducing a popish prince, he consulted with the high church Atterbury, and they agreed to bring in a bill which should prevent the dissenters educating their own children. This measure was sure to please the Hanoverian tories, who were as averse to the dissenters as the whigs. Thus it would conciliate them and obtain their support at the very moment that the chief authors of it were planning the ruin of their party. This bill was called the Schism Bill, and enjoined that no person in Great Britain should keep any school, or act as tutor, who had not first subscribed the declaration to conform to the church of England, and obtained a license of the diocesan; and, upon failure of so doing, the party might be committed to prison without bail; and that no such license should be granted before the party produced a certificate of his having received the sacrament according to the communion of the church of England within the last year, and also subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

This act, as disgraceful as any which ever dishonoured the statute-book in the reigns of the Tudors or Stuarts, was introduced into the commons, on the 12th of May, by Sir William Wyndham, and was resolutely opposed by the whigs, amongst whom Sir Peter King, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Hampden, Robert Walpole, and general Stanhope distinguished themselves. Stanhope showed in particular the ill consequences of this law, as it would, of course, occasion foreign education, which, on the one hand, would drain the kingdom of great sums of money, and, which was still worse, would fill the tender minds of young men with prejudices against their own country. He illustrated and strengthened his argument by the example of the English popish seminaries abroad, which, he said, were so pernicious to Great Britain, that, instead of making new laws to encourage foreign education, he could wish those in force against papists were mitigated, and that they should be allowed a certain number of schools.

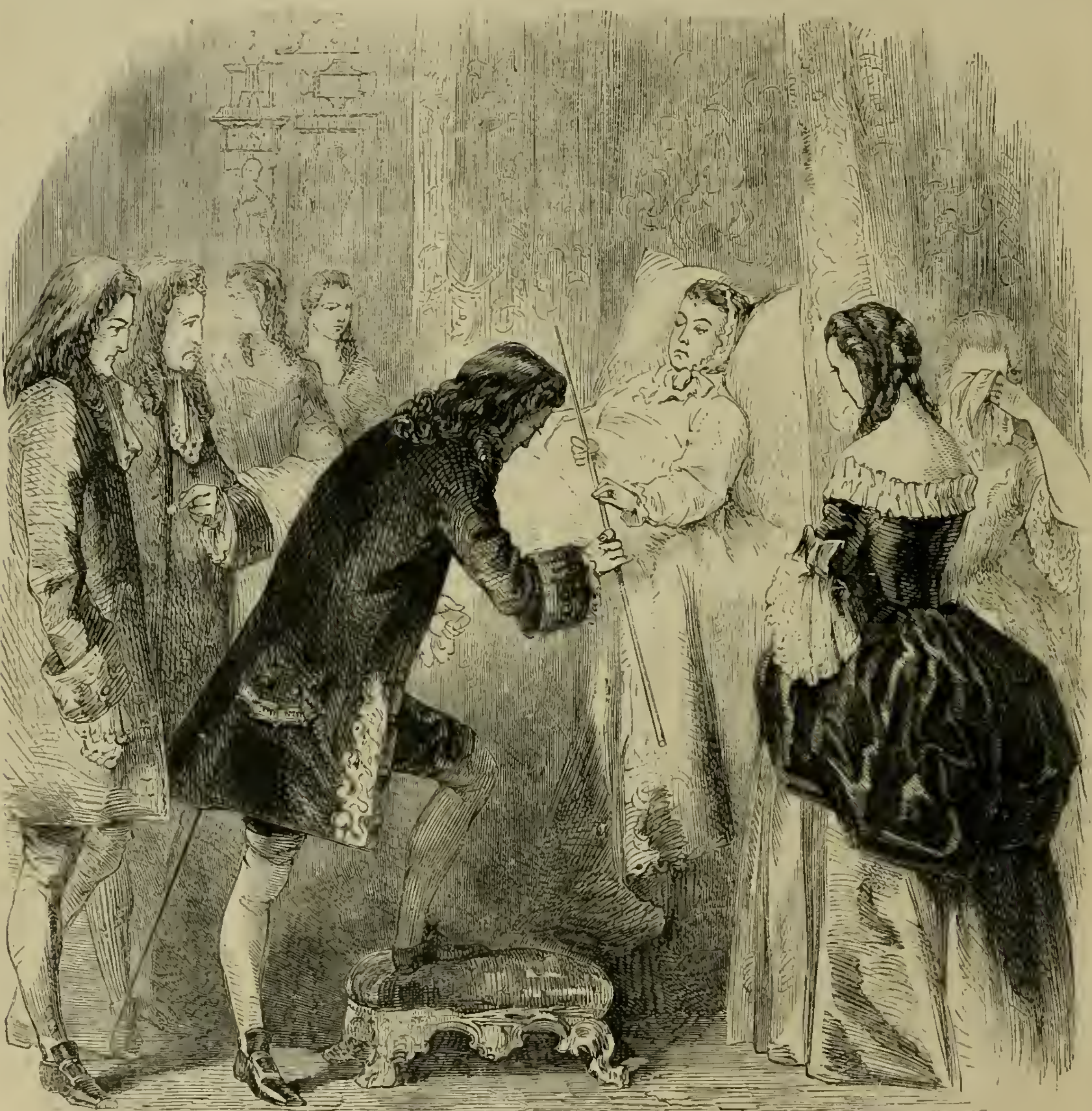
Strikingly just as were these observations, we can well imagine that, in that bigoted time, they would rather injure the cause which the general was advocating than forward it; at all events they did not convince the majority, which amounted to no less than two hundred and thirty-seven to one hundred and twenty-six. In the lords, Bolingbroke himself moved the second reading, and it was ably opposed by the lords Cowper, Wharton, Halifax, Townshend, Nottingham, and others. Lord Wharton observed that it was somewhat strange that they should call schism in England what was the established religion in Scotland; and, therefore, he added, "If the lords who represent the nobility of that part of Great Britain are for the bill, I hope that, in order to be even with us and consistent with themselves, they will move for the bringing in another bill to prevent the growth of schism in their own country." This was a keen blow to the Scotch lords, but did not prevent them voting with government for a measure which, if extended to Scotland, would have soon made the church of England the religion of the country. Lord Wharton then made as sharp a thrust at the bench of bishops. Turning towards them, he said—"Precedents and authorities have been cited in favour of the present measure, but there is against it an authority of the highest weight, which has not been yet mentioned. I acknowledge that it would have come with more force and propriety from that venerable bench, but, since their lordships have been wholly silent in this debate, I will myself tell them that it is the rule of the gospel to do unto others as we would be done unto."

Lord Halifax drew an animated contrast betwixt the humane and enlightened policy of queen Elizabeth, who protected the protestant Walloons when flying from the persecutions of the Spanish inquisition, and of William III. towards the French Huguenots, and pointed out the benefits to our trade and manufactures which resulted from that noble conduct; at the same time he warned them solemnly against following the fatal example of Charles I. and Laud, which brought destruction on them both, and misery on the nation. Lord Townshend advocated toleration from his observation abroad. He said he had lived a long time in Holland, had observed that the wealth and strength of that great and powerful commonwealth lay in the number of its inhabitants; that he was convinced that, if the States-General should cause the schools of any one sect to be shut up, the United Provinces would soon be as thin of people as Sweden or Spain. Lord Cowper treated the bill as a gross breach of the act of toleration, as it was. He asserted that there were dissenters in many country towns who supported the schools, and that to forbid them to teach or be taught by any but churchmen amounted to the suppression of the reading of the Bible amongst them. Lord Nottingham, who had been grossly lampooned by Swift, especially in his ballad, "An Orator dismal of Nottinghamshire," and who apprehended that that truculent churchman might yet get a bishopric through Bolingbroke, said, with much feeling—"My lords, I have many children, and I know not whether God Almighty will vouchsafe to let me live to give them the education I could wish they had; therefore, my lords, I own

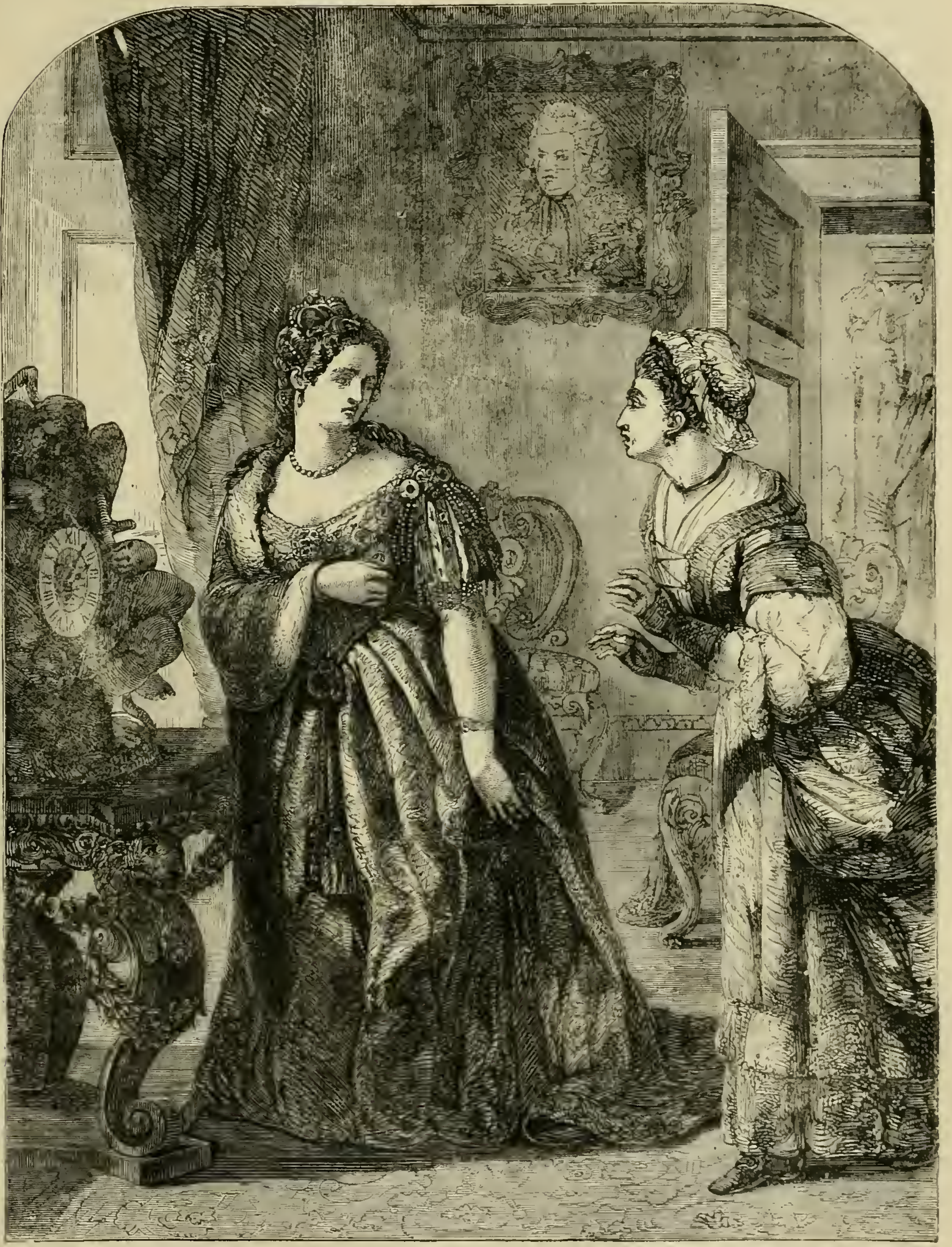
I tremble when I think that a certain divine, who is suspected of being hardly a Christian, is in a fair way of being a bishop, and may one day give licences to those who should be intrusted with the education of youth."

Robinson, bishop of London, declared that the church was in danger from schismatics and dissenters, who drew away the children of churchmen to their schools and academies, —thus paying the dissenters an undesigned compliment for their superior talents or industry in teaching. But the greatest curiosity was displayed regarding the part which Oxford would take, as it was known that in the council he had endeavoured to soften the rigorous clauses; but in the house he followed his usual shuffling habit, declaring that he had not yet considered the question; and, having induced the opposition to let the second reading pass without a division, he absented himself from the final voting, and thus disgusted both parties and hastened his own fall.

In committee the opposition endeavoured to introduce some modifying clause. They proposed that the dissenters should have schools for their own persuasion; and, had the real object of the bill been to prevent them endangering the church by educating the children of churchmen, this would have amply served the purpose. But this was not the real object; the motive of the bill was the old tyrannic spirit of the church, and this most reasonable clause was rejected. They allowed, however, dames or schoolmistresses to teach the children to read; and they removed the conviction of offenders from the justices of peace to the courts of law, and



QUEEN ANNE GIVING THE WHITE STAFF TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.



QUEEN ANNE AND MRS. DANVERS IN THE PRESENCE CHAMBER.

granted a right of appeal to a higher court. Finally, they exempted tutors in noblemen's families, noblemen being supposed incapable of countenancing any other than teachers of court principles. Stanhope seized on this to extend the privilege to the members of the house of commons, arguing that, as many members of the commons were connected with noble families, they must have an equal claim for the education of their children in sound principles. This was an exquisite bit of satire, but it was unavailing. The Hanoverian tories, headed by lord Anglesea, moved that the act should extend to Ireland, where, as the native population was almost wholly catholic, and therefore schismatic in the eye of the established church, the bill would have almost entirely extinguished education. The bill was carried on the 10th of June by a majority only of seventy-seven against seventy-two, and would not have been carried at all except for the late creation of tory peers.

The Jacobites were greatly elated by the passing of this infamous bill, especially as it was the work of their ally, Bolingbroke. They talked very boastfully, and they proceeded to a most audacious insolence of action; they commenced recruiting for the pretender. Two Irish officers, bearing passes from the earl of Middleton, were arrested, one at Gravesend and another at Deal, engaged in this impudent work—a circumstance which created a great alarm, as showing that the pretender now calculated confidently on the favour of the queen. These men, Hugh and Kelly, it was asserted, had been endeavouring to enlist men in the city, under the very eye of parliament and the queen. The Hanoverian tories now again joined the whigs, and their demands compelled the government to issue a proclamation offering a reward of five thousand pounds for the apprehension of the pretender should he attempt to land anywhere in Great Britain. Wharton proposed that the words "alive or dead" should be inserted in the proclamation, but the queen rejected them with horror. The house of lords passed a resolution increasing the reward to one hundred thousand pounds. It was made high treason, too, to enlist or be enlisted for the pretender. Bolingbroke, however, assured Iberville, a French agent, that "it would make no difference;" and that the queen regarded the whole as a mere *placebo* to the public was evinced by her immediately afterwards receiving the earl of Mar, a most determined Jacobite, at court on his marriage with lady Francis Pierrepoint, sister of the celebrated lady Mary Wortley Montague, and soon after making this man one of her ministers of state, who, in the very next year, headed the Jacobite rebellion.

The queen closed the session on the 9th of July, assuring the parliament that her chief concern was for the preservation of our holy religion and the liberty of the subject—this liberty having been most grievously invaded by her through the Schism Bill. But the dissolution of her ministry was also fast approaching. The hostility of Oxford and Bolingbroke was becoming intolerable, and paralysed all the proceedings of government. Swift, in writing to lord Peterborough at this crisis, says—"I never led a life so thoroughly uneasy as I do at present. We have never continued above four days to the same view, or four minutes with any manner of concert. Our situation is so bad that our enemies could not, without abundance of conviction and ability, have placed us so ill if we had left it entirely to their management." He adds—"The queen is pretty well at present; but the least disorder she has puts us all in alarm, and when it is over we act as if she were immortal. Neither is it possible to persuade people to make any preparation against an evil day."

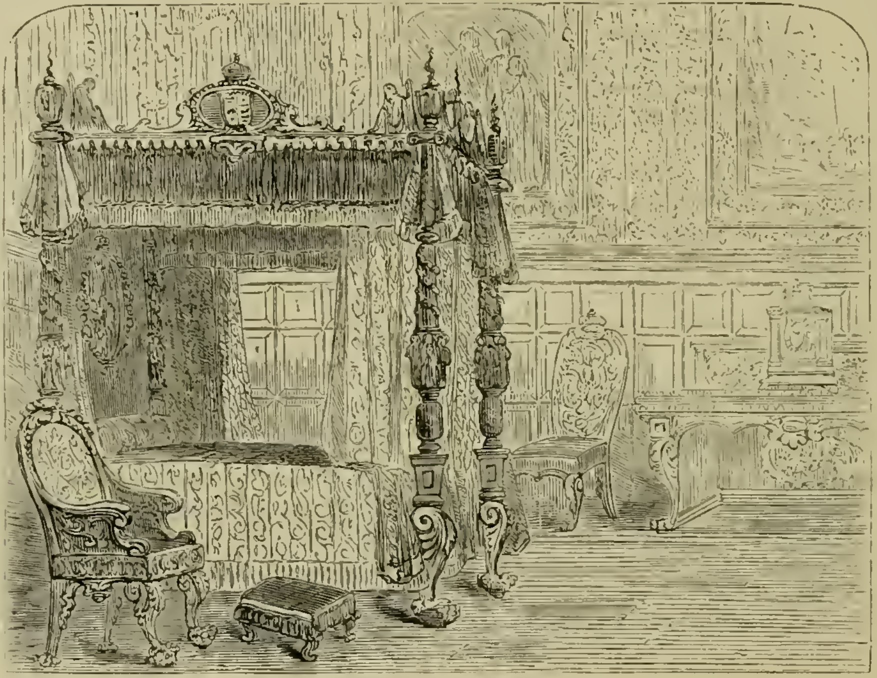
In such a state of things the condition of the ministers themselves must, of course, be miserable; and it is some satisfaction to hear a man like Bolingbroke—a man without religion and without any principle but ambition, who, with talents capable of saving, was only employing them to ruin his country, by bringing in all that it had cost the revolution to cast out—complaining thus to Swift:—"If my grooms did not live a happier life than I have done this great while, I am sure they would quit my service." As for Oxford, he felt himself going, and had not the boldness and resolution to do what would ruin his rival. He coquetted with the whigs, Cowper, Halifax, and others; he wrote to Marlborough, and did all but throw himself into the arms of the opposition. Had he had the spirit to do that he might have been saved; but it was not in his nature. He might then have uncovered to the day the whole monstrous treason of Bolingbroke; but he had himself so far and so often, though never heartily or boldly, tampered with treason, that he dreaded Bolingbroke's retaliation. Bothmar, the Hanoverian envoy, saw clearly that Oxford was lost. He wrote home that there were numbers who would have assisted him to bring down his rival, but that he could not be assisted, because, according to the English maxim, he did not choose to assist himself. Swift endeavoured, but in vain, to reconcile his two jarring friends; and Oxford finally utterly lost himself by offending the great favourite, lady Masham. He had been imprudent enough to oppose her wishes, and refuse her some matter of interest. He now was treated by her with such marked indignity, that Dr. Arbuthnot declared that he would no more have suffered what he had done than he would have sold himself to the galleys. Still, with his singular insensibility to insult, he used to dine at the same table with her frequently, and also in company with Bolingbroke, too. There, in presence of his rival, watching for the moment of his fall, she would huff him and taunt him; and at length, on the 14th of July, she broke out upon him, saying, "You never did the queen any service, and you are incapable of doing her any." Oxford replied, "I have been abused by lies and misrepresentations; but I will leave some people as low as I found them." Yet he went to sup with her at her house the same evening! There the quarrel must have been renewed, for it is related that the altercation did not cease till two o'clock in the morning. But the lord treasurer, instead of leaving the favourite low, now found himself left low. Anne demanded his resignation. The dragon, as Arbuthnot styled him, held the white staff with a deadly gripe; but, on the 27th of July, he was compelled to relinquish it, and that afternoon her majesty stated to the council her reasons for dismissing him. His confidant and creature, Erasmus Lewis, himself thus records them:—"The queen has told all the lords the reasons of her parting with him, viz., that he neglected all business; that he was seldom to be understood; that when he did explain himself she could not depend upon the truth of what he said; that he never came to her at the time she appointed; that he often came drunk; lastly, to crown all; that he behaved himself towards her with bad manners, indecency, and disrespect."

Bolingbroke was now prime minister, and he hastened to arrange his cabinet entirely on Jacobite principles. So far as he was concerned, the country was to be handed over to the pretender and popery on the queen's death. He would not run the risk of a new antagonist in the shape of a lord treasurer, but put the treasury in commission, with Sir William Wyndham at its head. The privy seal was given to Atterbury; Bromley was continued as the other secretary of state; and the earl of Mar, the rankest of Jacobites, was made secretary of state for Scotland. Ormonde, long engaged in the pretender's plot, was made commander-in-chief—a most significant appointment; Buckingham was made lord president, and Harcourt lord chancellor. As for the inferior posts, he found great difficulty in filling them up. "The sterility of good men," wrote Erasmus Lewis to Swift, "is incredible." Good men, according to the unprincipled Bolingbroke's notions, were not to be found in a hurry. There were plenty of candidates ready, but it may give an impressive notion of the state of that party, that there was scarcely a man beyond those already appointed that Bolingbroke could trust. The cabinet never was completed. What his own notions of moral or political honesty were, may be imagined from the fact that he did not hesitate to attempt a coalition with the whigs. He gave a dinner-party at his house in Golden Square to Stanhope, Walpole, Craggs, general Cadogan, and other leaders; but though Walpole, when minister himself, boasted that every man had his price, Bolingbroke had not yet discovered Walpole's price nor that of his colleagues. They to a man demanded, as a *sine quâ non*, that the pretender should be compelled to remove to Rome, or to some place much farther off than Lorraine, and Bolingbroke assured them that the queen would never consent to such a banishment of her brother. Nothing but the lowest opinion of men's principles could have led Bolingbroke to expect any other result from these whig leaders. Perhaps he only meant to sound their real views; perhaps only to divert public attention from his real designs, which the very names of his coadjutors in the ministry must have made patent enough to all men of any penetration. The very same day that he thus gave this whig dinner he assured Gualtier that his sentiments towards *the king* were just the same as ever, provided his majesty took such measures as would suit the people of England. Time only was wanting for this traitor-minister to betray the country to its old despotisms and troubles, but such time was not in the plans of Providence. The end of Anne was approaching faster than was visible to human eyes; but the shrewd and selfish Marlborough had a pretty strong instinct of it, and was drawing nearer and nearer to the scene of action, ready to secure himself whichever way the balance inclined. He was at Ostend, prepared to pass over at an hour's notice, and to the last moment keeping up his correspondence with the two courts of Hanover and Bar-le-duc. Both despised and suspected him, but feared him at the same time. Such was still his influence, especially with the army, that whichever party he adopted was considered pretty sure to succeed. That it was likely to succeed was equally certain before Marlborough did adopt it. Lockhart of Carnwath, one of the most active and sagacious Jacobites, and likely to be in the secrets of the Jacobite party, says that the pretender, to test the sincerity of Marlborough, asked the loan of one hundred thousand pounds from him, as a proof of his fidelity. He did not abide the test, but soon after offered twenty thousand pounds to the electoral prince, to enable him to come over to England. The moment that he was prepared, with his deep-rooted love of money, to do that, it might be certainly pronounced that he was confident of the success of the Hanoverians.

The agitation which the queen underwent on the night of the 27th, when she dismissed Oxford after a long and fierce altercation, produced a marked change in her health. The council was only terminated, having sate to consider who should be admitted into the new ministry, by the queen falling into a swoon. Being got to bed, she passed the night, not in sleep, but in weeping. The next day another council was held, but was again broken up by the illness of the queen, and was prorogued to the 29th of July. To Dr. Arbuthnot, her physician, Anne declared that the disputes of her ministers had killed her; that she should never survive it. Lady Masham, struck by the queen's heavy and silent manner, apprehended the worst. On the 29th, as the hour for the meeting of the council approached, Mrs. Danvers, an old and attached lady of the household, found, to her astonishment, the queen standing before the clock in the presence-chamber, gazing fixedly upon it. Alarmed at the appearance of the queen, Mrs. Danvers asked "whether her majesty saw anything unusual there in the clock?" Without answering, the queen turned her eyes with such ghastly expression upon her, that the alarmed Mrs. Danvers called aloud for assistance, saying afterwards that "she saw death in that look." The queen was got to bed, when she was found by her summoned physicians in a high fever. The imposthume in her leg had been checked, and the gouty humour had flown to her brain. The next day she had an apoplectic attack; and the rumour of her approaching end getting out, the funds rose, but fell again on her being cupped, and to a degree recovering. This was a certain indication, whatever might be the personal regard for Anne, that her late policy had endangered the throne and the constitution, and that a little more of life to her might have been death to the liberties and religion of the nation. Bolingbroke and his Jacobite colleagues were thunderstruck by this sudden crisis. They assembled in council at Kensington, in a room not far from that of the dying queen, but they were so stupefied by the blow that they could do nothing. On the other hand, the whigs had been quite alert. Stanhope had made preparations to seize the Tower, to secure the persons of the ministers and the leading Jacobites, if necessary, on the demise of the queen; to obtain possession of the outports, and proclaim the king. A proof of this concert was immediately given by the dukes of Argyll and Somerset, who belonged to the privy council, but, of course, had not been summoned, suddenly entering the council chamber, stating that, hearing of the queen's critical position, they had hastened, though not summoned, to offer their assistance. No sooner had they said this, than the duke of Shrewsbury rose and thanked them for their courtesy. It was evident to the now more than ever confounded ministers that this was concerted. They remained helpless in the hands of their opponents, though the Jacobites had for some time made even a parade of their own party organisation, wearing at their button-holes a small gold, silver, or brass fusee or miniature gun as a signal on the expected day of struggle.

The whig dukes immediately demanded that the queen's physicians should be called and examined as to her probable continuance. The physicians in general were of opinion that her majesty might linger some time, but Dr. Mead declared that she could not live many days, perhaps not many hours; from the apoplectic symptoms she might be gone in one.

It was proposed to send a notice of her state to the elector of Hanover. Mead declared that he would stake his reputation that her majesty would be no more long before that intelligence reached Hanover. Argyll and Somerset thereupon declared it absolutely necessary that the post of lord treasurer should be filled up, as it was requisite that, at such a moment, there should be a recognised prime minister, and proposed that the duke of Shrewsbury should be nominated to that office. Bolingbroke felt that his power and all his plans were at an end, and sate like one in a dream. The members of the council then proceeded to the queen's apartment, and Bolingbroke followed them, as it were, mechanically. The queen was sensible enough to be made aware of their errand, and expressed her approval of it. Shrewsbury, however, with that singular hesitation which always characterised him, refused to take the white staff, except from her majesty's own hand. It was, therefore, handed to her, and she extended it towards Shrewsbury, saying, "For God's sake, use it for the good of my people." Shrewsbury was already chamberlain, and he presented the staff of that office in resignation of it, but the queen bade him retain both; and thus the man who all his life had been refusing office, or insisting on resigning it when in his possession, and had tormented king William with his backwardness, entreating that he might be allowed to be "an insignificant cypher instead of a bad figure," found himself in the unprecedented possession of the three highest offices of the kingdom at a most momentous crisis. He was at once lord treasurer, lord chamberlain, and lord lieutenant of Ireland.



QUEEN ANNE'S BEDCHAMBER.

Oxford had sent round a circular to every whig lord in or near London who had ever belonged to the privy council, warning them to come and make a struggle for the protestant succession. This was one of the most decided actions of that vibratory statesman, and was no doubt prompted by his desire to avenge his recent defeat by Bolingbroke, and to stand well at the last moment with the house of Hanover. In consequence of this, the Jacobite ministers found themselves completely prostrate and helpless in the midst of the strong muster of whigs. Even the aged and infirm Somers made his appearance, and threw the weight of his great name into the scale. Prompt measures were taken to secure the advent of the new king. Four regiments were ordered to London; seven battalions were sent for from Ostend, where Marlborough was said to have secured their zealous fidelity to the elector; a fleet was ordered to put to sea to prevent any interruption of his transit, and to receive him in Holland. An embargo was laid on all parts, and the queen the next morning having sunk again into lethargy, the council ordered the heralds-at-arms and a troop of the life-guards to be in readiness to proclaim the successor. Mr

Craggs was sent express to Hanover, to desire the elector to hasten to Holland, where the fleet would be ready to receive him. They also sent a dispatch to the States-General, to remind them of the fact—which for a long time and to this moment the English government appeared itself to have forgotten—that there was such a thing as a treaty, and that by it they were bound to guarantee the protestant succession. Lord Berkeley was appointed to the command of the fleet, and a reinforcement was ordered for Portsmouth. A general officer was hastened to Scotland, where much apprehension of a movement in favour of the pretender existed; and, in short, every conceivable arrangement was made for the safe ascension of the protestant king.

Still, during all this time, though the tory ministers in the council appeared paralysed, the Jacobite lords assembled in secret junto in the very palace where the council was sitting and the queen dying. Lady Masham's apartments were the scene of the last convulsive agitation of Jacobitism. From her the distracted leaders of that faction received the accounts of the progress of the queen's illness. Amongst these were Buckingham, Ormonde, Atterbury, and, when he was not at the queen's bedside, Robinson, of London. That prelate, when he attended to administer the sacrament to the dying woman, received an earnest message from her, which he was bound by the duchess of Ormonde to promise to deliver, though it cost him his head. Probably it was some last remembrance to her brother, the pretender; though it was supposed by some to be an order to the duke of Ormonde, the commander-in-chief, to hold the army for the Stuart. Nothing, however, of the nature of this message ever transpired; but the duke of Buckingham, on the separation of the council, which had just obtained the affixing of the great seal to a patent providing for the government of the country by four-and-twenty regents till the arrival of the successor, clapped his hand on Ormonde's shoulder, saying, "My lord, you have four-and-twenty hours to do our business in, and make yourself master of the country." It was a forlorn hope. That evening lady Masham entered her apartments in great agitation, saying, "Oh, my lords, we are all undone—entirely ruined! The queen is a dead woman; all the world cannot save her!" Upon which one of the lords asked if the queen had her senses, and if lady Masham thought she could speak to them. She replied, "Impossible; her pain deprives her of all sense, and in the interval she dozes and speaks to nobody." "That is hard indeed," said another of the lords. "If she could but speak to us, and give us orders, and sign them, we might do the business for all that." "Alas!" replied another lord, "who would act on such orders? We are all undone!" "Then we cannot be worse," said another, plainly meant for Ormonde. "I assure you that if her majesty would give orders to proclaim her successor in her lifetime, I would do it at the head of the army. I'll answer for the soldiers." "Do it, then!" swore the bishop Atterbury, for he did not stick at an oath. "Let us go out and proclaim the chevalier at Charing Cross. Do you not see that we have no time to lose?" Lady Masham told them they might waive debate: there was nothing to be done; her majesty was no longer capable of directing anything. On which the duke of Ormonde exclaimed, "Lord, what an unhappy thing this is! What a cause is here lost at one blow!" Such is the relation of Peter Rae, in his "History of the Rebellion."

And thus terminated this miserable scene of insane despair. Bolingbroke, with all his showy abilities, was evidently destitute of diplomatic depth, or he would have long perceived that the heart of the nation was firmly set against any return of the bigoted Stuarts.

The queen expired at seven o'clock on Sunday morning, the 1st of August, not having recovered sufficient consciousness to receive the sacrament, or to sign her will. During her intervals of sense she is reported to have repeatedly exclaimed, "Oh, my brother, my dear brother, what will become of you!" There can be no doubt but that remorse for her part in casting a slur on his birth preyed on her mind during her latter years, and increased with her increasing debility; and that nothing but his persistence in his rooted attachment to popery prevented her acknowledging him her successor. She was still only in her fiftieth year, and the thirteenth of her reign. Bolingbroke wrote to Swift —"The earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday, and the queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!"

Bolingbroke had assured Iberville, the French agent, that had the queen only lived six weeks longer, his measures were so well taken that he should have brought in the pretender in spite of everything. Well might he moralise on fortune, and well may England congratulate itself on a Providence. On the very day of the queen's death Marlborough landed at Dover, so exactly had he timed his return. He found George I. proclaimed in London, in York, and in other large towns, not only without disorder, but with an acclamation of joy from the populace which plainly showed where the heart lay. Lady Mary Wortley Montague, who was at York, describes the enthusiasm there as unbounded:—"I went to-day to see the king proclaimed, which was done, the archbishop walking next the lord mayor, and all the country people following, with greater crowds of people than I believed in York. Vast acclamations and the appearance of a general satisfaction, the pretender afterwards dragged about the streets and burnt, ringing of bells, bonfires, and illuminations, the mob crying 'Liberty and prosperity!' and 'Long live king George!' All the protestants here seem unanimous for the Hanover succession."

Queen Anne was not remarkable for any talent, but she was good-hearted, and extremely regardful of the comfort and liberties of her people, excepting when, towards the end of her reign, she was swayed by a minister who had no religion himself, under pretence for the safety of the church, to attack the religious freedom of her people. Like most of her family, she had strong affections, which led her to what in monarchs is styled favoritism, but what in private life is called friendship. In the indulgence of this she heaped the most superb favours on the most domineering and vindictive of women, lady Marlborough, and neglected the interests of the second and more steadfast friend, lady Masham, whom, not having signed her will, she left comparatively poor. Anne was indolent and self-indulgent, and thus grew excessively corpulent and diseased, and by this means greatly shortened her term of existence. But, if an enemy to herself, she was a friend to her country. She lamented sincerely the bloodshed which cast a martial glory over her reign; and her humanity was abused by a party to rob the country and Europe of all its hard-won advantages in the moment when they should have been secured for all ages. She was equally averse to blood spilled on the scaffold, and no great political execution took place in her reign. Like her sister, Mary, and unlike her father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, she preferred the love of her subjects to the destruction of their privileges; and it ought never to be forgotten that she secured the comfort of numbers of the families of poor clergymen to every future generation by her "bounty," and conferred on the nation at large one of the greatest political blessings which it ever acquired—perhaps the most solid cause of its now wondrous prosperity—the union with Scotland.

CHAPTER VIII.

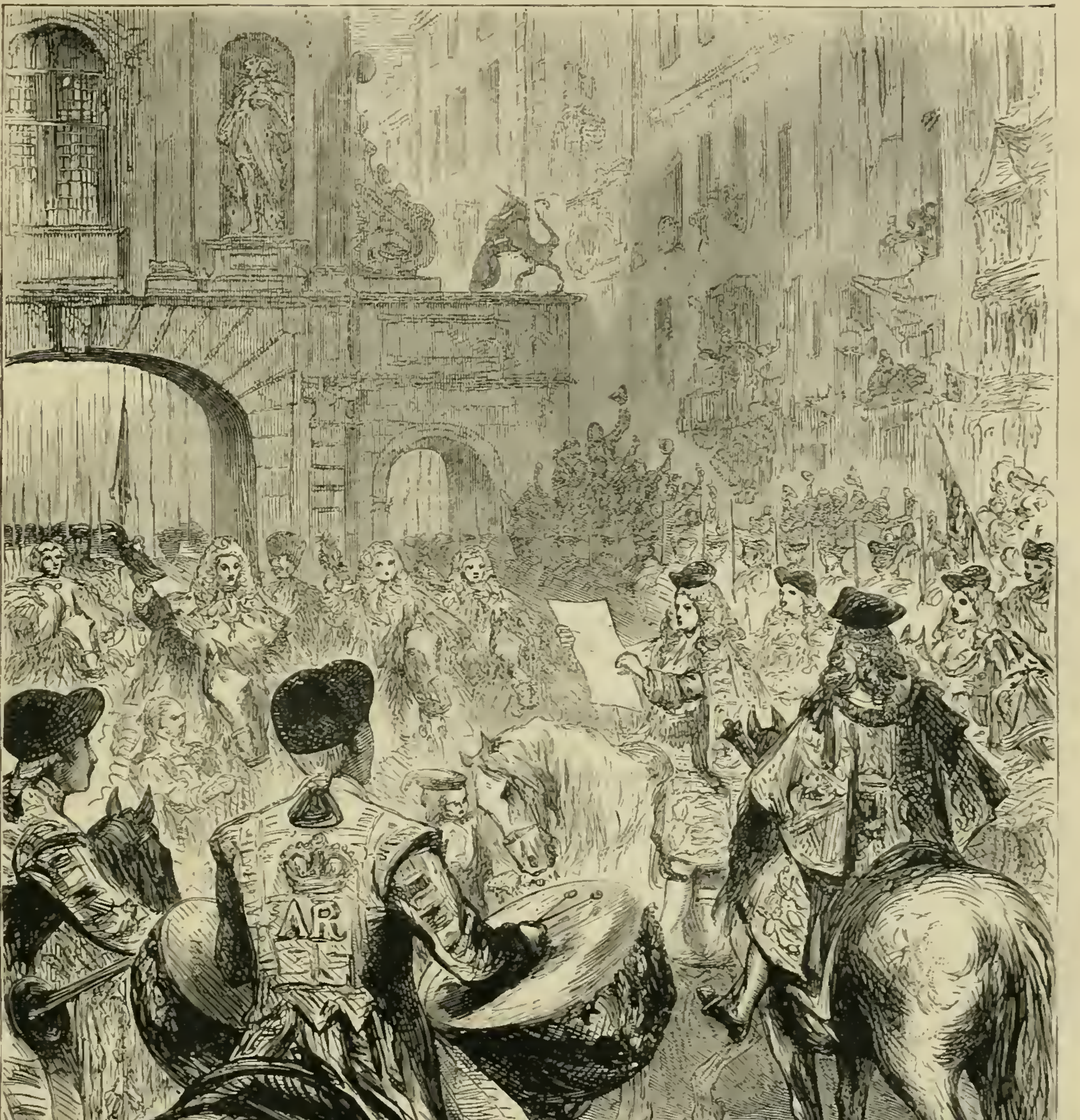
THE REIGN OF GEORGE I.

State of Parties in England—George I. proclaimed—Electoral Prince created Prince of Wales—King arrives in England—Tories excluded from Favour—Pretender's Manifesto—New Parliament—Bolingbroke retires to France—Sir William Wyndham reprimanded by the Speaker—Admiral Norris sent to the Baltic—Resolution to impeach Oxford, Ormonde, and Strafford—Oxford sent to the Tower—The King announces to Parliament the Commencement of a Rebellion—Ormonde and Bolingbroke attainted—Death of Louis XIV.—The Earl of Mar erects the Pretender's Standard in Scotland—Members of the Commons arrested—Pretender proclaimed in the North of England by the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster—Mackintosh joins the English Insurgents—They surrender at Preston—Battle of Dunblane—Pretender in Scotland—Returns to France—The Rebel Lords tried—Lords Derwentwater and Kenmair beheaded—Trials of other Rebels—Septennial Act—Duke of Argyll disgraced—Triple Alliance betwixt England, France, and Holland—Count Gyllenborg, Swedish Minister in London, arrested—Oxford Riots—The Commons pass the South Sea Act, the Bank Act, and General Fund Act—Trial of the Earl of Oxford—Proceedings in Convocation respecting Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor.

The calculations of no political party had ever been more completely falsified than that of the Jacobites and their congeners the tories on the death of the queen. They had relied on the fact that the house of Hanover was regarded with dislike as successors to the throne of England by all the catholic powers of Europe, on account of their protestantism, and many of the protestant powers from jealousy; and calculated that, whilst France would be disposed to support the claims of the pretender, there were no continental countries which would support those of Hanover, except Holland and the new kingdom of Prussia, neither of which created them much alarm. Prussia was but a minor power, not capable of furnishing much aid to a contest in England. Holland had been too much exhausted by a long war to be willing to engage in another, except for a cause which vitally concerned itself. In England, the tories being in power, and Bolingbroke earnest in the cause of the pretender, the duke of Ormonde at the head of the army, there appeared to the minds of the Jacobites nothing to fear but the too early demise of the queen, which might find their plans yet unmatured. To this they, in fact, attributed their failure; but we may very confidently assert that, even had Anne lived as long as they desired her, there was one element omitted in their calculations which would have overthrown all their attempts—the invincible antipathy to popery in the heart of the nation, which the steadfast temper of the pretender showed must inevitably come back with him to renew all the old struggles. The event of the queen's death discovered, too, the comparative weakness of the tory faction, the strength and activity of the whigs. The king showing no haste to arrive, gave ample opportunity to the Jacobites—had they been in any degree prepared, as they ought to have been, after so many years, for this great crisis—to introduce the pretender and rally round his standard. But whilst George I. lingered, no Stuart appeared; and the whigs had taken such careful and energetic precautions, that without him every attempt must only have brought destruction on the movers. The measures of Shrewsbury were complete. The way by sea was secured for the protestant king, though he showed no haste in coming: and the regency act provided for the security of every department of government at home.

Before the proclamation of the new king the council had met, and, according to the regency act, and an instrument signed by the king and produced by Herr Kreyenberg, the Hanoverian resident, nominated the persons who were to act till the king's arrival. They consisted of the seven great officers of state and a number of the peers. The whole was found to include eighteen of the principal noblemen, nearly all of the whig party, as the dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, and Argyll; the lords Cowper, Halifax, and Townshend. It was noticed, however, that neither Marlborough, Sunderland, nor Somers was of the number; nor ought this to have excited any surprise, when it was recollected that the list was drawn out in 1705, though only signed just before the queen's death. These noblemen belonged to that junto under whose thraldom Anne had so long groaned. The omission, however, greatly incensed Marlborough and Sunderland. Marlborough landed at Dover on the day of the queen's death, where he was received with the warmest acclamations and tokens of the highest popularity. He was met on his approach to London by a procession of two hundred gentlemen, headed by Sir Charles Coxe, member for Southwark. As he drew nearer this procession was joined by a long train of carriages. It was like a triumph; and Bothmar, the Hanoverian minister, wrote home that it was as if he had gained another battle at Hochstet; that he would be of great service in case the pretender should make any attempt, but that he was displeased that he was not in the regency, or that any man except the king should be higher in the country than he. He went straight to the house of lords to take the oaths to the king; but at Temple Bar his carriage broke down, to the great delight of the people, because it compelled him to come out and enter another, by which they got a good view of him. Having taken the oaths, he retired into the country till the arrival of the king, disgusted at his not being in the regency.

The lords justices having met, appointed Joseph Addison, afterwards so celebrated as a writer, and even now very popular, as their secretary, and ordered all dispatches addressed to Bolingbroke to be brought to him. This was an intimation that Bolingbroke would be dismissed; and that proud minister, instead of giving orders, was obliged to receive them, and to wait at the door of the council-chamber with his bags and papers. As the lords justices were apprehending that there might be some disturbances in Ireland, they were about to send over Sunderland as lord lieutenant, and general Stanhope as commander-in-chief; but they were speedily relieved of their fears by the intelligence that all


AR
W. THOMAS Sc.

PROCLAMATION OF GEORGE I.

had passed off quietly there; that the lords justices of Ireland, the archbishop of Armagh, and Sir Constantine Phipps, who had been more than suspected of Jacobitism, had proclaimed the king on the 6th of August, and, to give evidence of their new zeal, had issued a proclamation for disarming papists and seizing their horses. The proclamation passed with the same quietness in Scotland, and no king, had he been born a native, in the quietest times, could have succeeded more smoothly. If any disturbance was to come from any quarter, it must be from France. There were reports that preparations were making there in favour of the pretender, and, what was suspicious, Matthew Prior, the resident there, gave no information of any kind in his dispatches, and wrote in cypher where Bothmar observed he might write with all openness. But Prior had been the confidential agent of Bolingbroke, and probably did not feel very much at ease under the new circumstances. There was another man of a more mercurial and enterprising character in Paris, lord Peterborough, who hastened over with assurances from Louis XIV., as fast as post-horses could carry him, that he desired to live in peace, and to observe the treaty. Louis confirmed this himself in a letter. In fact, the pretender, who on the news of Anne's death had gone from Lorraine to Paris to consult with his mother and friends regarding a prompt expedition to England, was ordered by De Torcy to return to Bar-le-duc, which he did. All intelligence from that quarter, therefore, tended to allay fears of commotion.

But in proportion to the absence of alarm from without, was the rush and bustle amongst the whig expectants for promotion. Though the king had not arrived, baron Bothmar was in full correspondence with him, keeping him *au fait* as to all the incidents of the government, and he was become the all-important medium of royal favour. He was beset daily by a swarm of candidates for offices and promotions. The churchmen were in eager pursuit of the vacant bishopric of Ely, and every place at court, in the courts of law, and the army had its throng of aspirants. Bothmar, amid these conflicting claims, recommended lord Halifax to be first lord of the treasury, assisted by Mr. Boyle and Mr. Walpole; that Orford, the formerly double-dealing Russell, should be first lord of the admiralty; that Marlborough, Sunderland, Stanhope, and Cadogan should have places, and that the duke of Shrewsbury should be allowed to retire. Sunderland made a bold push for the place of secretary of state; and the earl of Manchester, who had been ambassador at Venice, and secretary of state at home, desired the office of a lord of the king's bedchamber. Bishop Burnet also solicited the place of groom of the bed-chamber for his son. Bothmar recommended some of these, but advised the king as to the rest to confine himself to general promises, and to act as he saw best after he had been himself awhile in the country, and had obtained a clearer view of their respective merits.

Tories as well as whigs put in their claims. Lord Hertford, the eldest son of the duke of Somerset, sought the post of a lord-in-waiting either to the king or the prince George; the duke of Buckingham, who, as we have noted, had married the natural daughter of James II. by Catherine Sedley, solicited for his duchess the place of a lady of the bed-chamber; and the duke of Grafton, one of the grandsons of Charles II., whose mother had now married Sir Thomas Hanmer, also desired to be a lord of the bedchamber, and Bothmar recommended him. "We are gaping and staring," wrote the tory Erasmus Lewis, a tool of the late ministry, "to see who is to rule us. The whigs think they shall engross all; we think we shall have our share."

The parliament, according to a provision of the act of regency, met on the very day of the queen's death, Sunday though it was. The tories endeavoured to obtain a little delay by moving, through secretary Bromley, that the house adjourn till Wednesday, as the speaker was in Wales; but this was defeated by Sir Richard Onslow, who declared that the country was in too critical a state, and moved and carried that the house should meet the next day. Three days were occupied in the administration of the oaths. On the 5th the lords justices went to the house of peers, and the chancellor, addressing the commons there, recommended that they should consult the honour of the crown by voting such branches of the revenue as had expired with the queen. He said that the regency forbore laying before them anything which did not require their immediate consideration, not having received his majesty's pleasure; but he exhorted them, with the greatest earnestness, to a perfect unanimity and a firm adhesion to the sovereign's interest, as the only means of preserving the present happy tranquillity.

Loyal addresses to the throne were carried unanimously in both houses, expressing that accommodating grief and pleasure which can so readily blend on such occasions. They expressed the liveliest grief for the death of Anne of blessed memory, and the liveliest pleasure at the accession of a monarch of such princely virtues and undoubted right to the crown. The next business was to settle the civil list. Anne had had seven hundred thousand pounds, and it was the opinion of the whigs that the same should be granted to the king, and that a new parliament should further provide for prince George and his family. As there was no queen, the electress having been dead some years, this would have been ample; but the tories, determined to make a bold stroke for the recovery of favour, or damage the whigs by putting them into the position of less liberality, voted for *a million!* The manœuvre was too palpable, and the whigs, without attempting to oppose this sum, went on and voted that which the late sovereign had had, namely, seven hundred thousand pounds.

Whilst the bill was in progress, Horace Walpole, the brother of Robert, moved that the sum of sixty-five thousand and twenty-two pounds arrears of pay due to the Hanoverian troops—which had been withheld ever since July, 1712, because they would not desert the allies at the base commands of the Oxford and Bolingbroke ministry—should be discharged. The demand for payment of these arrears had been repeatedly made by the whigs, but the tory government had continued to refuse it, and it had been rejected by a large majority only a few weeks before in the same house of commons. But now there was a Hanoverian sovereign on the throne, and the motion was no sooner made by Horace Walpole than it was seconded by the tory Sir William Wyndham, and carried without opposition. It was wonderful what a new light had burst on the tories. Another clause was proposed by Horace Walpole—that a reward of one hundred thousand pounds should be offered for the apprehension of the pretender, should he attempt a landing, and was carried with the same ease. Some money bills having been passed, the session was closed by prorogation.

During these transactions there was naturally an earnestly-inquiring eye kept open towards Hanover, whence the king appeared in no hurry to issue forth and assume the throne of these three fair kingdoms. The coolness with which George of Hanover appeared to contemplate the splendid prize which had fallen to him, appeared to the English little less than unnatural. Thrones and crowns are generally seized upon with avidity; but the new king seemed to feel more regret in quitting his petty electorate than eagerness to enter on his splendid kingdom. But George was a man of phlegmatic disposition, and of the most exact habits, and went through his duties like an automaton or a piece of machinery. He took, therefore, much time in settling his affairs in Hanover before he turned his face towards England, and it was not till the 18th of September, or nearly seven weeks after the decease of the late queen, that he landed at Greenwich with his son George. "His views and affections were," as lord Chesterfield properly observed, "singly confined to the narrow compass of his electorate. England was too big for him."

Nor was his appearance, when he did arrive, calculated to enchant his new subjects. His countenance was heavy, his manners awkward, and he had a great dislike to public display, the very acclamations of the people in welcome of him being an annoyance to him. He was now fifty-four years of age, and firmly stereotyped into a slow, dull German mould. It was soon discovered that his mind was as dull as his appearance; that he was narrow and obstinate to an extreme; had no taste of any elevated kind for any branch of literature, of science, or the fine arts, except music. He was utterly ignorant of the English language, though he had for many years had the prospect of succeeding to the English throne, and though his mother was said to be perfectly familiar with the speech of his royal ancestors. On the other hand, he was not without his sober virtues. He was brave, and understood military affairs, yet he loved peace. He was economical, if not rather penurious; he was just and honourable in private life, and capable of a sedate but not zealous friendship. Such was the man who appeared to occupy the throne of a great, enlightened, and busy-spirited nation. His German subjects had seen him depart with tears and regret; his English ones beheld him arrive with wonder and disappointment. From the moment that he reached his capital it was obvious that the whigs possessed his exclusive favour. The tories who hastened to welcome him even on the road were received with chilling coldness. The chancellor Harcourt was dismissed, though he hastened to carry to him the patent of peerage for the prince of Wales. The duke of Ormonde, while on his way to Greenwich to pay his homage, received the message that he would not be admitted to the royal presence. Before his landing he had forwarded orders to remove Bolingbroke, and appoint lord Townshend as secretary of state in his place; and the blunt rudeness with which this had been done by Shrewsbury, Cowper, and Somerset, made that proud minister and all his party sensible of the royal aversion towards them. The seals were abruptly taken from him, and his office doors locked behind him. "To be removed," wrote the fallen man to Atterbury, "was neither matter of surprise nor concern to me; but the manner of my removal shocked me for at least two minutes. I am not in the lease intimidated from any consideration of the whig malice and power; but the grief of my soul is this:—I see plainly that the tory party is gone." It showed that party that their negotiations with the pretender were fully understood. Addison, in a letter to the Hanoverian cabinet, expresses the salutary effect of this decisive measure:—"The removal of the lord Bolingbroke has put a seasonable check to an interest that was making in many places for members in the next parliament, and was very much relished by the people, who ascribe to him, in a great measure, the decay of trade and public credit."

The triumph of the whigs was complete. Whilst Oxford, who had been making great efforts at the last to retrieve himself with his party by assisting them to seize the reins of power on the queen's illness, was admitted in absolute silence to kiss the king's hand, and that not without many difficulties, Marlborough, Somers, Halifax, and the rest were received with the most cordial welcome. Yet, on appointing the new cabinet, the king showed that he did not forget the double-dealing of Marlborough. He smiled on him, but did not place him where he hoped to be, at the head of affairs. He was on his guard against the "junto," as it was termed; and though he did not altogether lay them aside, he preferred men hitherto less prominent. He made lord Townshend secretary of state and prime minister; Stanhope, the second secretary; the duke of Mar was removed from the secretaryship of Scotland to make way for the duke of Montrose; lord Halifax was made first lord commissioner of the treasury, and was raised to an earldom, and was allowed to confer on his nephew the lucrative sinecure of auditor of the Exchequer; lord Cowper became lord chancellor; lord Wharton was made privy seal, and created a marquis; the earl of Nottingham, president of the council; Mr. Pulteney was appointed secretary-at-war; the duke of Argyll, commander-in-chief for Scotland; Shrewsbury, lord chamberlain and groom of the stole; the duke of Devonshire became lord steward of the household; the duke of Somerset, master of the horse; Sunderland, lord lieutenant of Ireland; Walpole was at first made simply paymaster of the forces, without a place in the cabinet, but his ability in debate and as a financier soon raised him to higher employment; lord Orford was made first lord of the admiralty; and Marlborough, commander-in-chief and master of the ordnance. The duchess says that she went down on her knees to entreat him to decline any employment, assuring him that his fame and his wealth would, in an independent position, render him far more necessary to the court than it could be to him, and that he ought never to put it in the power of any king to use him ill. This was sound advice, but Marlborough had not the firmness to listen to it; neither his love of money nor his love of power would allow him to listen to it. He accepted office, and was gratified by appointments bestowed upon his son-in-law, Sunderland, the lords Godolphin and Bridgewater, and the duke of Montague. But he soon saw cause to rue his compliance. He was treated with great outward respect, but no confidence; nor did he deserve it; for, with a strange fancy for treason when it could no longer offer any plausible motive, it is shown by the Stuart papers that, whilst still holding this office, he furnished the pretender with a loan which assisted him in the rebellion of the next year, 1715. His past and present conduct, therefore, left him without excuse for a complaint when he could not obtain even a lieutenancy for a friend, but was obliged to solicit Pulteney, the secretary-at-war, to do it for him, adding, "Don't say it is for me, for whatever I ask is sure to be refused." In Ireland Sir Constantine Phipps, in spite of his new-fangled loyalty, was deprived of the seals, and Mr. Broderic made chancellor. Lord Somers was passed over altogether, professedly on account of his age, but, as it was supposed, in a great measure, from his having been one of the "junto;" but he was gratified by an additional pension of two thousand pounds a year.

In the whole new cabinet Nottingham was the only member who belonged to the tory party, and of late he had been acting more in common with the whigs. The tories complained vehemently of their exclusion, as if their dealings with the pretender had been a recommendation to the house of Hanover. They contended that the king should have shown himself the king of the whole people, and aimed at a junction of the two parties; but the violence of these factions was far too great to tempt any man in his senses to such a measure, the failure of which had been sufficiently striking under king William. The ministerial arrangements being completed, the coronation took place on the 20th of October, and was fully attended by the chief nobles and statesmen, even by Oxford and Bolingbroke, and was celebrated in most parts of the kingdom with many demonstrations of joy. At Bristol, Norwich, and Birmingham, however, there were tory and high church riots, for even Birmingham was then remarkably high church. At Bristol the cry was, "Sacheverel and Ormonde!" and "Down with all foreign governments!" At Oxford full convocation met, and conferred an honorary degree on Sir Constantine Phipps, the late Jacobite chancellor of Ireland. These were plain enough indications of the sentiments and wishes of that party; but the government behaved with a wise moderation. Though they had plundered a house and murdered a man, fifteen of the Bristol rioters were tried and sentenced to fine and imprisonment, but not a man was put to death—a lenity far more striking than was displayed in the same city after the riots of 1831.

On the 28th of August the pretender, who was again at Plombières drinking the waters, issued a proclamation asserting his right to the throne of Great Britain, and explaining the cause of his not having hitherto made a resolute effort to regain it—namely, "the death of the princess our sister, of whose good intention towards us we could not for some time past well doubt." It was her deplorable and unexpected death which had, he argued, prevented the completion of these good intentions. This was a direct charge of complicity in his cause by the late tory ministry of England, and was immediately seized on as an unanswerable proof of it by the whigs. The tories, confounded by so damning a disregard of their interests by the pretender, had no alternative but to deny the authenticity of the document; but that authenticity was as stoutly and foolishly maintained by the pretender himself. Then followed a fierce war of pamphlets. Those on the tory side were bearing such titles as the following:—"Stand fast to the Church." "Where are the Bishops now?" "The Religion of King George." "No Presbyterian Government." "The State Gamester; or, the Church of England's Sorrowful Lamentation." "Æsop in Mourning." "The Duke of Ormonde's Vindication." "The Lord Bolingbroke's Vindication." "No Pretender; or, the Duke of Marlborough's Design Defeated." These were hawked in all directions; but the hawkers were seized, their pamphlets burnt, and themselves sent to the house of correction. Able writers were employed on the whig side, and Addison admirably ridiculed the Jacobites in what he called "A Tory Creed," which appeared in the "Freeholder." The first three articles were—"That the church of England will always be in danger till it has a popish king for its defender. That for the safety of the church no subject should be tolerated in any religion different from the established, but that the head of our church may be of that religion which is most repugnant to it. That the protestant interest in this nation and in all Europe could not but flourish under the protection of one who thinks himself obliged, on pain of damnation, to do all that lies in its power for the extirpation of it."

At the coronation there was the usual creation or advancement of peers. Amongst these, besides Halifax being made an earl, and Wharton a marquis, as we have said, lord Paget was made earl of Uxbridge, Henry Boyle baron Carlton, and Sir Richard Temple lord Cobham. The day after, Cobham and general Stanhope were dispatched on a secret mission to the emperor of Vienna. Stanhope was chosen because he had fought bravely for the emperor Charles VI. in Spain, and the object was to assuage the jealousy of Charles at seeing one of the vassals of the empire advanced to the independent position of king of England, and to obtain, if possible, the completion of the Bavarian treaty, which still remained an obstacle to the cordial alliance of the Dutch and Charles. They took the Hague on their way, and endeavoured to bring the States-General to a reasonable view of the matter. At Vienna Stanhope was most cordially received by the emperor, and urged upon him the necessity of settling the Barrier Treaty to secure the Netherlands against French intrigues; but he very unexpectedly found prince Eugene much opposed to it, being extremely indignant at the last proposals of the Dutch, and declaring the Low Countries rather a burden than a benefit to the empire, and not worth accepting on such terms. Stanhope remained in Vienna till the 22nd of December, endeavouring to reduce the difficulties, and on his way back again paused to induce the Dutch to reduce their terms. Though he did not succeed in bringing the parties to an immediate agreement, he prepared the way for one, and, after a yet considerable struggle betwixt Dutch and German pugnacity, the treaty was finally concluded in November of 1715. The Dutch were to garrison Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, and Knoque; and, jointly with Austria, Dendermond, for which they were to receive five hundred thousand crowns yearly.

Immediately after Stanhope's return, Cobham remaining minister at Vienna, early in January, 1715, the ministers met in council, and agreed to issue two proclamations, one dissolving parliament, and the other calling a new one. In the proclamation calling a new parliament, the whigs did not restrain themselves within constitutional limits, but, instead of leaving the electors to the free exercise of public opinion, endeavoured to serve the ends of their party by severely reflecting on the conduct of the late government, and called upon the electors to have especial regard to such candidates as showed a firmness to the protestant succession. As was to be expected, there were considerable exhibitions of the rancour of factions in the elections. There were here and there riots and disturbances, and at Cambridge the undergraduates took a very active part. "A right trusty body of passively obedient *Johnians* were mounted upon their college leads, under which the members were to pass, with a good store of brickbats to discharge on their heads."

The elections went, however, vastly in favour of the whigs. The hopes of advantage from a new monarch made their usual conversions. In the house of commons of 1710 there was a very large majority of whigs; in that of 1713 as great a one of tories; and now again there was as large a one of whigs. In the lords the spectacle was the same. Bolingbroke says, "I saw several lords concur to condemn, in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former parliament by many particular resolutions."

In the commons, Mr. Spencer Compton, the ministerial nominee, was elected speaker. On the 21st the king opened the parliament in person, but, being unable to speak English, he handed his speech to the chancellor Cowper to read. In the speech the king thanked his faithful and loving subjects for the zeal and firmness which they had shown in defence of the protestant succession. He expressed his regret to find that some of the conditions of the peace had not yet been fulfilled; that it was essential to the trade of the country that they should be duly executed, and equally essential to the honour and security of the nation that alliances should be entered into to guarantee the present treaties. He observed that the pretender boasted of the assistance he expected from England, but trusted that he would be disappointed. He declared his astonishment to find the public debt so much increased since the peace of Utrecht, and the more so, because some branches of the revenue set apart for the civil government had become so much encumbered, that the income granted him would not be sufficient to maintain him in the honour and dignity requisite for the head of such a nation, especially as he had a son, the prince of Wales, who had several children, that some expenditure would be increased beyond what the civil list had lately borne, but that he confided in their affection for providing what was necessary. He assured them that the established constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government, and the happiness of the people the chief care of his life.

In both houses warm debates arose on the addresses. That in the lords was moved by the duke of Bolton, who used the words in it "to recover the reputation of this kingdom." Bolingbroke boldly proposed, in a splendid speech—his last in parliament—that the word "recover" should be changed for "maintain;" but the original address was carried by a majority of sixty-six to thirty-three. It was on this occasion that Bolingbroke saw with indignation his old supporters so rapidly wheeling round to the other side.

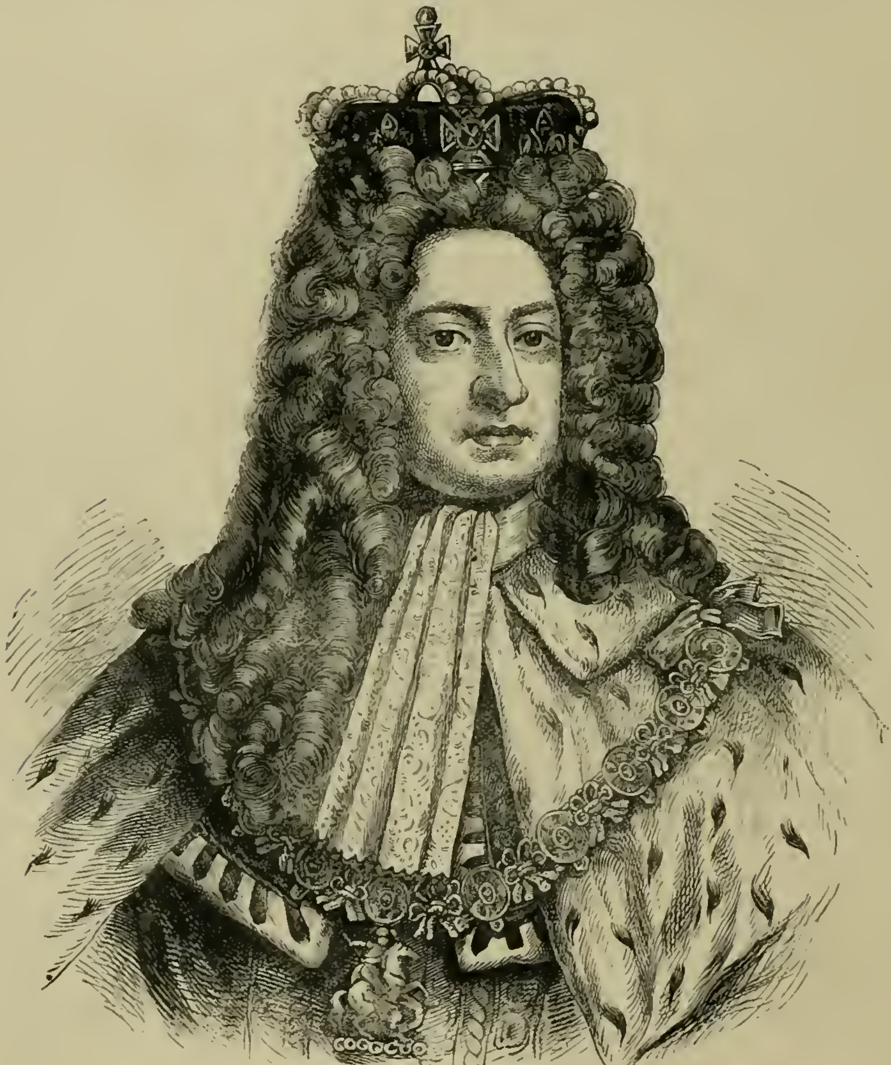
In the commons the address condemned in strong language the shameful peace which had been made after a war carried on at such vast expense, and attended with such unparalleled successes; but expressed a hope that, as this dishonour could not with justice be imputed to the nation, through his majesty's wisdom and the faithful endeavours of the commons, the reputation of the kingdom might in due time be vindicated and restored. The speech having alluded to the pretender, the address, which was moved by Walpole, went on to say that "It is with just resentment we observe that the pretender still resides in Lorraine, and that he has the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up your majesty's subjects to rebellion. But that which raises the utmost indignation of your commons is, that it appears therein that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment."

This was the first direct announcement of the ministers' intention to call their predecessors to account, and secretary Stanhope, in the course of the debate, confirmed it, observing that it had been industriously circulated that the present ministers never designed to bring the late ministers to trial, but only to pass a general censure on them; but he assured the house that, though active endeavours had been used to prevent a discovery of the late treasonable proceedings, by conveying away papers from the secretaries' offices, yet government had sufficient evidence to enable them to bring to justice the most corrupt ministry that ever sate at the helm; and that it would appear that a certain English general had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, marshal Villars.

The tories endeavoured to oppose the address, as reflecting on the memory of the queen, but the whigs replied that nothing was farther from their intentions; on the contrary, they desired to vindicate her memory by exposing and punishing those evil counsellors who deluded her into pernicious measures, and now sought to excuse themselves by throwing on the good, pious, and well-meaning princess all the blame and odium of their evil counsels. The address was carried by a majority of two hundred and forty-four to one hundred and thirty-eight.

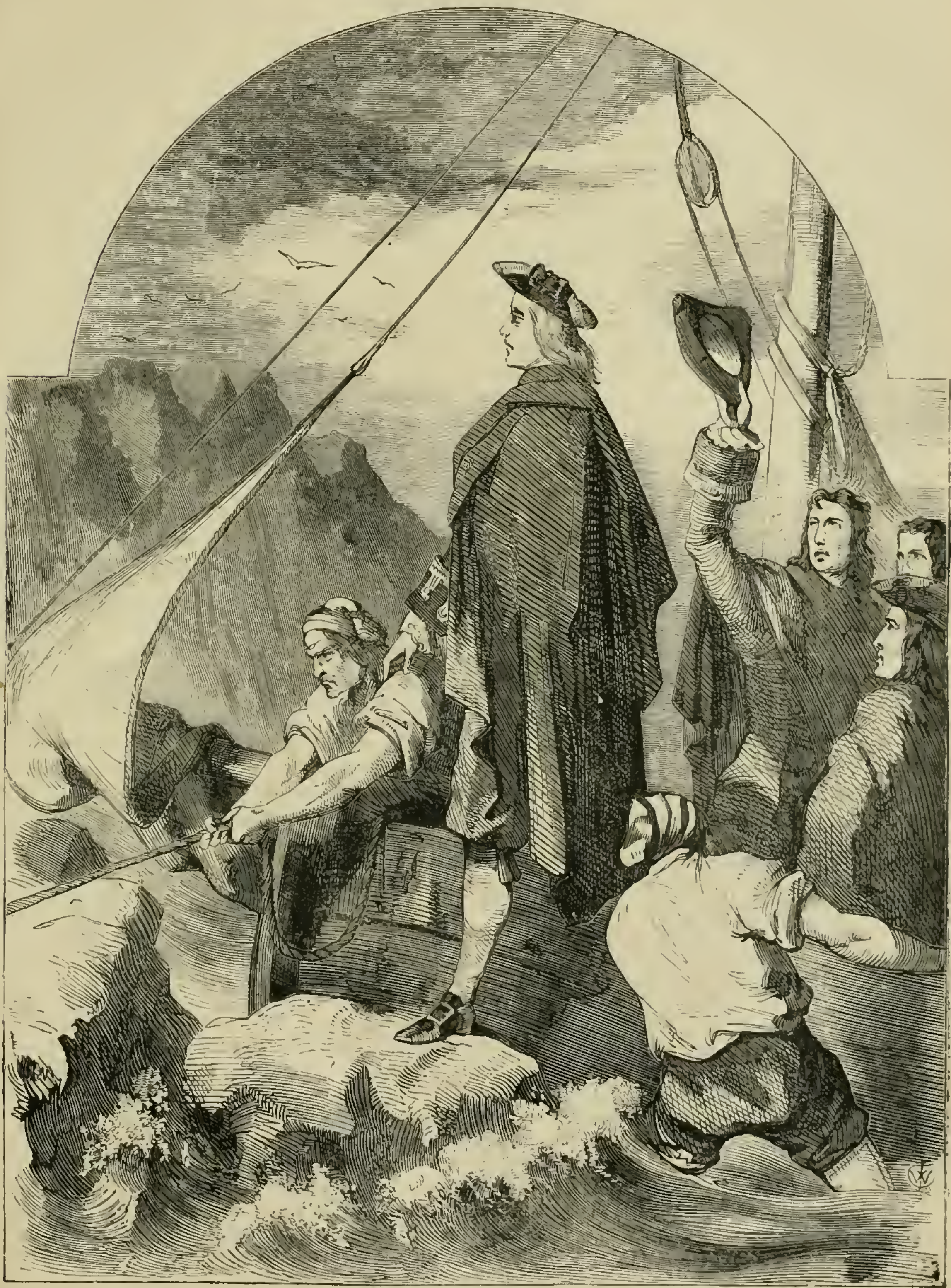
It was now clear that the ministers meant to impeach Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormonde, the general alluded to. Oxford acted with his usual sluggish impassiveness; he awaited quietly the event. Bolingbroke affected to despise the menaced attack, and declared in conversation that he found that he could be unfortunate without being unhappy. Swift even affected to congratulate him on his fall, writing to him thus:—"I hope your lordship, who was always kind to me while you were a servant, will not forget me now in your greatness. I give you this caution, because I verily believe you will be apt to be exalted in your new station of retirement, which was the only honourable part that those who gave it you were capable of conferring." But this was all bravado. The treason of that man was too enormous to leave him at case. He was guilty, and knew it, and he was all this time meditating his retreat. These brags of himself and his shadow, Swift, were only the camp-fires left burning whilst the retreat was made. He was informed that Prior, who had been recalled from Paris, was induced to disclose all he knew; and though this proved false, it quickened his movements. He attended Drury Lane theatre on the 26th of March, and at the close of the play ordered another for the next night, as was the custom with great men at that time. He then disguised himself as a servant of La Vigne, a messenger of the king of France, and got safe to Paris, where he soon after engaged himself wholly in the pretender's service as his secretary of state. It was the first time for many years that he had occupied an honest position. He was now an avowed enemy of the Hanoverian house; before he had been busy ruining and disgracing his country under the guise of its minister.

As for the duke of Ormonde, he carried his parade of defiance still farther. He kept a sort of opposition court at Richmond, where he seemed to vie with royalty itself in the splendour of his establishment and of his entertainments. He allowed his name to be tossed about in the riots with the words "high church," and openly allied himself with the Jacobites. Yet the ministry had no such bitterness of resentment against him as they had against Oxford and Bolingbroke; and, as he had a strong body of friends, would, it is evident, have been willing to let him pass without further notice, but for his daring them, as it were, to do their worst. It was suggested to Marlborough whether some means might not be found of bringing him over, and inducing him to own that he had been misled; in which case the ministers appeared disposed to waive any prosecution in his case.



GEORGE I. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

On the 9th of April secretary Stanhope laid before the house the papers, instructions, memorials, &c., connected with the withdrawing from the allies and the peace of Utrecht.



LANDING OF THE CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE IN SCOTLAND.

They filled twelve bound volumes and three small books. As they were so voluminous, he moved that they should be referred to a committee of twenty-one persons. The motion was carried without opposition; the committee met that evening, and appointed Walpole chairman. They pursued their inquiries with all diligence for two months. Whilst this was going on, the opposite parties in the house could not refrain from breaking out in almost every debate into heats, which showed the fiendish condition of the house. On one occasion Sir William Wyndham broke forth into strong terms of reprobation of the king's proclamation in January, which he declared was dangerous to the very existence of parliament. He was fiercely called upon to explain, and, on his refusing, there was a loud cry of "To the Tower!—to the Tower!" But Walpole parried so unwise an act of rigour by declaring that he would not gratify the member's desire of being sent to the Tower—that would make the young man of too much importance; and he rather desired to see him in his place when they came to inquire into the measures of his friends. On another occasion Wyndham denounced the grant of so large a civil list, declaring that the late queen could afford out of the same sum to pay fifty thousand pounds a year to the widow of king James. This was an unlucky slip, and it was instantly seized on by Stanhope, who begged the house to mark well what had fallen from that gentleman, as it confirmed matters which the committee had discovered amongst his papers intrusted to them.

On the 1st of June, Shippen, a leading Jacobite, threw out a taunt, that he believed all the labours of the secret committee must end in smoke. But Boscawen, one of the committee, replied that, so far from that, the committee was prepared to chastise the insolence of a certain set of men by making its report. Walpole followed, declaring that he "wanted words to express the villany of the late Frenchified ministry;" and Stanhope, that he "wondered that men who were guilty of such enormous crimes had still the audaciousness to appear in the public streets."

The report was accordingly brought up on the 9th. It was brought up by Walpole in a clear and masterly style, and was read by himself. It took five hours for the perusal, and was read a second time the next day by the clerk. It was supported by seventy-one extracts from the correspondence of the late ministry; and, by its details of the shameful conditions of the peace of Utrecht, of the line of conduct prescribed to Ormonde on the occasion, of the most infamous betrayal of the Catalans to the vengeance of Spain, the wanton gift of Tournay to the French, and the whole conduct of Bolingbroke in these transactions, it roused the most unspeakable indignation in the house. It was ordered to be printed, and Sir Thomas Hanmer moved that it should be printed, and its consideration postponed till the 21st; but such was the feeling of the house that this was opposed by Walpole, Stanhope, and all the whigs, and Hanmer's motion was rejected by two hundred and eighty votes to one hundred and sixty.

Walpole then rose and moved the impeachment of Bolingbroke of high treason. The friends of Bolingbroke were deprived of the power of defending him by his flight; for, though the report had most strikingly proved the infamy of the peace of Utrecht, and of the conduct of the ministry to the allies, it was far weaker in the charges regarding his correspondence with the pretender, many papers having been secretly conveyed away. These papers have since, and many of them recently, come to light, and establish in the broadest daylight the whole of the guilt of those ministers. Yet, as that evidence was to a great degree wanting at the moment, it afforded ground for defence; but, except some observations from Mr. Hungerford and general Ross, asserting that there was nothing in the evidence against lord Bolingbroke amounting to high treason, the whole of the Jacobite party was silent, and the motion passed without a division. Lord Coningsby then rose and said—"The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, and I do impeach the head; he has impeached the clerk, and I the justice; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert, earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours."

There was a more spirited defence of Oxford than there had been of Bolingbroke. Mr. Harley and Mr. Foley, Oxford's brother-in-law, warmly defended their relative, and Sir Joseph Jekyll, a member of the committee, admitting that they had evidence to convict Bolingbroke, doubted whether they had evidence enough to convict Oxford. But other members stated that, besides the report, they had a quantity of living evidence in readiness, and the motion was carried without a division. On the 21st Stanhope impeached Ormonde. There was in the duke's case a strong array of defence. The debate continued nine hours and a half. His correspondence with the pretender was not so well proved as that of the two ministers, though there was no question of his guilt being equal; but it was contended by his friends that he had only obeyed orders in withdrawing the troops from the allies, as he was bound to do; that the guilt, if any, rested with the ministers who issued these orders. Jekyll also spoke in his favour, and the motion was only carried by a majority of forty-seven. The next day the earl of Strafford was impeached by Mr. Aislabie, as one of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, not of high treason, but of high crimes and misdemeanours; and, as no charge was brought against Robinson, bishop of Lincoln, the other plenipotentiary, Mr. Hungerford sarcastically observed that it seemed he was to enjoy the benefit of clergy.

Much effort was made on behalf of Ormonde, in which the duke of Devonshire took the lead, to reconcile him to the court, in which case the prosecution would have been dropped; and his Jacobite friends warmly urged him to accept this offer, because they were anxious to retain him in England with a view to his services in plans of fresh treason. There was a scheme for a rising in the west, and Ormonde was already deep in it; but he was too honourable to adopt the hollow part recommended by his friends, and he therefore followed the example of Bolingbroke, and fled. Before taking his departure, he is reported to have visited Oxford in the Tower, and advised him by all means to effect his escape too; but when he found the ex-lord treasurer insensible to his arguments, he said, "Farewell, Oxford without a head;" to which Oxford replied, "Farewell, duke without a duchy." Bolingbroke was destined to revisit England, but Ormonde never. He lived and died in exile, at the age of eighty, in 1745. Lady Mary Wortley Montague saw him at Avignon, where, she says, he kept an assembly, where all the best company met twice a week; lived in great magnificence; was quite inoffensive, and seemed to have forgotten every part of his past life, and to be of no party.

The impeachment of Oxford immediately followed. On the 9th of July lord Coningsby, attended by a great part of the commons, carried up to the lords the articles against him, sixteen in number, to which afterwards six more were added. The first fifteen related to the peace of Utrecht; the sixteenth to the sudden creation of twelve peers in 1711, in order to create a tory majority, by which it charged him with highly abusing the constitution of parliament and the laws of the kingdom. When the articles had been read, it was doubted whether any of the charges amounted to high treason. To decide this as a legal point, it was moved that the judges should be consulted; but this motion was rejected, and another was made to commit him to the Tower; and, though reprieved a few days on account of an indisposition, he was committed accordingly, having made a very solemn plea of his innocence, and of having only obeyed the orders of the queen, without at all convincing the house.

Matthew Prior and Thomas Harley were arrested on the 10th of June. They were examined by the secret committee, and Prior, refusing to betray his principals by revealing his correspondence with them during his employment by them in Paris, was on the 17th of the same month, on the motion of Walpole for his impeachment, committed to custody; and in the following year he was found not only still lying in confinement at the mercy of the house, but was omitted in an act of grace passed then. Soon after, however, he was discharged, and quietly retired into the country, where he passed the remainder of his days, either at his own villa of Doun Hall, or at Wimpole, a seat of the earl of Oxford, where he died on the 18th of December, 1721. It was the misfortune of Prior, who appears to have been an active and skilful diplomatist, to have been employed in the worst of causes, and by the worst ministers who had for a long time been intrusted with power. Oxford continued to lie in the Tower for two years before he was brought to trial, matters of higher public interest intervening.

Whilst these proceedings were in agitation, the tory and Jacobite party, which had at the king's accession appeared stunned, now recovering spirit, began to foment discontent and sedition in the public mind. They set the pulpits to work, and the high church clergy lent themselves heartily to it. They maligned the king in their sermons; they represented him as of a morose and gloomy temper; his religion as presbyterian, and that the old tyranny of that religion was to be restored; they drew the most insidious distinctions betwixt a foreign prince and an English prince; they declared that we should be eaten up by Hanoverian rats and other foreign vermin. The cries were soon raised of "High church and Ormonde for ever!" "Down with the puritans!" "Down with the dissenters!" When Oxford was conducted to the Tower, he was followed by vast mobs cheering and crying, "High church, Oxford, and Ormonde for ever!" The mobs were soon set to pull down the meeting-houses of the dissenters. Many buildings were destroyed, and many dissenters insulted. They did not pause there, but they blackened the character of the king, and denied his right to the crown, whilst the most fascinating pictures were drawn of the youth, and grace, and graciousness of the rightful English prince, who was wandering in exile to make way for the usurper. To such a length did matters go, that the riot act, which had been passed in the reign of Mary, and limited to her own reign, which was again revived by Elizabeth, and had never since been called into action, was now made perpetual, and armed with increased power. It provided that if twelve persons should unlawfully assemble to disturb the peace, and any one justice should think proper to command them by proclamation to disperse, and should they, in contempt of his orders, continue together for one hour, it should be felony without benefit of clergy. A subsequent clause was added, by which pulling down chapels or houses, even before proclamation, was made subject to the same penalties. Such is the act in force at this day.

But if the mob could not pull down any more chapels, or insult dissenters or whigs without danger, they took to the less manly amusement of insulting the king's mistresses. Unfortunately, George had brought with him several German ladies, who were as remarkable for ugliness and corpulence as Charles II.'s mistresses had been for beauty. In the eyes of an English mob, a king's mistress is a very sufferable personage if she is handsome; but it was regarded as a species of treason and an insult to the nation that king George should patronise ugly women. Accordingly, when they saw Madame Herrengard Melusina von Schulemberg, or the countess Platen, abroad, they pursued their carriages with howling and insults. They had the reputation of being very rapacious, and they saw that they were very corpulent and plain. One of these ladies in alarm put her head out of her carriage, and exclaimed, "Why do you abuse us, good people? We come for all your goods." To which a fellow bawled out, with an oath, "Yes, and for all our chattels too!" It was not till worse things than these insults had taken place, particularly in Staffordshire, which was long remarkable for its tory politics, that the riot act succeeded in securing peace.

During this year died two of the leading ministers, the lords Wharton and Halifax. Wharton was an able man, but of a most profligate character, and was succeeded by his son, still more able and still more abandoned. Halifax was a man of good talents, of literary taste, which he patronised in others. He was eloquent in parliament, a skilful financier, and an active man of business. His great faults were his excessive vanity and his ambition, which saw no post or prize too high for his imagined deserts. On the demise of Wharton the privy seal was put in commission; and the earl of Carlisle, a poor statesman and worse poet, was made first lord of the treasury; but he was soon found unequal to the office, and in October it was conferred on Walpole.

We come now to the rebellion of 1715. The succession of the house of Hanover had raised the pretender and his Jacobite faction in England to a pitch of excitement which made them ready to rush upon the most desperate measures. In England the destruction of the tory ministry, the welcome given to the new protestant king, and the vigour with which the whigs and all the supporters of the principles of the revolution had shown the majority which they were able to return to the new parliament, were all indications that the spirit of the nation was more firmly than ever rooted in protestantism and the love of constitutional liberty, and that any endeavours to overturn the new dynasty to succeed must be supported by an overwhelming power from without. But where was that power? France, the only country which took an immediate interest in the exiled family, and which sympathised with the hope of its restoration, both on account of natural affinity of religion and congenial principles of government, was exhausted by a long and latterly a disastrous war, and was bound by treaties with England, which she was in no condition to break with impunity. For the pretender to succeed, he must come supported by a great military force, by money and arms, which France could not furnish. It might be said that England was just now destitute of any considerable army, such had been the precipitancy with which the Jacobite ministers had disbanded our veteran troops. There were said to be only about eight thousand soldiers in all England; that the public and the aristocracy were divided on the grand question of the reigning family, and that the highlands of Scotland were decidedly in favour of the Stuart. But the fact was, that the party, after all, of the pretender in any class of society in England was small. The body of the people were undoubtedly devoted to the protestant church and the protestant succession. It was well known, spite of all the endeavours to dress up the pretender in popular colours, that he was as weak in intellect, as bigoted in principle, and as arbitrary in politics as his father, James II., had been. He was by education and religion more a Frenchman than an Englishman. It was clear, therefore, that even the support of a strong force could only insure a hard and bloody struggle, with a very doubtful issue. Without such force the event was certain failure; yet, under such auspices, it was determined to try the venture.

Bolingbroke, on arriving in Paris, professed to be wholly an Englishman, exiled by circumstances, but yet resolved to stand by his country. It was, however, as his life had long been, a mere profession. Whilst exercising the high office of the administration of his country, he had been long zealously at work to betray her to all the old superstitions and despotisms, from which it cost her so much blood, anxiety, and labour to free herself, and his pretences now were only dictated by his own selfish hopes that the exertions of his party might be able to open the way for his return. He wrote, therefore, to lord Stair, the English ambassador, to assure him that he would on no account enter into any engagements hostile to the reigning family; and he wrote to Stanhope to make the same assurances. Yet all the time he was in active correspondence with the pretender. He saw both him and the duke of Berwick, and gave them the greatest encouragement as to an invasion. He drew a flattering picture of the Jacobite interest in England, and the pretender in return created him an earl, which, as he observed, raised him a degree higher than his sister, queen Anne, had done, and at the same time held out the promise of still greater future rewards for his services. Very soon after arrived the news of the bill of attainder, and Bolingbroke, seeing all hope closed of his return to England, at once threw off the mask, hastened to Commercy, in Lorraine, and publicly joined the pretender.

These proceedings confirm our view of the character of Bolingbroke, that he was a man of brilliant talents, but of no real sagacity. He was sparkling, shining, and imposing by his manners, but had no solidity or depth of judgment. He was at once ambitious and unprincipled, and being destitute of religious sentiment, was ready to adopt any cause which should make him a leader. But in adopting such cause, he betrayed the superficial character of his mind. A man of sound observation and masculine reason would have perceived at a glance that the whole scheme of an invasion of England at such a time and by such a party—opposed to that unequivocal spirit of the nation, which had put down king after king, changed the whole dynasty, faith, and constitution, so far as it regarded hereditary right, and had at this very crisis brought in another dynasty on its own avowed principles—was nothing less than insane. The view which he had now had of the hero whom he was to introduce to the British, ought to have opened his eyes, however firmly they had been closed before, and would have done so had he been a really great diplomatist. "The very first conversation I had with the chevalier," he says himself, "answered in no degree my expectations. He talked to me like a man who expected every moment to set out for England or Scotland, but did not very well know which." Bolingbroke saw that all was rashness, impatience, and want of preparation in the party on both sides of the channel. The Highlanders were all eagerness for the chevalier's arrival, lest he should land in England, and the English should snatch the glory of the restoration from them. From England came the letters of Ormonde, who was down in the west, and sent most glowing representations of the spirit of the people there; that out of every ten persons nine were against king George. That he had distributed money amongst the disbanded officers, to engage them in the cause of king James. But all these fine words terminated with the damping intelligence that nobody would stir until they saw the chevalier with a good army at his back. Such an army there was not the smallest hope of obtaining from France. All that Louis would or could do, without engaging in a new war with England, was to prevail on his grandson, Philip of Spain, to advance four hundred thousand crowns for the expedition, and besides this, the pretender had been able privately to borrow another hundred thousand, and purchase ten thousand stand of arms.

With such prospects, the commonly-reputed sagacious statesman, Bolingbroke, first engaged himself in the rash enterprise by accepting the office of secretary of state to the so-called James III., and he proceeded to Paris, as the best centre where to operate for its success. The state of things which he found there amongst his new associates ought to have startled him out of his infatuation. "I find," he says, in a letter to Sir William Wyndham of July 23rd, "a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what seemed good in his own eyes; no subordination, no order, no concert. The Jacobites had wrought one another up to look on the success of the present designs as infallible.

Care and hope sate on every busy Irish face. Those who could write and read had letters to show, and those who had not yet arrived to this pitch of erudition, had their secrets to whisper. No sex was excluded from this ministry." And all this under the vigilant eyes of lord Stair, the English ambassador. One of the busiest of the busy in this shabby and incautious crew was a Mrs. Olivia Trant, a woman of what lord Byron calls uneasy virtue, and very uneasy politics.

Whilst Bolingbroke was contemplating this promising preparation for the invasion of Great Britain, he received a memorial signed by Ormonde, the earl of Mar, lord Lansdowne, and other Jacobite leaders, which again strongly urged the necessity of the pretender bringing over a strong force; but if that was impracticable, that he should not come without twenty thousand stand of arms, a train of artillery, five hundred officers, and a considerable sum of money. That in that case he should not attempt to land till September, old style, when the parliament would be prorogued, and all the influential Jacobite members and ministers would be in their respective counties.

Bolingbroke, who was now in close intercourse with De Torcy, the French minister, laid this memorial before him. Both he and the duke of Berwick contended that nothing could be so certain as the enterprise, were it supported by France. De Torcy replied that so completely was France engaged by its treaty, and its then circumstances, not to furnish any such assistance in the shape of soldiers, that he would not even undertake to name the matter to his master; but that the French court would not be averse to granting secret supplies, and that Louis had already allowed a small armament to be fitted out at Havre, partly at the expense of the government, but under a fictitious name.

This was not very encouraging, and should have induced Bolingbroke to endeavour to check the impatience of the Scots, and urge on a more thorough organisation of the malcontent party in England; but at this moment came another warning of the perilous nature of the few props upon which he madly leaned. The duke of Ormonde had assured him that he would stand his ground to the last; would remain at Richmond, or if compelled by danger of arrest, would go down to the western counties, and put that quarter of the kingdom, on which he most relied, into a condition for rising at the earliest warning. That he had concerted measures for seizing Bristol, Plymouth, and Exeter, and had assigned stations to a great number of disbanded officers in his pay, and even provided relays of horses. On the heels of these energetic assurances, however, Ormonde himself appeared in Paris a helpless fugitive, having found it prudent, to avoid a lodgment in the Tower in order to his trial, to make a hasty escape.

But a more disastrous event was soon added—the death of the old despot, Louis XIV. This monarch, the most applauded of his time, whom his sycophantic courtiers and poets had exalted to the rank of a god—as Racine in his triumphal ode on the taking of Namur—

C'est Jupiter en personne,
Ou c'est le vanqueur de Mons;

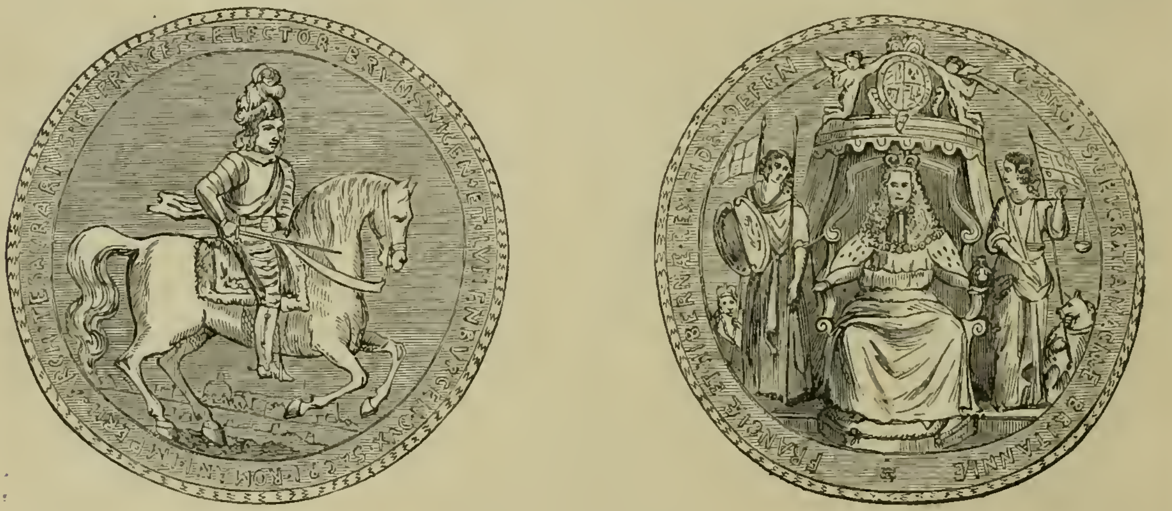
this king, who had set out to put down all protestantism, and ruin and subjugate all protestant countries; who, hounded on by Jesuits, mistresses, and servile ministers, imagined that he could dominate over all Europe; who had perpetrated the most diabolical barbarities in the countries that he invaded, and on his own unhappy protestant subjects—had gone down to the grave amid the just judgments of Providence. He had seen his victories all reversed, his own country entered by the once-distressed foreigners whom he had invaded, his capital in danger, and only saved from seizure and a probable sacking by the Jacobite ministers of England. He had been so reduced by his wars and reverses that he had been compelled to strip his palaces of any valuables that he could turn into money, to tear away and melt down the very gold which embossed his shaken throne. He had seen all around him gloomy looks, heard the silence of contempt, or the murmur of a ruined people, and died with the sense of having sought a criminal glory and received a well-deserved humiliation. He had besides laid the foundation, in his attack on the thrones of other monarchs, of the destruction of his own dynasty, of monarchy itself in France. This disturber of Europe and scourge of France died on the 1st of September; and Bolingbroke, writing to Wyndham, said—"He was the best friend the chevalier had; and when I engaged in this business my principal dependence was on his personal character. All I had to negotiate by myself first, and in conjunction with the duke of Ormonde afterwards, languished with the king. My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired."

Louis was succeeded for the time by the duke of Orleans as regent, who had other views, and was surrounded by other influences than the old king. He had secured the regency in opposition to Madame Maintenon and the royal bastards. He changed all the ministers, and was not inclined to risk his government by making enemies of the English abroad, having sufficient of these at home. He had been for some time cultivating the good offices of the present English government, which had offered to assist him with troops and money, if necessary, to secure the regency. He had seen a good deal of the new secretary of state, Stanley, in Spain, and still maintained a correspondence with him. Lord Stair, therefore, was placed in a more influential position with the regent, and the pretender and his ministers were but coldly looked on.

Bolingbroke and Ormonde, deeply sensible of this change, omitted no means, even the most scandalous, to obtain some degree of support from the regent. As Orleans was a man of the most libertine life, Ormonde tempted him by the beauty of Mrs. Olivia Trant. The regent was very ready to fall into the intrigue, but he was too subtle to allow it to influence his public measures. At the same time he was compelled to be more acquiescent to the demands of lord Stair. This vigilant minister had discovered the ships prepared at Havre, by the connivance and partly by the aid of the late king, and he insisted that they should be stopped. Admiral Byng also appeared off Havre with a squadron, and lord Stair demanded the ships should be given up to him. With this the regent declined to comply, but he ordered them to be unloaded, and the arms to be deposited in the royal arsenal. One ship, however, escaped the search, containing, according to Bolingbroke, one thousand three hundred arms, and four thousand pounds of powder, which he proposed to send to lord Mar, in Scotland.

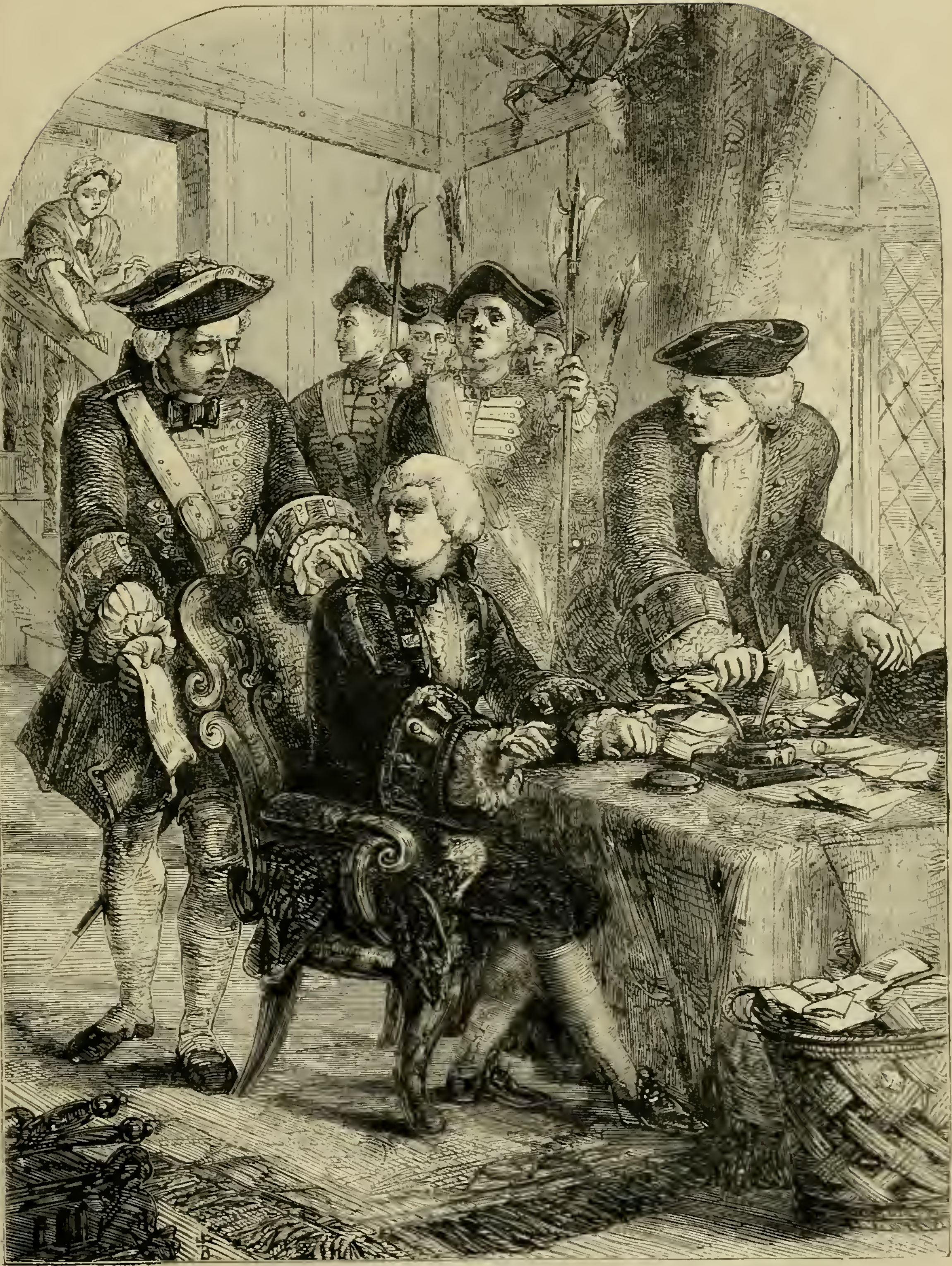
This succession of adverse circumstances induced Bolingbroke to dispatch a messenger to London to inform the earl of Mar of them, and to state that, as England would not stir without assistance from abroad, and as no such assistance could be obtained, he would see that nothing as yet could be attempted. But when the messenger arrived in London, he learnt from Erasmus Lewis, Oxford's late secretary, and a very active partisan of the Jacobites, that Mar was already gone to raise the Highlands, and, if we are to believe the duke of Berwick, by the especial suggestion of the pretender himself, though he had, on the 23rd of September, in writing to Bolingbroke, expressed the necessity of the Scotch waiting till they heard further from him. If that was so, it was at once traitorous towards his supporters and very ill-advised, and was another proof to Bolingbroke of the unsafe parties with whom he was embarked in this hopeless enterprise.

So soon as this news reached France the pretender hastened to St. Malo in order to embark for Scotland, and Ormonde hastened over from Normandy to Devonshire to join the insurgents, whom he now expected to meet in arms. He took with him only twenty officers and as many troopers from Nugent's regiment. This was the force with which Ormonde landed in England to conquer it for the pretender. There was, however, no need of even these forty men. The English government had been beforehand with him; they had arrested all his chief coadjutors, and when he reached the appointed rendezvous there was not a man to meet him. On reaching St. Malo, Ormonde there found the pretender not yet embarked. After some conference together, Ormonde once more went on board ship to reach the English coast and make one more attempt in the hopeless expedition, but he was soon driven back by a tempest. By this time the port of St. Malo was blockaded by the English, and the pretender was compelled to travel on land to Dunkirk, where, in the middle of December, he sailed with only a single ship, for the conquest of Scotland, and attended only by half a dozen gentlemen, disguised, like himself, as French naval officers.


GREAT SEAL OF GEORGE I.

Mar had left London on the 2nd of August to raise the Highlands. In order to blind the agents of government he ordered a royal levée on the 1st, and on the following night got on board a collier bound for Newcastle, attended by major-general Hamilton and colonel Hay. From Newcastle they got to the coast of Fife in another vessel, and repaired to the house of John Bethune, at Elie. Thence they went to Invercauld, and on the way met five gentlemen of Fife, who complaining that government was going to deprive them of their arms, Mar advised them to summon their neighbours and rise at once; though, as nothing was ready, they could only have insured their own ruin. On the 27th there was a large meeting at Aboyne, at which were present the marquises of Huntley and Tullibardine, the dukes of Gordon and Athol, the earl marshal, the earl of Southesk, the chief of Glengarry, and others.

Mar there addressed them at great length, telling them that he bitterly repented having signed the accursed treaty of union, and was now resolved to retrieve his fault by endeavouring to restore Scotland to its ancient independence, and the rightful king to his throne. He declared that he had his majesty's command to rise; that he himself was coming; that France was ready to furnish ample supplies; and that England was ripe for insurrection. The Scotch chiefs did not appear very sanguine of success in going to war against England, and with only their own followers and resources; but they were weak enough to follow Mar's counsel. On the 6th of September he erected the standard of the chevalier at Kirkmichael, a village of Braemar. He was then only attended by sixty men; and the highland chiefs, extremely alive to omens, were startled by the gilt ball falling from the summit of the pole as it was planted in the ground. The standard was consecrated by prayers, and he was in a few days joined by about five hundred of his own vassals. The gentlemen who came on horseback, only about twenty at first, soon became several hundreds, and were named the Royal Squadron. The white cockade was assumed as the badge of the insurgent army, and clan after clan came in; first the Mackintoshes, five hundred in



ARREST OF SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

number, who seized on Inverness. James was proclaimed by Panmure at Brechin, by the earl marshal at Aberdeen, by lord Huntly at Gordon, and by Graham, the brother of Claverhouse, at Dundee. Colonel Hay, brother of the earl of Kinnaird, seized Perth, and in a very short time the country north of the Tay was in the hands of the insurgents.

Whilst the flame was spreading from hill to hill in the Highlands, there was an attempt to surprise the castle of Edinburgh by a party of Highlanders. Lord Drummond, a catholic nobleman, was at the head of the plan. Three soldiers in the garrison were gained over, and a part of the precipice on the north side of the rock on which the castle stands, was pointed out as accessible by one of the conspirators, who, having been once on duty as a soldier, had often descended by it into the town at night to visit his sweetheart. Ladders were prepared to facilitate the speedy ascent, and the rope which held them was secured to a strong post within the wall. The conspirators, on gaining the castle-yard, were to fire three cannon as a signal, which was to be taken up by men stationed on the opposite side of the Forth, in Fifeshire, who were to fire a beacon light on a hill, and thus the news was to be sent from hill to hill all over the Highlands.

But fortunately for the cause of king George, the men who were to perform this exploit committed two gross errors—they stayed tippling after their time, and a Mr. Arthur, who was in the conspiracy, communicated the secret to his brother, Dr. Arthur, who betrayed it to his wife, and who soon dispatched a messenger with it to the lord justice clerk. The scaling of the castle wall was to take place at nine: the news of the intended surprise did not reach the lord justice clerk till ten, but the conspirators continued drinking, and even boasting of what they were going to do, till eleven, two hours after their time. Had they been punctual, notwithstanding the betrayal of the secret, they would have succeeded; as it was, just as they were ascending the ladders, the sentinel on duty, who was their accomplice, saw a body of soldiers issue from the castle and march towards him. Aware that the secret was out, he called over the wall, to give the conspirators the alarm, and suddenly let go the rope to prevent his own detection, so that numbers on the ladders were toppled down the cliff and much hurt. Four of them were taken, who turned out to be Ramsay and Boswell, writers to the signet; Leslie, late a page of the duchess of Gordon, famous for her Jacobite zeal; and captain Maclean, a veteran of the field of Killiecrankie.

The ministry in London, meantime, committed the political blunder—from a petty feeling of aversion to the man—of passing over Marlborough, and sending the duke of Argyll to Scotland as commander-in-chief against the rebels. Argyll was a man of ability, both in the field and in the house, but nothing like Marlborough, and he was of doubtful fidelity to the house of Hanover, Marlborough not more so. He was a man of imposing exterior, but with some mean and selfish qualities. Whilst Argyll proceeded to the Highlands to take the command of the forces there, the Dutch were called on, in compliance with a treaty with them, to supply six thousand soldiers; orders were issued to raise seven thousand more, all half-pay officers were summoned to active duty, and a reward of one hundred thousand pounds was offered for the pretender, dead or alive.

The authorities at Edinburgh, after the attempted surprise, suspended the *habeas corpus* act, and arrested and confined in the castle the most noted Jacobites, amongst them the earls of Hume, Wigtoun, Kinnoul, lord Deskford, Lockhart of Carnwath, and Hume of Whitfield. All suspected persons were summoned to give security for their good behaviour, and such as did not appear were deemed rebels. This done, great numbers came to a decision who might otherwise have remained inactive, and thus it did mischief. Amongst these was the earl of Breadalbane, a man of nearly eighty.

By the 28th of September Mar had mustered at Perth about five thousand men. He was cheered by the arrival of one or two ships from France with stores, arms, and ammunition. He had also managed to surprise a government ship driven to take shelter at Burntisland, on its way to carry arms to the earl of Sutherland, who was raising his clan for king George in the north. The arms were seized by Mar's party, and carried off to the army.

Argyll arrived about the same time in Scotland, and marched to Stirling, where he encamped with only about one thousand foot and five hundred cavalry. This was the time for Mar to advance and surround him, or drive him before him; but Mar was a most incompetent general, and remained inactive at Perth, awaiting the movement of the Jacobites in England, when, by a decisive action, he might have cleared all Scotland of the handful of king George's forces, and made a great impression on the public mind.

Those movements which Mar awaited in England were the rising of the west under Ormonde, which we have seen never came off, and of the Jacobites in the north. Though this did take place, it was so paralysed by the successful measures of the government, that it ended in nothing.

In and around London the government seized and confined all the leading Jacobites that they could find. Lord Lansdowne and lord Duplin, the titular duke of Powis, were sent to the Tower; lieutenant-colonel Paul, detected in enlisting for the pretender, was arrested. The king sent a message to the house of commons, desiring them to apprehend six of their members, with which they immediately endeavoured to comply. Some of these members were already away, but Harvey and Austin were taken at once. Sir John Packington and Sir William Wyndham were taken at their seats in the country. Wyndham was seized at his house in Somersetshire by colonel Huske and a messenger, who secured his papers; he, however, managed to escape, but one thousand pounds reward being offered for his recovery, he surrendered himself. Sir Richard Vivian, of Cornwall, was also arrested and sent up to town. Plymouth, Bristol, and Exeter, which the insurgents proposed to get possession of, were strongly garrisoned, and the west remained quiet.

A prompt course was next taken with the insolent Jacobitism of Oxford. That university had shown a most daring and insulting disloyalty; on the flight and attainder of the duke of Ormonde, their chancellor, had not only immediately elected his brother, the earl of Arran, to that dignity, but had conferred honorary degrees exclusively on Jacobites or high tories. A letter was intercepted from an undergraduate, in which he boasted that at the university they feared nothing, but drank king James's health every day. Colonel Owen and several other disbanded officers were there, concerting with the heads of houses to unite with the insurgents of Bristol; but Stanhope dispatched thither an experienced officer, general Pepper, who, on the 6th of October, summoned the vice-chancellor and mayor to his presence, showed them his orders from Stanhope to seize eighteen suspected persons, and to keep order in the place. The vaunting Oxonians doffed their bravado at the sight of the soldiers, and were in a hurry to obey. They assisted to secure the persons named. Ten or twelve of them were taken, though Owen and some others escaped; and Pepper assured the authorities that if any disorders took place in the execution of his duty, he would fire on the disturbers. This produced a profound quietus at Oxford.

In the north matters went further. In Northumberland and Durham there were many catholics, and the earl of Derwentwater, a young nobleman of amiable character, who had large estates both on the Tyne, where he lived, at Dilston Place, and at Derwentwater in Cumberland, and Mr. Forster, of Bamborough Castle, became their leaders. Derwentwater was only twenty-six at the time of the insurrection, and is said not to have entered willingly into it, but that he was incited to it by the reproaches of his wife, who told him that it was not fitting that the earl of Derwentwater should hide his head in hovels when the gentry were up in arms for the cause of their rightful sovereign; and throwing down her fan, she is reported to have said, "Take that, and give me your sword." This may account for the unprepared state in which he took the field, for though he had great numbers of men in his lead mines on Alston Moor, besides his numerous tenants, he joined the other insurgents with a very small following.

By appointment Derwentwater and Forster met at a place called Greenrig, whence the same day they marched to Rothbury. They had then together only sixty horse, but at Warkworth lord Widdrington joined them with thirty more. Forster was there appointed their general, simply because he was a protestant, and it was thought that this would have a good effect on the protestant population. At Warkworth, Forster, in disguise, himself proclaimed the chevalier by sound of trumpet. They marched to Alnwick, and thence to Morpeth, where their force amounted to about three hundred. Finding the gates of Newcastle closed against them, and the people up in arms, they turned aside to Hexham, where they expected to meet detachments from Lancashire. No forces arrived from that quarter, but a body of Scotch who had risen at Moffat under lord Kenmure, and others, sent them word that they were marching southwards, and they would meet them at Kelso. Kenmure proclaimed the chevalier at Moffat on the 12th of October, and the next day made an attempt on Dumfries; but the marquis of Annandale was before him, and secured it for the king. Being joined by the earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath, Kenmure marched south to meet the Northumberland rebels. He had about two hundred horsemen, and, hastening into England, he met Derwentwater, Forster, and Widdrington at Rothbury on the 19th, whence they proceeded to the rendezvous at Kelso, where they expected another body of insurgents under brigadier Macintosh.

This detachment under Macintosh had been sent by Mar, who was still lingering at Perth to get into the rear of Argyll by crossing the Frith of Forth below Stirling, whilst another body, under general Gordon, was dispatched to seize on Inverary, and kept the clan Campbell in check. Macintosh had about two thousand men under his command, chiefly from his own clans, but supported by the regiments of the lords Nairn, Strathmore, and Charles Murray. To prevent these forces crossing, three English ships of war ascended the Forth to near Burntisland; but whilst a detachment of five hundred men kept the attention of the ships engaged at that point, the main body were embarking on the right in small boats lower down, and the greater part of them got across the channel, and landed at Aberlady and North Berwick. The city of Edinburgh was in great consternation at this daring manœuvre, and at the proximity of such a force; and Macintosh, hearing of this panic, and of the miserable state of defence there, determined to attempt to surprise it. He staid one night at Haddington to rest his men, and on the 14th appeared at Jock's Lodge, within a mile of Edinburgh. But on the very first appearance of Macintosh's troops, Sir George Warrender, the provost of Edinburgh, had dispatched a messenger to summon the duke of Argyll from Stirling to the aid of the capital. The duke was already approaching Edinburgh, and therefore Macintosh, perceiving that he had no chance of surprising the town, turned aside to Leith, where he threw open the prisons and released forty of his men, who had been captured in crossing the Forth; after which he took possession of the citadel of Leith.

Argyll soon appeared before the citadel with two or three hundred dragoons and an equal number of foot, as well as the city guard and volunteers, and the horse militia of the neighbourhood, completing a force of about one thousand two hundred men. He summoned Macintosh to surrender, but was answered by a Highland gentleman, named Kinnachin, that they did not understand that word, and, he hoped, never would; that they had made up their minds neither to ask nor to give quarter; and that, if Argyll was ready to give an assault, they were ready to receive it. Argyll reconnoitred the defences of the citadel, and saw that he had no power to compel a surrender; and he was speedily recalled from the attempt by news that Mar, taking advantage of his absence, was marching on Stirling. Singularly enough, as he commenced his return to prevent the loss of Stirling, Macintosh, afraid of being surrounded by fresh forces, and attacked by artillery from the city, was stealing out of Leith by night, and directing his course southward. He crossed the head of Leith pier, his men wading to the knees in the water, reached Musselburgh before midnight, and early on Sunday morning, the 16th, was at Seton Place, the seat of the earl of Wintoun, about seven miles from Edinburgh, where he took position behind a strong old garden wall, and prepared for the attack of Argyll. This general, however, was already in motion in a reverse direction. He reached Stirling in time to re-occupy it, but Mar, with four thousand men, and as many more following, was the same day at Dumblane, within six miles of his camp. A general of any spirit would have fallen on Argyll whilst his men were exhausted with fatigue; but Mar, who was cowardly and incompetent, retreated again towards Perth, pretending that the country round Dumblane was destitute of provisions, and that it was necessary to protect the north from incursions from the troops of Sutherland.

Meantime Macintosh, after waiting two days at Seton House in expectation of an attack from Argyll, and deprived of any intelligence of his departure by a body of volunteers and militia under lords Torphichen and Rothes lying betwixt him and the city, resumed his march on the 19th across the heaths of Lammermuir, and joined the English insurgents at Kelso on the 22nd. This united force now amounted altogether to about two thousand men—one thousand four hundred foot commanded by Macintosh, and six hundred horse under lord Kenmure and Mr. Forster. This force might, in the paucity of troops in the service of the king, have produced a great effect had they marched unitedly southward and engaged general Carpenter, who was advancing from Newcastle, with only about nine hundred cavalry, to attack them; or had they gone at once north, taken Argyll in the rear, and then combined with Mar. But after marching to Jedburgh and then to Hawick, the Scotch and English came to two different opinions. The Scotch would not enter England, being persuaded by the earl of Wintoun that, if they went into England, they would be all cut to pieces, or be sold for slaves. Macintosh was willing to enter England, but they would listen to no one but Wintoun. The English, on the contrary, would not remain in Scotland. Lord Derwentwater and his brother, Charles Radcliffe, amongst the English, were the only ones who joined in opinion with the Highlanders. They thought that by joining Mar they might make themselves masters of all Scotland; would thus raise the courage of the Scots, and create a terror of them amongst the English, whereas, if they failed in England, their ruin was irretrievable. When the English would not listen to this, Charles Radcliffe requested that he might have a hundred horse to take his fortune along with the Highlanders; but this was refused on the ground that it would weaken their forces. At last the Highlanders consented to remain with the English so long as they remained in Scotland. After marching about for some time the English leaders declared that by their letters they learned that, on appearing in Lancashire, two thousand men would join them. They resolved, therefore, to march south, and lord Derwentwater protested against this step in vain. At length five hundred Highlanders went off to the north, Macintosh and the rest joining the English and marching south. They entered England on the 1st of November, and took up their quarters at Brampton, in Cumberland, for the night, where Forster opened a commission from Mar, appointing him their commander in England. They next day marched to Penrith, where the bishop of Carlisle and lord Lonsdale awaited them at the head of the posse comitatus, amounting to ten thousand men. These, however, fled on their approach, leaving behind them numbers of horses, which were very useful, and troops of prisoners, which, being only an incumbrance, were allowed to go away. As they advanced through Cumberland, they proclaimed the pretender at Kendal, Appleby, and Kirby Lonsdale, but no one joined them, the leading catholics in that country and Westmoreland, Mr. Howard of Corby and Mr. Curwen of Workington, having been secured by government in Carlisle Castle. At Kirby, however, some of the Lancashire catholic gentry met them, and they now marched across that county to Lancaster. That town was garrisoned by troops under the notorious colonel Chartres, who attempted to blow up the bridge over the Loyne; but as the inhabitants resisted, he quitted the place, and the rebels entered it, and released such of their friends as were in the prison, amongst them one Thomas Syddal, who was confined for heading a mob to pull down a meeting-house in Manchester. On the 9th they marched into Preston, Stanhope's regiment of dragoons retiring at their approach. There they were in the midst of a very catholic population, and gentlemen of that persuasion joined them with their tenantry and servants to the amount of one thousand two hundred. This reinforcement, however, was rather a mob than an army. The men came armed with old guns, swords, and pitchforks; but of these, even, they had a great deficiency, and of discipline they had none.

But here their career was doomed to end. Preston had witnessed the rout of the royalists by Cromwell, and it was now to witness the rout of the rebels by the royalists. Carpenter, on finding that the insurgents had taken the way through Cumberland, also hastened back to Newcastle and Durham, where he was joined by general Wills. Both these officers had served with distinction in the Spanish campaign, and were well able to cope with a far more formidable body. Wills was in advance with six regiments of cavalry, mostly newly-raised troops, but full of spirit, and well officered. He came near Preston on the 11th of November, whilst Carpenter was approaching in another direction, so as to take the enemy in the flank. Forster quickly showed that he was a very unfitting commander. He was at first greatly elated by the junction of the Lancashire men, but, on hearing that the royal troops were upon them, he was instantly panic-stricken, and, instead of issuing orders, or summoning a council, he betook himself to bed. Lord Kenmure roused him from his ignominious repose, but it was too late; no means were taken to secure the natural advantages of the place. The bridge over the Ribble, which might have kept the enemy at bay, was left undefended; so that when Wills rode up to it on the morning of the 12th, he imagined that the rebels had evacuated the place.

It is difficult to conceive, also, what Macintosh had been about. To a veteran officer as he was, the gross neglect of every advantage of the ground must have been something wonderful; yet he, too, appeared to have equally disregarded them. Besides the bridge over the river, there was a deep and hollow way of half a mile from the bridge to the town, with high and steep banks, from which an army might have been annihilated; but all was left undefended. It was only when Wills advanced into the town that he became aware that the rebels were still there, and found his path obstructed by barricades raised in the streets. His soldiers gallantly attacked these barricades, but were met by a murderous fire both from behind them and from the houses on both sides.

They could neither force the barricades, nor take much effect on the enemy, who were sheltered by the houses. Night came on, and they were obliged to retire, having suffered considerable loss. It was now seen what a bloody reception they would have met with had the bridge and the hollow way been properly manned. As it was, there was the prospect of a desperate conflict. Carpenter, it is true, had now come up, but together their forces, according to the duke of Berwick, did not exceed one thousand men, whilst those of the rebels more than doubled theirs. But, luckily for the royal forces, there was wanting a head in the rebel commander. With all the advantages on his side, he secretly sent colonel Oxburgh to propose a capitulation. Wills at first refused to listen to it, declaring that he could not treat with rebels who had murdered many of the king's subjects; but at length he said, if they would lay down their arms, he would defend them from being cut to pieces by the soldiers till he received further orders from government.

On learning this proposal, the rebel troops were in a fury of rage. The Highlanders demanded to be led by their own officers against the enemy, in order to cut their way through them; but their officers were not so unanimous, and, after a scene of confusion, during which, had Forster appeared, he would have been killed with a hundred wounds, the unfortunate men surrendered. Lord Derwentwater and colonel Macintosh were given up as hostages, and the men laid down their arms. Lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, Nairn, and Charles Murray, and many members of the ancient northern families of Ord, Beaumont, Thornton, Clavering, Patten, Gascoigne, Standish, Swinburne, and Shafto were amongst the prisoners. When the numbers of the prisoners, however, came to be counted, it was very evident that great numbers had managed to escape or disguise themselves as natives of the town, for they only amounted to one thousand four hundred—scarcely more than the Lancashire men who had but just before joined them. Only seventeen of the rebels had been killed, and seventy of the king's troops, with as many more wounded.

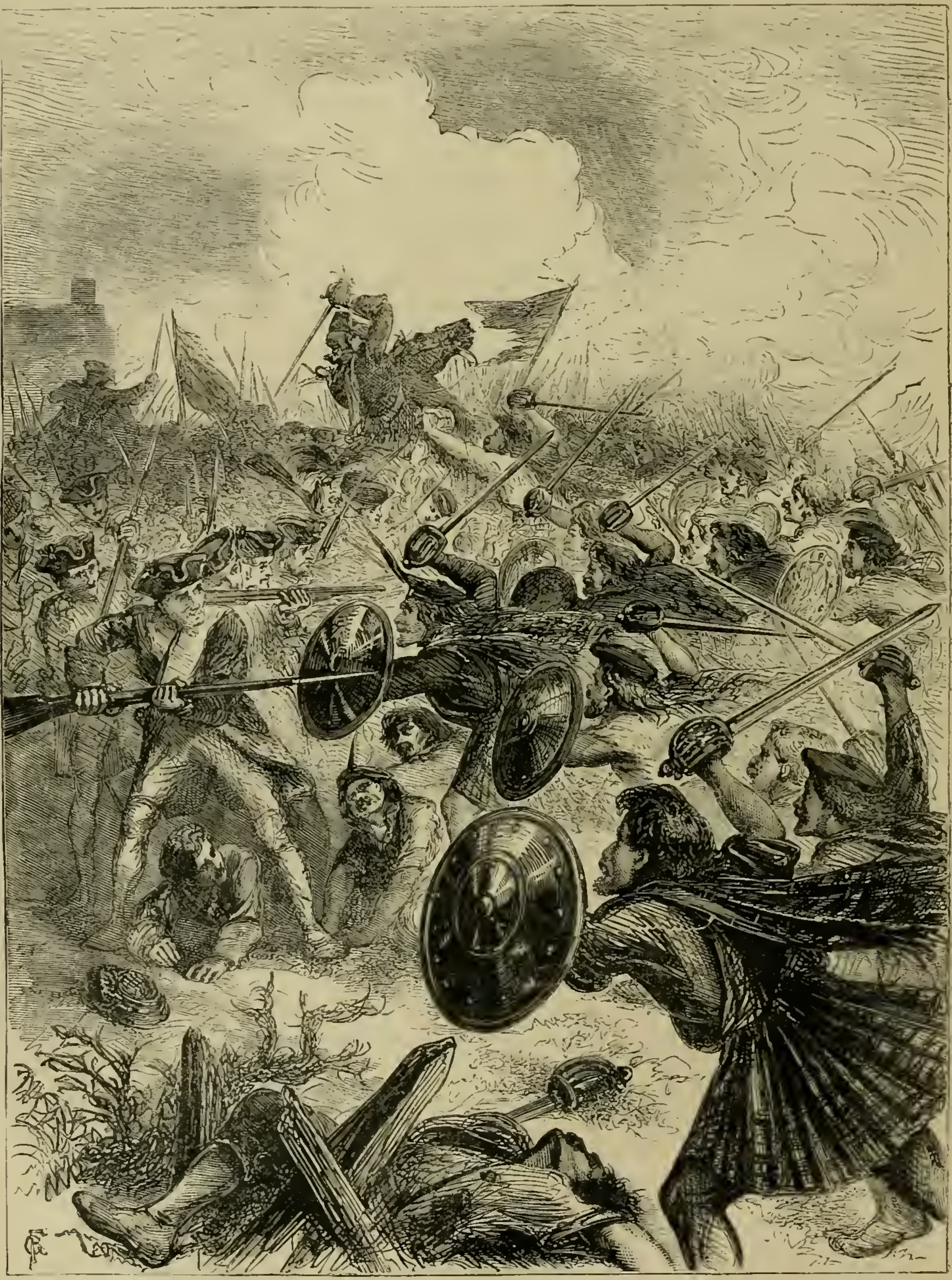
This branch of the rebel force was thus completely removed from the field, and on the same day a far more sanguinary conflict had taken place betwixt the chief commanders on the two sides, Argyll and Mar, at Sheriffmuir. Mar had completely justified the observations of Sir Walter Scott, in his notes to the Sinclair MSS., that, "with a far less force than Mar had at his disposal, Montrose gained eight victories and overran Scotland. With fewer numbers of Highlanders Dundee gained the battle of Killiecrankie; and with about half the troops assembled at Perth, Charles Edward, in 1745, marched as far as Derby, and gained two victories over regular troops. But in 1715, by one of those misfortunes which dogged the house of Stuart since the days of Robert II., they wanted a man of military talent just at a time when they possessed an unusual quantity of military means." Mar, in fact, was a most miserable general; he had no single qualification for it—boldness, promptness, or adroitness. He lingered his time away when he should have been acting, and acted without judgment or energy when he did act. Whilst he had been loitering at Perth, Argyll had been continually augmenting his forces, and by the commencement of November had more than doubled them by reinforcements from Ireland. It is indeed strange that both in 1715 and 1745 the Stuarts should have neglected Ireland, a country of like faith with themselves, and burning under the sense of grievous wrongs from England. It would seem as if the disgust with which James II. quitted that country still survived in his descendants; but, if so, it was a most impolitic disgust, for, besides that it deprived them of a powerful aid, it enabled their enemy to bring over large bodies thence against them, which otherwise must have been retained to keep down the Stuart partisans. By the accession of force from Ireland, Argyll had now raised his army to three thousand three hundred men, of which one thousand two hundred were cavalry.

It was the 10th of November when Mar, aware that Argyll was advancing against him, at length marched out of Perth with all his baggage, and provisions for twelve days. He was joined at Auchterarder the next morning by general Gordon, whom he had sent to Argyllshire to muster the western clans. He had been by no means successful, yet, when the two bodies were united, they amounted to ten thousand men, but a very motley crew, Highlanders and Lowlanders, motley in their several garbs, many of them without arms, and most of them very insufficiently armed. Sinclair says, "Though we had more men, the duke had more arms in a condition to fire." On the 12th, when they arrived at Ardoch, Argyll was posted at Dumblane, and he advanced to give them battle.

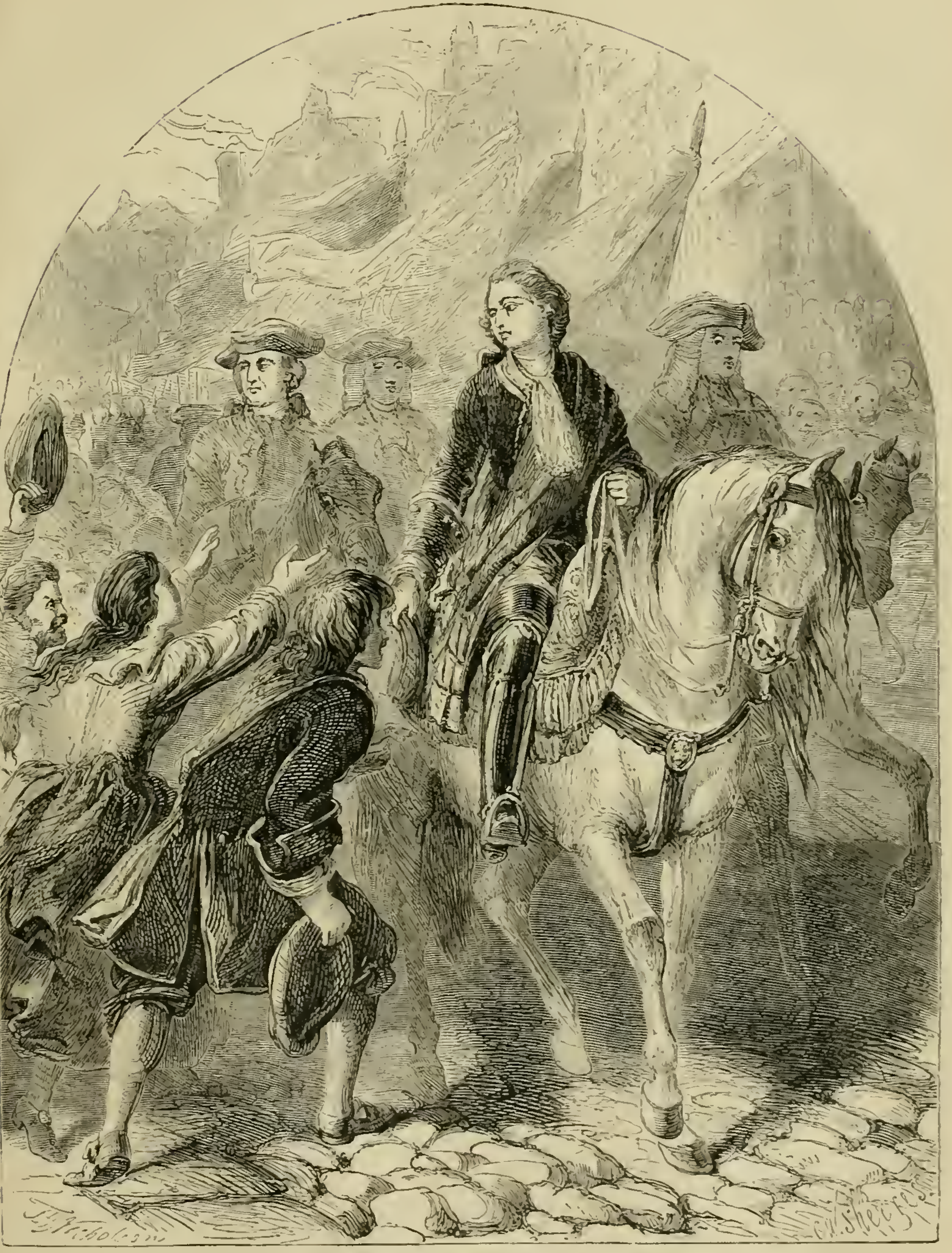
The wild, uneven ground of Sheriffmuir lay between them, and it was on this spot that Argyll on quitting Stirling had hoped to meet them. He therefore drew up his men on this moorland in battle array, and did not wait long for the coming of the Highland army. They were as eager for the fight as the soldiers of Argyll. As the earl called around him his officers, and asked whether they should fight or retreat—for even then he could talk of a retreat—they interrupted him by impatient cries of "Fight! fight!" The soldiers threw up their caps and bonnets, raised loud hurrahs, and showed every demonstration of longing for the combat.

It was on a Sunday morning, the 13th of November, that the battle of Sheriffmuir was fought. Princes and commanders seem to have a *penchant* for fighting on a Sunday. What numbers of the most sanguinary battles have taken place on a Sunday! and those rulers and governors who are of all men the most severe against the desecration of the Sunday by the people, terming often innocent amusement such desecration, think it no desecration at all to engage on that day in the mutual slaughter of thousands of men made in the image of God.

Argyll commanded the right wing of his army, general Whitham the left, and general Wightman the centre. He calculated much on this open ground for the operations of his cavalry. On the other hand, Mar took the right wing of his army, and was thus opposed, not to Argyll, but to Whitham. The Highlanders, though called on to form in a moment, as it were, did so with a rapidity which astonished the enemy. "I never saw," said Wightman, in an official dispatch, "regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment, and their officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable." They opened fire on Argyll



GLENGARRY'S CHARGE.



THE PRETENDER ENTERING DUNDEE.

so instantly and well, that it took the duke's forces by surprise. Argyll was compelled to be on the alert. He observed that Mar had drawn out his forces so as to outflank him; but, casting his eye on a morass on his right, he discovered that the frost had made it passable, and he ordered major Cathcart to lead a squadron of horse across it, whilst with the rest of his cavalry he galloped round, and thus attacked the left wing of Mar both in front and flank. The Highlanders, thus taken by surprise, were thrown into confusion, but still fought with their wonted bravery. They were driven, however, by the momentum of the English horse backwards; and betwixt the spot whence the attack commenced and the river Allan, three miles distant, they rallied ten times, and fairly contested the field. Argyll, however, bore down upon them with all the force of his right wing, offering quarter to all who would surrender, and even parrying blows from his own dragoons which went to exterminate those already wounded. After an obstinate fight of three hours, he drove the Highlanders over the Allan, a great number of them being drowned in it, and then returned to learn the fate of the rest of his army. He found that he had been taking the office of a general of division instead of that of the commander-in-chief, whose duty is to watch the movements of the whole field, and send aid to quarters which are giving way. Like prince Rupert, in his ardour for victory over his enemies in front of him, he had totally forgotten the centre and left wing, and discovered now that the left wing was totally defeated.

Mar himself had led the onset against that wing. The first fire of the English did great execution on his troops, and amongst the mortally wounded was the chief of Clanranald, a gallant veteran, who had fought in many a foreign battle under the duke of Berwick, and at home was celebrated for the feudal magnificence and hospitable state in which he lived. His fall cast a great damp on the Highlanders; but Glengarry, who had carried the royal standard at the battle of Killiecrankie, throwing his bonnet into the air, shouted "Revenge! revenge! To-day for revenge, to-morrow for mourning!" At this stirring appeal the blood of the clansmen was in effervescence. They dashed forward on the English ranks with terrific noise, thrust aside the bayonets with their targets, and threw the whole wing into confusion. They gave no moment for reflection or recovery; they fought like furies; the whole wing broke and fled, Whitham himself never drawing bit till he found himself in the streets of Stirling. In their panic, the left wing drew after them a part of the centre under general Wightman; and the Scots contend that the whole centre would have been routed had it not been for the wayward obstinacy of the master of Sinclair. Wightman, by this circumstance, was enabled to keep together three regiments of foot, and drew them off towards the right, to re-unite, if possible, with Argyll's wing. When these three regiments reached him, and informed him of the defeat of the left wing and flight of part of the centre, he observed to the officers, in the words of an old Scotch song—

If it was na weel bobbit, weel bobbit, weel bobbit,
If it was na weel bobbit, we'll bobbit again!

and he accordingly drew together his tired men, and led them back to the field in search of Mar. That general had, like his antagonist, been pursuing the flying enemy, equally forgetful of the rest of his army, and had reached Corntown, a village near Stirling, when he learned that the other wing was dispersed. It was said of both these generals that they had acted perfectly according to the Christian injunction not to let their left hand know what their right was doing. Mar, on reaching a rising ground, saw the weary remnant of Argyll's army slowly toiling along a road at the bottom of the hill. Then was the time for an active and able general. A single charge of horse down the hill must, by the confession of the English themselves, have swept them away. Argyll saw this at a glance, and, expecting nothing less, took shelter behind some mud walls and inclosures, and placed two pieces of cannon in front. For some time he awaited the attack, when, to his astonishment, he heard the bagpipes sounding a retreat, and, to his great delight, perceived the Scots receding from the moor. Wightman, in his dispatch, could not conceal his agreeable astonishment. "If they had had either conduct or courage, they might have entirely destroyed my body of foot." "If they had thrown down stones," says Sir Walter Scott, "they might have disordered Argyll's troops."

But Mar, who proposed to retreat at the very commencement of the battle, was not the man to retrieve all by one last energetic effort. He was contented to draw off, and yet boast of victory. His preachers celebrated this singular victory, in which his left wing was routed, and his remaining force had retired from the field, by sermons and thanksgivings; and the English, on their part, returned the compliment by a sermon, in which the minister took for his text Revelation xvii. 11, as particularly applicable to the pretender, called James VIII. of Scotland—"And the beast that was and is not, even he is the *eighth*, and is of the *seven*, and goeth into perdition."

Argyll showed a more solid claim to the victory by remaining on the field, by the capture of four pieces of cannon, thirteen stand of colours, and three standards, including the royal one, called "the restoration," and by the greater execution done on his opponents. The Scots had seven hundred men killed, and two hundred taken prisoners. Amongst the slain was the young earl of Strathmore, who was taken and butchered by a dragoon; amongst the prisoners was the lord Strathallan. A good many officers taken during the battle were rescued before its close, as the earl of Panmure and Mr. Robertson, of Strowan. The duke lost two hundred killed; he had as many wounded, and a good many taken, amongst whom were the earl of Forfar and colonel Lawrence.

Besides the inefficiency of Mar, it is true that there was a good deal of disaffection in his army. The master of Sinclair, who has left his account of this event, avows that lord Huntly, himself, and others were desirous, before the battle, of coming to terms with Argyll. It is also well known that, soon after, Sinclair and lord Rollo secretly offered to go over with the whole Fife squadron. Huntly, though he did not lay down his arms before the battle, did worse, for he speedily quitted his post in it; and lord Seaforth's men actually ran off. The afterwards famous Rob Roy, when desired to advance, coolly replied, "If they cannot do without me, they shall not do with me," and so walked away, as did numbers of other Highlanders, amongst them the Camerons of Lochiel and the Stuarts of Appin.

After the battle Argyll satisfied himself with retiring to Stirling, and Mar resumed his position at Perth.

Such was the extraordinary battle of Sheriffmuir. It was in this battle that Gordon of Glenbucket, indignant at Mar drawing off his troops, made the exclamation which became so famous—"Oh, for an hour of Dundee!" Even after this there was ample opportunity for Mar to renew the contest. He had still forces superior to Argyll; and to keep up their spirit, and even to keep them together, the only way was to show confidence. General Hamilton urged him strenuously to this course. "If we have not yet gained a victory," he said, "we ought to fight Argyll once a week till we make it one." But nothing could infuse a soul into Mar. His delay and indecision had undermined the reliance of his troops. The Highlanders and Lowlanders, having nothing else to do, had quarrelled, as they always did in such cases; and the Highlanders, from these causes, and some of them because they had obtained a good booty, began to steal away into their hills. Then came the news that lord Sutherland was advancing from the north with the Monroes, the Mackays, and the other clans, and that Forbes of Culloden and the infamous Simon Frazer had taken Inverness from the insurgents. Frazer, whom we have seen so active in raising the rebellion, had now suddenly turned round in order to obtain the headship of his clan, which now resided in a juvenile heiress. On receiving this news, Huntly and Seaforth, who were only waiting for an excuse, led off their contingents, on the plea that it was necessary to protect their districts from Sutherland.

Whilst these causes were every day thinning Mar's army, the duke of Argyll received information that the six thousand Dutch troops were on their march to join him. Probably Mar had heard this too, for he now showed an earnest desire to come to terms. He set at liberty colonel Lawrence, and sent him as a bearer of his overtures to Argyll. He also employed the good offices of the countess of Murray, the duke's aunt. Argyll received the proposals with great friendliness. He lamented that he was not authorised to treat with any but individuals, but informed Mar that he would immediately apply for enlarged powers. But in this he was unsuccessful. The government had heard some whispers of Argyll's doubtful views, and declined to enlarge his powers. They were now in the ascendant. Ormonde's threatened insurrection in the west had vanished from the sky like a thundercloud. Forster and Derwentwater were crushed, and the Dutch forces had arrived. They were in no disposition for leniency, but for making a severe example of the rebels. Argyll was ordered, on the arrival of the Dutch reinforcement, to dislodge Mar from Perth, and make an end of the insurrection. This was deferred only through a heavy fall of snow.

At this juncture arrived the pretender. His delay till this moment had been created by no fault of his own. Lord Stair, the English ambassador in Paris, kept such an acute look-out, that he was immediately aware of every movement in favour of or by the pretender. The regent, who would have been glad to be well rid of the pretender, and the anxiety and expense which he occasioned to France, was, on the other hand, afraid of letting the English government perceive any of his acts in furtherance of the pretender's scheme. Stair had procured the stoppage and unloading of the Scottish ships at Havre, but, being soon informed that a messenger had arrived from England to the pretender, having come disguised as the servant of a gentleman, and brought the most encouraging letters of the pretender's affairs in England and Scotland, of the promising movements in Northumberland and in the Highlands, so that, in consequence, the pretender's plate, equipage, and other property taken from the unloaded ships, with the powder and ammunition, were returned to him and secured for his use—he immediately waited on the regent, and thanked him for "seizing the arms and ammunition at Havre, and for refusing to see Ormonde or Bolingbroke." He also assured him that the information that the regent had given him that the pretender would not attempt to get over to England was, he found, quite correct, for Stair had heard that Ormonde and Bolingbroke were arranging matters for an invasion, but that the pretender was not to go himself till the tories had declared for him. Stair saw by the coolness of the regent's looks that he had grown more confident of the pretender's affairs, and he next waited on him to inform him that he had received orders from king George to conclude a treaty securing the succession of the two lines of France and England, and that it was to guarantee the maintenance of the regency under his royal highness that he was prepared to complete these treaties at once, but that, if any delays were interposed by France, the king would proceed to put down the rebellion in Scotland, and leave the treaty unexecuted, and that it was for the regent to consider which was best for the interests of France. So long as the news continued good from England, Stair could make but little impression. The regent avoided seeing him, though he called four times. There was also a determined endeavour on the part of the pretender's creatures and the women about his court to get rid of Bolingbroke, who was too acute and proud either to overlook or tolerate their squabbles and wretched intrigues, and they engaged Ormonde in this endeavour.

But speedily came the news of the rout of Preston and the check at Sheriffmuir, and the French court was thunderstruck by it. They had begun to call the pretender king of England openly, but now all that was abandoned, and the regent professed to be in earnest to prevent any attempt on the part of the pretender to go over into England; it was, however, only pretence. Meantime the pretender's partisans in Scotland were urging his going over with ever-increasing earnestness. Mar represented his position as now far better than before the battle of Sheriffmuir, and that his army amounted to sixteen thousand men. Bolingbroke, on the other hand, was averse to the pretender going to Scotland on the faith of such representations, and the pretender himself did all in his power to persuade the duke of Berwick to go over and take the management of the war. He sent him a commission for this purpose, but Berwick was too clear-sighted. All that he would do was to allow his son to embark in it, but he himself records the failure of that endeavour. The duke's son, accompanied by the chevalier Erskine and old Bulkeley, took over with him one hundred thousand crowns in gold ingots, sent by the king of Spain; but after having been tossed about a good while on the sea, the vessel in which they went was wrecked on the coast of Scotland; the ingots were lost, and they escaped only with their lives. Urged, therefore, by Mar and the Highlanders, and not able to induce Berwick to undertake the command, the pretender at length set sail from Dunkirk in a small vessel, attended by only six French gentlemen, and landed at Peterhead on the 22nd of December.

He sent back the vessel with letters to Bolingbroke, containing the news of his safe arrival, and the assurance that he heard the best of news. He immediately proceeded to Aberdeen, accompanied by the marquis of Tynemouth, Berwick's son, and his other little group of attendants, and thence to Fetteresso, a seat of the earl marshal, his youthful partisan. Thither Mar hastened, accompanied by the earl marshal, general Hamilton, and about thirty others of the leaders of the insurrection, to welcome him. To these zealous adherents the sight of the heir of their long line of kings, thus coming almost alone to the kingdom of his ancestors to reclaim his throne, must have been deeply affecting. There was a joyful and most cordial meeting betwixt the prince and his subjects. He thanked Mar for his faithful defence of his rights, and created him a duke on the spot. The whole company set out on the 30th for the army, and slept on the 4th of January, 1716, at Glammis Castle, the noble feudal residence of the earls of Strathmore, the last young possessor of which had just before fallen in the pretender's cause at Sheriffmuir.

On the 6th he made his public entry into Dundee, at the head of his cavalcade, the earl of Mar riding on his right hand, and the earl marshal on his left, and about three hundred gentlemen following. His reception by the people was enthusiastic, who flocked round him to kiss his hands; and to gratify this loyal desire he remained an hour in the market place. On the 8th he arrived at Scone, and took up his residence in the ancient palace of his ancestors. There he was only two miles from the army, and having established a council, and issued six proclamations, ordered a public thanksgiving for the "miraculous providence" of his safe arrival, for prayers in the church, for the currency of foreign coin, for a meeting of the convention of estates, for all fencible men from sixteen to sixty to repair to his standard, and for his coronation on the 23rd of January, he presented himself before the army. But here the scene was changed. Instead of enthusiasm there was disappointment—disappointment on both sides. The soldiers, who expected to see a royal-looking, active-looking man, likely to encourage them and lead them on their career, beheld a tall, thin, pale, and dejected sort of person, who evidently took no great interest in them. They expected to see him come with a brilliant staff of officers, if not with an army; but he came only with some half-dozen undistinguished foreigners. They knew their own insignificant numbers, and were struck with consternation. The fields of Sheriffmuir and Preston had taught them that to succeed they must be numerous, powerful, and led on by different men from Mar, or a dull, indifferent person like this.

That the pretender should not exhibit much vivacity was no wonder. He had been assured by Mar that his army had swelled to sixteen thousand men, and had the whole north in his favour; that he had only to appear to carry everything before him. On inquiring into the force, it turned out to be so miserably small, that the only desire was to keep it out of sight. The spirits of the pretender fell, and though not destitute of ability, as is manifest by his letters remaining, he had by no means that strength of resolution demanded by such an enterprise. His despair of the undertaking was visible to every one, and, like his father, he took no pains to awaken the enthusiasm of his adherents, by conceding to them such guarantees and securities as they demanded. The tories of the Irish episcopalian church demanded the same security for their church as it had in England; but he refused it, and even the promise of support of the Anglican church was ambiguous, and by no means assuring. His blindest followers could scarcely avoid seeing that he wanted only once to be secure on the throne to commit all the bigoted follies of his father and his race. What the soldiers thought of him we have well described by one of them in a "True Account of the Proceedings at Perth by a Rebel." "His person," he says, "was tall and thin, seeming to inclining to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in years. His countenance was pale, yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution, and has something of a vivacity in his eye that perhaps would have been more visible if he had not been under dejected circumstances, and surrounded with discouragements, which, it must be acknowledged, were sufficient to alter the complexion of his soul as well as of his body. His speech was grave, and not very clearly expressing his thoughts, nor overmuch to the purpose, but his words were few, and his behaviour and temper seemed always composed. What he was in his diversions we knew not—there was no room for such things. I must not conceal, that when we saw the man whom they called our king, we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence, and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him: some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us poor soldiers, or to see us handle our arms, or do our exercise. Some said, the circumstances he found us in dejected him. I am sure the figure he made dejected us; and had he sent us but five thousand of good troops, and never himself come amongst us, we had done other things than we have now done."

If the pretender's demeanour had a discouraging effect, his language had still greater. Instead of prognosticating happy events, he dwelt only on pictures of ruin. Instead of assuring his followers that he had the utmost confidence in them, he seemed to anticipate defection. "Let those who forget their duty," he said, in addressing his council, "and are negligent of their own good, be answerable for the worst that may happen. For me, it will be no new thing if I am unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has shown a constant series of misfortunes, and I am prepared, if it so please God, to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours."

This was not the language to rouse the spirits of men already on the verge of despair; from such lugubrious harangues nothing but disaster could follow. One of the very first measures adopted by this council, held on the 16th of January, was of a character also to alienate the Highlanders from his cause. It was to burn Auchterarder and all the other villages on the way to Stirling, to render more difficult the advance of Argyll against them. If the country was to be laid waste, and the inhabitants turned adrift in the midst of a terrible winter without house or means of livelihood, and that by the power they were supporting, the poor people might well ask what could the most ruthless enemy do worse? It is said that the pretender most reluctantly consented to it. Had he been a politic, not to say humane man, he would not have consented to it at all. He would rather have retired to some more inaccessible place amongst the hills, till his army was increased and capable of defending itself. But this fatal measure was only the result of a total want of management in the army. After all the time that Mar had lain at Perth, it was only now that he began to see the necessity of fortifying the town. Those measures, too, of summoning the absent clans, and bringing in arms and money, which should have been actively in process long before, were now only really beginning, and the end of such a campaign it was not difficult to foresee. Their only safety altogether arose out of the fact that Argyll himself was in no haste to molest them.

What were the motives of Argyll for his present most apparent reluctance to drive the pretender's fortunes to an extremity, do not clearly appear. It has been supposed that he was unwilling to shut himself out from all grace in case the Stuarts should again regain the throne. But this appears a very futile reason, for though the pretender was at length on the ground, nothing could be more improbable than his ultimate success. It has again been alleged that he did not wish to ruin the Highland chiefs who were engaged on the other side, lest he should lose his own signorial rights over them; but this surely could not be the cause, for in maintaining the rights of the reigning sovereign he had the best guarantee of his own. But he was well known to be open to the most selfish influences, and probably there were just now such operating, though they have not come to the light. The government, however, was so sensible of his affected delays, that they sent general Cadogan to accelerate his movements. There may be one cause still which operated with Argyll. He had applied for an enlargement of his commission, in order to treat with and pardon such of the rebels as he thought expedient, and so far from granting this, the government had not even returned his commission. This, operating on a proud and interested nature, appears the most probable cause of his sudden loss of zeal. The coming of Cadogan to assume, as it were, a dictatorial power, might greatly strengthen this feeling of dissatisfaction. At all events, he appeared only the more averse to action. He pleaded, in reply to Cadogan's stimulating suggestions, the extreme rigour of the season, the necessary want of shelter and provisions on the way, from the burning of the villages. He contended also that it was useless advancing without sufficient artillery, and to remove this objection, Cadogan himself hastened to Berwick, and forwarded with all diligence a sufficient train. Still the duke was in no haste to move, and greatly discouraged his men by painting the arduous nature of the service, and exaggerating the numbers of the enemy. But Cadogan would admit of no excuse, and on the 24th of January the country people were employed to clear the snow from the road, preparatory to the advance of the army.

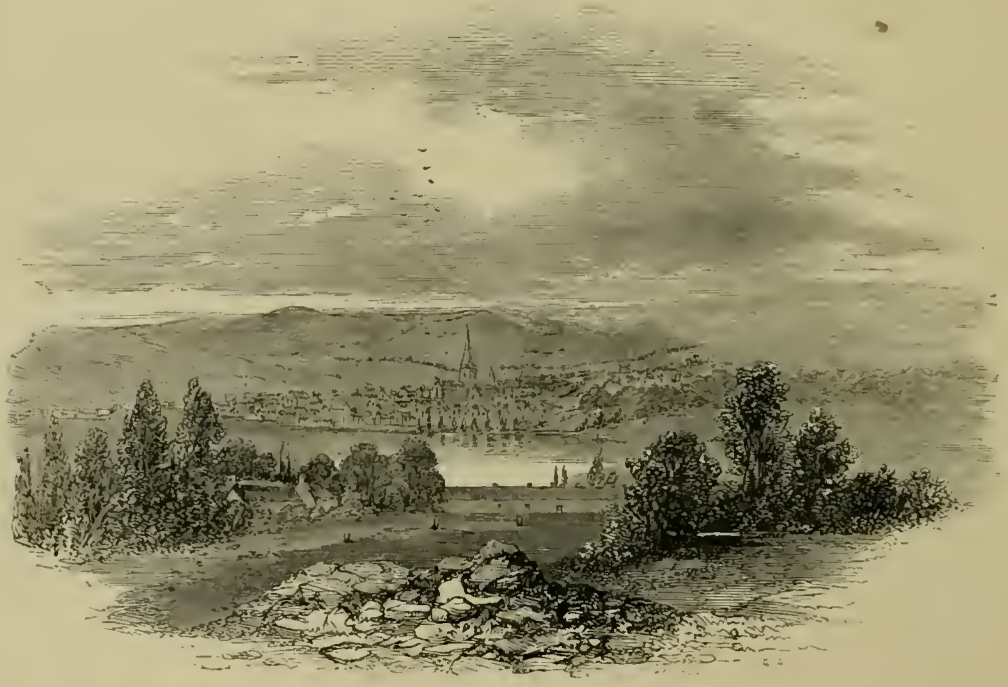
This very first movement showed that the little army of Highlanders might have been dispersed long before; that they had continued in Perth entirely by the sufferance of Argyll. No sooner did the news of the preparations for advance reach that city, than there was no longer any intention of holding it. A council was called, which sate all night on the 28th, to decide on the necessary course of action. The prevailing opinion was that they should evacuate the town, and retreat into the Highlands, so soon as they had seen the pretender safely embarked again at Montrose. The moment that this conclusion got wind, the soldiers rushed into the streets in tumultuous crowds, surrounded the houses of the officers, and expressed their indignation. One of the officers asked them what they would have them do. "Do!" cried the Highlander; "what did you call us to arms for?—was it to run away? What did the king come hither for?—was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not strike one stroke for their lives? Let us die like men, and not like dogs!"

But the soldiers did not know what was well known to many of the chiefs, that there were no inconsiderable number of the chiefs who were by no means willing to stake their all in a very unequal battle, but who had been negotiating with Argyll for their coming in; and though this had failed, were prepared rather to steal off into the hills than insure their certain ruin by a battle, followed by the laying waste or the confiscation of their territories. In this difficulty another council was held, but could come to no decision, and on the approach of the army of Argyll there was nothing left for it but to retire. On the 30th of January the rebel army marched out of Perth, the Highland soldiers, some in sullen silence, others in loud curses, expressing their anger and mortification at this proceeding. The inhabitants looked in terror, and bade adieu to the troops in tears, expecting only a heavy visitation for having so long harboured them. Early the next morning they crossed the deep and rapid Tay, now, however, a sheet of solid ice, and directed their march along the Carse of Gowrie towards Dundee.

Argyll, who received the news of the retreat about four in the afternoon of that day, sent and occupied Perth by Dutch and English troops by ten o'clock the next morning. They had quitted Stirling on the 29th, and that night they encamped on the snow amid the burnt remains of the village of Auchterarder. Argyll and Cadogan followed the advanced guard and entered Perth on the evening of the 1st of February; but the remainder of the troops did not arrive till late at night, owing to the state of the roads and the weather. Some few of the rebels, who had got drunk and were left behind, were secured. The next day Argyll and Cadogan, with eight hundred light foot and six squadrons of dragoons, followed along the Carse of Gowrie to Dundee. Cadogan, in a letter to Marlborough, complained of the evident reluctance of Argyll to press on the rebels.

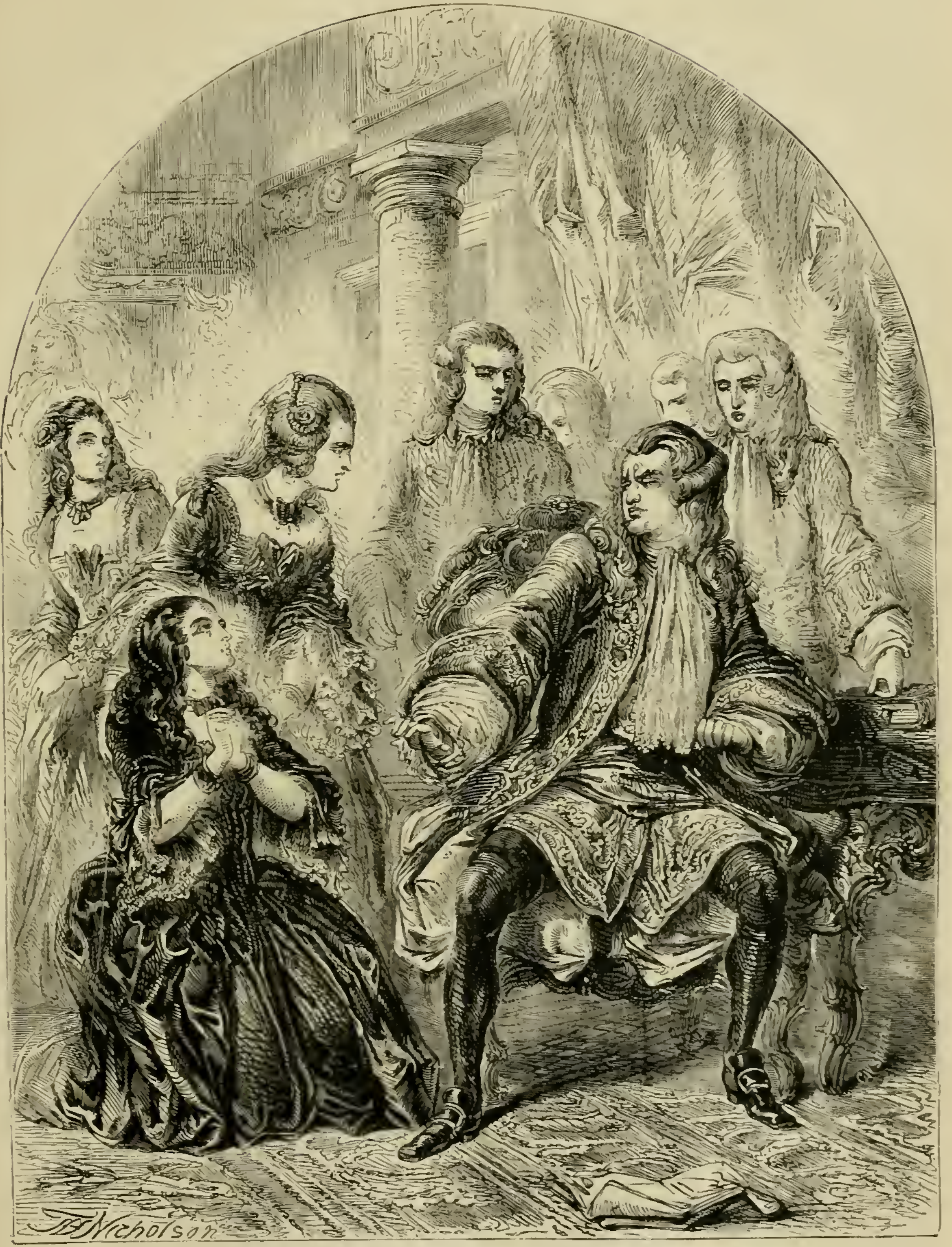
"The duke of Argyll," he says, "grows so intolerably uneasy, that it is almost impossible to live with him any longer. He is enraged at the success of this expedition, though he and his creatures attribute to themselves the honour of it. When I brought him the news of the rebels being run from Perth, he seemed thunderstruck, and was so visibly concerned at it, that even the foreign officers that were in the room took notice of it. . . . . Since the rebels quitting Perth, he has sent for five hundred or six hundred of his Argyllshire men, who go before the army a day's march to take possession of the towns the enemy have abandoned, and to plunder and destroy the country, which enrages our soldiers, who are forbid, under pain of death, to take the value of a farthing, though out of the rebels' houses. Not one of these Argyll men appeared whilst the rebels were in Perth, and when they might have been of some use."

It would appear plain enough here that Argyll's motives were jealousy of the honours Cadogan was acquiring by the success of the expedition which he had compelled the duke to make, and every part of which was a proof of his previous neglect or something worse. His plundering the country is by no means in keeping with the plea that he acted so as to spare the Highlanders; and yet the subsequent events of 1717 and 1718 showed that he was not averse to listening to proposals from the pretender. When he arrived at Dundee on the 3rd, the rebel army was already gone. He and Cadogan then separated, taking different routes towards Montrose. Cadogan, whose heart was in the business, pushed on a-head, and on the 5th at noon reached Arbroath, where he received the news that the pretender had embarked at Montrose and gone to France. For some time it was said that he had turned a deaf ear to the advice of his officers, to secure his person by his escape to sea; but when it was at length determined on, every measure was taken to prevent the soldiers coming to a knowledge of it. He gave orders for the army to be ready about eight at night to march towards Aberdeen, where he assured them they would find a considerable force just landed from the continent to join them. Every rumour of his intended flight was positively denied. His horses were brought to the door of his lodgings: a guard of honour paraded there as usual. All suspicion was thus lulled. The soldiers were satisfied that he was going to accompany them in their march to Aberdeen, when it became known that he had privately slipped out at a back door, proceeded to Mar's lodgings, and thence, by a byeway, to the water-side, where he embarked with Mar, the earl of Melfort, lord Drummond, lieutenant-general Sheldon, and ten other gentlemen, on board a small French vessel, the "Maria Theresa," of St. Malo, and put to sea. In this manner did the descendant of a race of kings and the claimant of the crown of Great Britain sneak away and leave his unhappy followers to a sense of his perfidious and cruel desertion. His flight, no doubt, was necessary, but the manner of it was at once most humiliating and unfeeling. The consternation and wrath of the army on the discovery were indescribable.



VIEW OF THE CITY OF PERTH.

He left behind him two letters, one to the duke of Argyll, inclosing a small sum of money, probably all he had, but most inadequate to its object—that of relieving the poor people who had been burnt out of their villages betwixt Perth and Stirling; the other was to general Gordon, explaining the inexorable necessity, from his disappointment in the amount of force provided in this country, and still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THE COUNTESS OF DERWENTWATER PLEADING FOR HER HUSBAND'S LIFE.

more from the failure of assistance from abroad, for his abandoning the present enterprise. He appointed Gordon commander of the army, and gave him full powers to treat with the enemy or to seek their safety in the hills, as they should deem the most advisable. The latter was their only alternative, and most of the leaders set the example of every man helping himself, by making off for Peterhead, where the pretender had landed, in order to embark there. Amongst these were the earl of Teignmouth, the duke of Berwick's son, whom the pretender had left behind, the earl marshal, lord Southesk, and many other noblemen and gentlemen. But Argyll, with all the slowness charged against him, was too quick for them. He entered Aberdeen on the 8th, and the fugitives continued their flight to Frazerburgh, and thence towards Banff. At Frazerburgh the pretender's physician, whom, in his haste, he had left behind, was taken. Some other prisoners were taken on the road to Banff, but none of the leaders, who all escaped. Colonel Gordon turned off at Aberdeen into the Highlands with about a thousand men; and, as Argyll and Cadogan had agreed not to follow them into the mountains, the men gradually dispersed to their homes; and thus melted this insurrection before the snows of their own hills. A hundred and twenty gentlemen, however, who did not feel themselves safe anywhere in the kingdom, made for the Orkneys in open boats; forty-seven of these fugitives perished, and the rest embarked in a ship belonging to the pretender, and followed him to France. The pretender himself had first struck across to the Norwegian coast, and sailed for Holland, and finally reached Gravelines on the seventh day after leaving Montrose. He went thence to St. Germains. The next morning he received a visit from Bolingbroke, who must now have seen enough to convince any man of the least reflection of the hopelessness of the recovery of the English crown by the Stuart. Yet Bolingbroke is said to have endeavoured to cheer him up, and promise him better times. He advised him, however, to return to Bar-le-duc as quickly as possible, lest the duke of Lorraine should anticipate his arrival by a request for him to seek another retreat. In that case, he remarked, he would be obliged to seek shelter at Avignon, which would remove him farther from England. James appeared to acquiesce in this advice, but lingered several days in the hope of obtaining an interview with the regent, but in vain; and then bade Bolingbroke adieu, embracing him with much apparent affection at parting, and asking him to follow as soon as possible.

But whilst Bolingbroke imagined that he was on his journey to Lorraine, he had only removed to an obscure house in the Bois de Boulogne, amongst a set of intriguing women, where he received private visits from the ambassadors of Sweden and Spain. Three days after his farewell to Bolingbroke, Ormonde appeared with two orders from the chevalier; one dismissing him from his office of secretary of state, and the other ordering him to deliver to the duke all the papers in his office. These letters, Bolingbroke says, might all have been contained in a letter-case of moderate size, which he handed to Ormonde with the seals, except certain letters from the pretender, in which he had spoken most disparagingly of Ormonde himself. These, he says, he sent by a safe hand, when he might have let Ormonde see what an opinion the chevalier had of his capacity.

The folly of sending the man whom he had abused in them —as may yet be seen in the Stuart papers—for these letters was only equalled by that of quarrelling with Bolingbroke, the shrewdest head that he had, and the man who, more than any other, kept alive an influence for him in England. "One must have lost one's reason," says the duke of Berwick, "if one did not see the enormous blunder made by king James in dismissing the only Englishman he had able to manage his affairs." It is said that this was effected by the women alluded to, who reported some expressions made by Bolingbroke respecting the pretender when he was drunk; but Bolingbroke had no friends amongst the miserable people who surrounded the pretender. Ormonde himself was by no means his friend; neither was Mar, who now sought to be at the head of the chevalier's affairs. Bolingbroke professed to feel no resentment at his treatment, but this was merely an assumption of philosophy. When the queen-mother sent to say that the dismissal had taken place without her knowledge, and that she was anxious to adjust matters, he replied that he was now a free man, and that he wished his arm might rot off if ever he again drew his sword or his pen in her son's cause.

The pretender found Bolingbroke's apprehensions only too fully verified. The duke of Lorraine met him at Chalons, in Champagne, by a letter, requesting him to remove his residence to Deux-Ponts, or some place equally distant, as he could no longer brave the remonstrances of the English government. The unhappy fugitive was, therefore, compelled to proceed to Avignon, where he was soon afterwards joined by Ormonde, Mar, and others of the English and Scottish refugees.

Gloomy as was his fortune, it was, nevertheless, infinitely better than that of thousands who had ventured their lives and fortunes in his cause. There were not many prisoners in Scotland, but the clans which had sided with the English government were hounded on to hunt down those who had been out with the pretender amongst their hills, and they were hunted about by the English troops under the guidance of these hostile clans; and where they themselves were not to be found, their estates suffered by troops being quartered in their houses and on their estates. In England the prisons of Chester, Liverpool, and other northern towns were crowded by the inferior class of prisoners from the surrender of Preston. Some half-pay officers were singled out as deserters, and shot by order of a court-martial; whilst five hundred of the ordinary soldiers were left to perish of cold and starvation in their dungeons. The leaders were conducted to London, where they arrived on the 9th of December. On arriving at Highgate Hill they were made to dismount. Their arms were tied like ordinary malefactors behind their backs; their horses were led by foot soldiers; and, amid the noise of drums and all the signs of military triumph, they were led into the city, amid the scoffs and jeers of the populace. The noblemen were conducted to the Tower; the rest were divided into the four common gaols.

On the 9th of January, a month after their arrival, lord Derwentwater was impeached of high treason by Mr. Lechmere in a bitter speech in the commons. Other members, with equal acrimony, followed in impeachments against the lords Widdrington, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, Kenmure, and Nairn. No opposition was offered, not a single voice was raised to save the lives of these misguided men, though the insurrection had so strongly shown the little danger from it to the new dynasty, that mercy would have been far more noble, and probably more effectual than blood. But the tender-hearted Anne was no longer on the throne, and the house of Hanover showed itself possessed of little magnanimity. The impeachments were carried up to the house on the same day, and on the 19th the unfortunate noblemen were brought before the peers, where they knelt at the bar until they were desired to rise by the lord chancellor, when, with the single exception of lord Wintoun, they confessed their guilt, and threw themselves on the mercy of the king. Sentence of death was immediately pronounced on those who had pleaded guilty, and orders were given for the trial of lord Wintoun.

Though there was a considerable number of Jacobites in both houses, no one dared to interpose a word for pardon or mitigation of punishment; but secretary Stanhope, who had been a schoolfellow of lord Nairn's at Eton, though they had not met since then, did entreat for his pardon, and, being opposed by the rest of the council, tendered his resignation, and, as his services could not be well spared, the life of Nairn was granted. Though noblemen and gentlemen were cowardly enough to remain silent, the ladies exerted themselves to save the others. The duchesses of Bolton and Cleveland, and other ladies of the first rank, accompanied the young countess of Derwentwater to an audience of the king to implore his clemency; but the dull German remained unmoved. The ladies Nithsdale and Nairn had before made an assault on the phlegmatic nerves of George, who had neither feeling enough to be touched with pity, nor imagination enough to conceive the glory of a generous forgiveness, by secreting themselves behind a curtain in an ante-room, and throwing themselves at his feet as he passed. As it was seen that no motives of compassion could avail, those of interest were tried, and the first lord of the treasury declared in the commons that sixty thousand pounds had been offered him to procure the pardon of Derwentwater. Some of the members of that house now took courage, and pleaded the nobler cause of mercy and forgiveness, and amongst these, to his honour, was Richard Steele; but Walpole cut them short by declaring that he was moved with indignation to see members of that house so unworthy as, without blushing, to open their mouths in favour of rebels and parricides. To prevent further efforts of this kind, he moved the adjournment of the house till the 1st of March, so that the condemned nobles should be executed in the interval; and he carried his motion by a majority of seven. In the lords also a strong effort was made now it was too late; and the earl of Nottingham, though in the ministry, suddenly arose and pleaded strongly in their favour, and carried an address to the king, praying that he would reprieve such of the condemned lords as should deserve his mercy. This demonstration in the behalf of leniency astonishing the cabinet, they advised his majesty to comply with the prayer; and though an answer was returned to the address, merely stating that the king, on this and all occasions, would do what he thought consistent with the dignity of the crown and the safety of his people, yet it was concluded to reprieve the lords Carnwath and Widdrington in addition to Nairn. To prevent, however, any further appeals, an order was dispatched for the execution of the other three peers the next morning. To express a full sense of the conduct of the earl of Nottingham, he was dismissed from his office, as well as his son, lord Finch, and his brother, lord Aylesford. Yet one more victim was destined to be snatched from the clutches of this sanguinary whig ministry—for we must rather impute the severity to the ministry than to the king, who, being new to the country, was undoubtedly led principally by their decision. That night the countess of Nithsdale, being about to take her leave of her husband, contrived, by introducing some friends, to secure his escape in female attire. There remained, therefore, only two to suffer, the lords Derwentwater and Kenmure.

Derwentwater, a young man, who had just built himself a noble house at Dilston, on the Tyne, where he principally resided, and who might now have been enjoying his unambitious life but for the instigations of his wife, suffered first. He was observed to turn very pale as he ascended the scaffold, but he retained a firm voice and demeanour. He stood some time in prayer, and then read a paper drawn up by himself, declaring that he died a Roman catholic, and that he deeply repented his plea of guilty, and his expressions of contrition at the trial; that he acknowledged no king but James III. as his rightful sovereign, at the same time that he intended wrong to nobody; that he sought only to do his duty to his country, without any interested motives, that he died in charity with all the world, even those who had brought him to his death. On examining the block, and finding a rough place in it, he bade the executioner chip it off, lest it should hurt his neck—a singular care in the moment of death. His head was severed at a single blow. Lord Derwentwater was greatly beloved by all who knew him, and a pardon extended to him would have done far more for the house of Hanover than his death. His splendid estates in Cumberland and Northumberland were all confiscated and conferred on Greenwich Hospital, in possession of which institution they still remain, except a rent charge of two thousand five hundred pounds per annum, which was granted to the Newburgh family, the descendants of the earl's brother, in 1788, and a certain portion sold to Mr. Marshall, of Leeds, in 1832. The execution of lord Kenmure immediately followed that of lord Derwentwater.

Lord Wintoun, who had refused to plead guilty, was not brought to trial till the 15th of March. He was considered of unsound mind, and at times little better than idiotic; yet he certainly showed more address than any of his noble accomplices. He demanded time for collecting his evidence, and thus contrived to delay his trial. There was so clear a case against him that this, probably, made the government more tolerant of these delays. When called upon to plead, he still urged the absence of witnesses, and that it was very bad weather for travelling. The high steward, lord Cowper, at length would admit of no further demurs; on which Wintoun said, "I hope your lordships will do me justice, and not make use of Cowper-law, as we used to say in our country—hang a man first, and then judge him after." He entreated to be heard by counsel; and this being refused, he said, "Since your lordships will not allow me counsel, I don't know nothing!" He was found guilty; but he had gained more time than his accomplices, and finally managed to escape from the Tower.

In April the inferior prisoners were tried in the Common Pleas. Forster, brigadier Macintosh, and twenty of their accomplices were condemned; but both Forster and Macintosh, and some of the others, managed, like Wintoun, to escape; so that, of all the crowds of prisoners, only twenty-two in Lancashire and four in London were hanged. Bills of attainder were passed against the lords Tullibardine, Mar, and many others who were at large. Above a thousand submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned to be transported to America. As the estate of Derwentwater devolved to a great charity, so did that of Forster. It was purchased of the crown by lord Crewe, bishop of Durham, who had married Forster's aunt, and who bequeathed the castle and manor of Bamborough to unrestricted charitable purposes—one of these being properly considered by the trustees the rescue and assistance of sufferers by wreck on that iron-bound and stormy coast.

But although, on the whole, the insurgents taken in the act had been dealt with more leniently than they had a right to expect, yet the ministers showed a strong spirit of resentment against them, especially as catholics. Lord chancellor Cowper, in passing sentence on those condemned, advised them to choose other spiritual guides in their last moments; and no sooner were these disposed of, than the ministers resorted to the old system of attacks and coercions of the catholics under the idea of strengthening the throne. The pretender being an unbendable catholic, his exclusion from the throne being on anti-catholic grounds, and his late supporters in the Highlands and elsewhere being chiefly catholics, it was deemed necessary anew to protect the crown against catholic machinations. On the 1st of March Lechmere moved to bring in a bill to strengthen the protestant interest by enforcing the laws already in existence against papists. The bill was passed without any opposition, and one of the clauses was to punish exemplarily any papists who should dare to enlist themselves in his majesty's service!

But it was not enough to secure the throne by rejecting the services of catholics; the whigs were anxious to add fresh security to their own lease of office. At the last election they had procured the return of a powerful majority; but two years out of the triennial term had expired, and they looked with apprehension to the end of the next year, when a dissolution must take place They were aware that there were still strong plottings and secret agitations for the restoration of the banished dynasty. By both the king and his ministers all tories were regarded as Jacobites, and it was resolved to keep them out of office, and, as much as possible, out of parliament. They had the power in their own hands in this parliament, and, in order to keep it, they did not hesitate to destroy that triennial act for which their own party had claimed so much credit in 1694, and substitute a septennial act in its place. They would thereby give to their own party in parliament more than a double term of the present legal possession of their seats. Instead of one year they would be able to look forward *four* years without any fear of tory increase of power through a new election. It would be a singular spectacle now-a-days to see the whigs exerting themselves to lengthen the duration of parliament, and tories zealously arguing for a greater limitation, as necessary for the independence of the subject; such, however, are the anomalies produced by the possession or non-possession of power. Had the tories been in, they would undoubtedly have willingly resorted to the same measure for the same object; but the whigs being in, they were induced, for self-security, to become the suicides of one of their own most popular acts, the Triennial Bill of 1694.

In order, however, that as little damage as possible might be done to the popularity of the members of the house where the change was to take place, they originated the measure in the peers; and the duke of Devonshire, whose father had been one of the most active promoters of the triennial bill, was selected to propose its destruction. On the 10th of April Devonshire, lord steward of the household, moved the repeal of the triennial act, long lauded as one of the bulwarks of our liberties, under the now convenient plea that it had been "found very grievous and burthensome, by occasioning much greater and more continued expenses in order to elections of members to serve in parliament, and more lasting heats and animosities amongst the subjects of this realm than ever were known before the said clause was enacted." In the preamble to the new bill, the object of that extended bill was candidly avowed, namely, that, when "a restless and popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion in this kingdom and an invasion from abroad, it might be destructive to the peace and security of the government."

The bill was supported by the duke of Argyll, his brother, the earl of Isla, the lords Cowper, Dorset, Carteret, and others of the ministerial party. It was opposed zealously by all the tory lords, conspicuous amongst them the earl of Peterborough, the dukes of Buckingham, Somerset, and Shrewsbury. Somerset and Shrewsbury had taken strong ground now in the opposition—Somerset for reasons already explained; and Shrewsbury, who was always vacillating and drawing back, the more so when most warmly encouraged by his sovereign, was now, on the evidence of the Stuart papers, actively engaged in the very dubious interests of the pretender. The bill passed the lords by a large majority, the number when it went into committee being ninety-six to sixty; but thirty peers entered a protest against it.

It was sent down to the commons on the 24th of April. Walpole was confined by illness, and could take no public part in promoting it; but it was supported by all the power of the other members of the ministry in that house, by secretary Stanhope, lord Coningsby, Craggs, Aislabie, Jekyll, and others; in fact, by all the whigs in office or out of it. Steele took that side, and represented "the state of England like that of a vessel at sea ever since the Triennial Bill had been in operation; that at the commencement of a parliament members were, as it were, insolent and defiant in their attitude, in the middle quiescent, towards the end slavish towards their constituents." But really, this argument, well considered, told for the retention of the bill. If members felt themselves independent of their constituents at three years' distance from dissolution, what would they naturally be at seven? If they began to fear their constituents towards the end of the parliament, why should that salutary fear be diminished? On the other hand, the Triennial Bill found able defenders in Mr. Bromley, the late secretary of state, Mr. Shippen, the rising leader of the tories, Mr. Lechmere, lord Guernsey, and Sir Robert Raymond.

But the bill was not zealously supported out of the house by the boroughs, which had so strong an interest in retaining a hold on their members. All that petitioned for the continuance of triennial parliaments were Marlborough, Midhurst, Abingdon, Newcastle-under-Lyne, Horsham, Hastings, Westbury, Cardiff, Petersfield, and Cambridge—few of them of first-class importance. The fact was that the crisis for the change was well chosen, when the country was suffering from the late alarms, and regarded any measure which promised stability of protestant government with favour.

Perhaps the strongest argument against the Triennial Bill is one which was not likely to be much discussed in the house, because it applied to both whig and tory ministries alike—namely, that it had never availed to check the rapacity and corruption of cabinets, which had been as much or more unprincipled under the triennial act as they ever were before. But still this at bottom is no argument against short parliaments; for, if they cannot restrain corrupt ministries, longer ones are not likely to do it; and short parliaments, in times of more extended political knowledge and authority, bear in a very different measure on constituencies to what they did in those days.

When the bill went into committee in the commons, Shippen proposed a clause disqualifying all persons from sitting in parliament who held pensions at pleasure; but Stanhope objected to it as calculated to impede the progress of the bill, but promised to bring in a measure for that purpose, which was accordingly done under the management of Stanhope, Craggs, and Boscawen, and passed on the 8th of June. The Septennial Bill itself was passed on the 26th of April, when the minority amounted only to a hundred and twenty-one votes. One of the most remarkable facts connected with this retrograde legislation was that Somers, then very old and near his end, was said to have exclaimed to lord Townshend on seeing him directly after, that he was glad of the news; that he had never approved of the triennial act, and always considered it as the reverse of what it was intended. This, however, rests only on hearsay, and, if it be true, can only be received as a proof that Somers was now grown superannuated, or otherwise was not the profound statesman which his party had always represented him. That he was one of the ablest and most conscientious men of the time must be admitted; but his conduct in regard to the Partition Treaty showed that he was by no means above the courtly influences of his age.

Whilst parliament was busy with the Septennial Bill, George I. was very impatient to get away to Hanover. Like William III., he was but a foreigner in England; a dull, well-meaning man, whose heart was in his native country, and who had been transplanted too late ever to take to the alien earth. He had brought two or three of his fat mistresses with him, but they could not convert busy and wealthy England into a little, quiet Hanover. Their country was everything in their eyes except a money-getting country, and it was for that one advantage that they tolerated England; they were equally rapacious of money and titles. Madame Schulemberg was in her way very pious, being accustomed to drive round to several Lutheran chapels in one day, and endeavoured to get rid of the sinful nature of her position, being the chief of the king's harem, by privately fostering the delusive idea that she was married to George. For her benefit the post of master of the horse, vacated by the duke of Somerset, remained open for several years, that she might appropriate the emoluments. She also sold recommendations to all sorts of places, and made money enormously. Sir Robert Walpole, after the king's death, when he could speak out, declared that she would at any time have sold the king's honour for a shilling to the highest bidder. She was soon made duchess of Munster, and then duchess of Kendal. Next to her was the baroness Kilmansegge, younger, but equally fat and equally rapacious. Amongst George's male favourites were the barons Bothmar and Bernsdorff, Robethon, his private secretary, and several Turks—Mustapha, Mahomet, and others. All these people were so many harpies, insatiable of money, titles, and whatever they could get. Coming from a poor electorate into the English Goshen, they were not only greedy of gain and titles, but were followed by a flight of still poorer and more ravenous vultures than themselves. As William the Dutchman had thrown handfuls of estates at the heads of his Bentincks, Ginckels, and the rest, so these favourites expected nothing less, and were by no means scrupulous as to the means of obtaining them. Nobody could get at the king but through them; and they had the advantage of understanding his language, his tastes, and his weaknesses much better than any Englishman. There was not one of them more avaricious, mischievous, and meddling than Robethon, a man of French origin and ruined fortunes. He was always on the watch about the royal person to seize on advantages for himself, and infuse his poisonous slanders and prejudices against those whom he wished to keep at a distance.

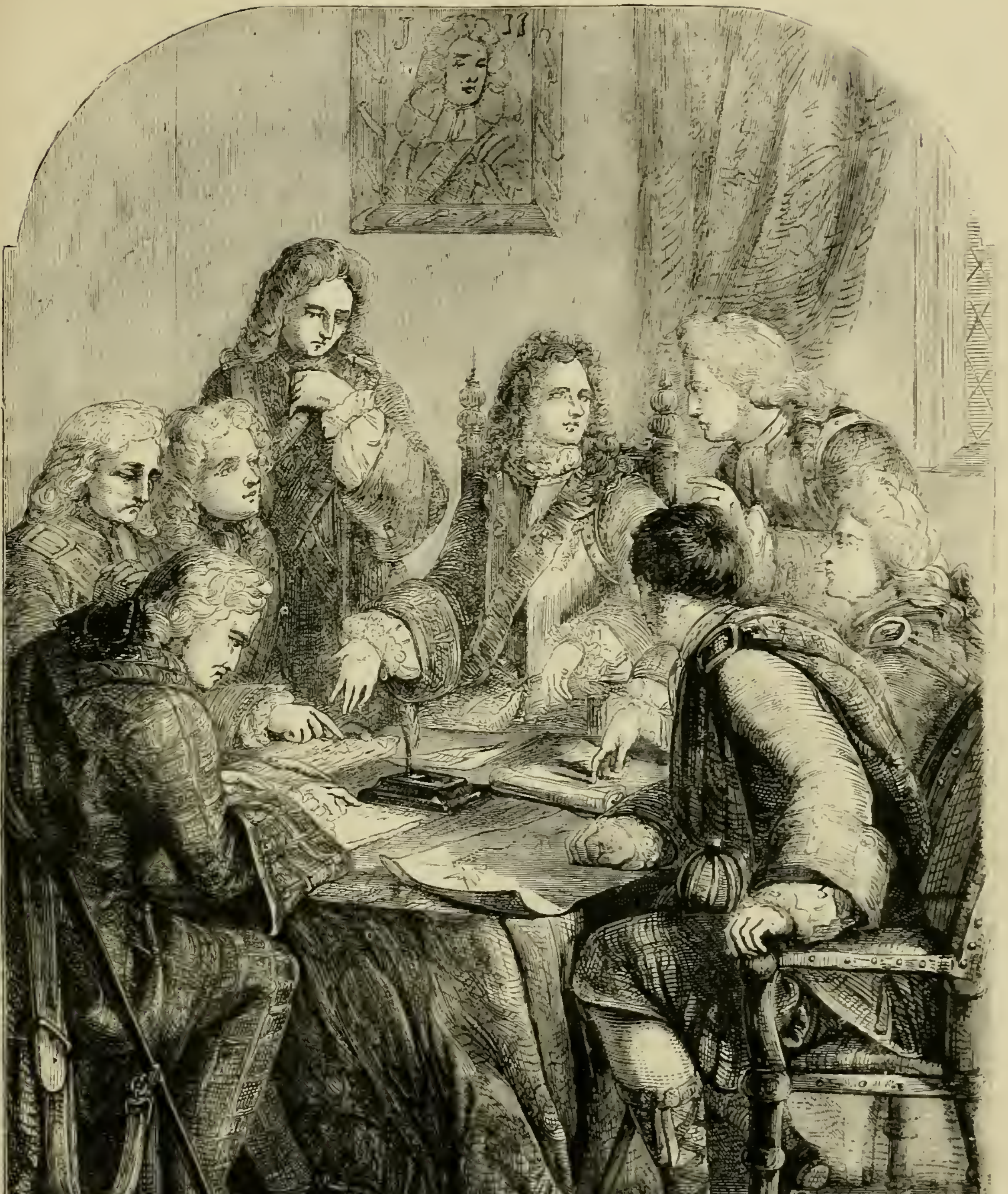
The act of settlement provided that, after the Hanoverian accession, no reigning sovereign should quit the kingdom without permission of parliament. George and his creatures were not content to ask this permission, they insisted that the restraining clause itself should be repealed, and it was accordingly repealed without any opposition—of so little force are any of these ties on monarchs when surrounded by a servile ministry and parliament. There was one difficulty connected with George's absence from his kingdom which council or parliament could not so easily deal with; this was his excessive jealousy of his son. It was no new feeling; it had exhibited itself as strongly at Hanover as it did here. It had been one of the most effective preventives of the prince of Wales coming to England in Anne's time, for the elector had been as averse to his son's going to England as Anne was to see him there. This feeling became hereditary in the family; and all the four princes of Wales which appeared after the Hanoverian accession, ending in George IV., were at violent enmity with their parents or grandparents. "That family," said lord Carteret, one day in full council, "always has quarrelled, and always will quarrel from generation to generation." We may trust that the present happy reign will falsify this prediction. But at this moment it created a painful difficulty. The king could not take his departure in peace if the prince of Wales was to be made regent, according to custom, in his absence. He proposed, therefore, through his favourite, Bothmar, that the powers of the prince should be limited by rigorous provisions, and that some other persons should be joined with him in commission. Lord Townshend did not hesitate to express his sense of the impolicy of the king's leaving his dominions at all at such a crisis; but he also added that to put any other persons in commission with the prince of Wales was contrary to the whole practice and spirit of England. Driven from this, the king insisted that, instead of regent, the prince should be named "guardian and lieutenant of the realm"—an office which had never existed since the time of the Black Prince. Nor would he even permit him this title except under certain restrictions. He was extremely jealous of the counsels of the duke of Argyll, who had attached himself to the prince, and was his groom of the stole, and insisted on his being removed from his office and from about the person of the prince. Upon this pitiful display of a mean jealousy of his own son—a jealousy equally insulting to the nation, which had shown itself so careful of his rights and claims—George set sail for Hanover, a far less popular monarch than he came.

The retreat of George to Hanover was not merely to enjoy his native scenes and old associations; he felt himself insecure even on the throne of England, and the rebellion for the present quelled, and he was anxious to form or renew alliances on the continent to give strength to his position. The part which England had taken at the end of the war seemed to have alienated all her confederates of the grand alliance, and transferred their resentment to himself with his accession to the British crown. Holland was, perhaps, the least sensible of the past discords; she had kept the treaty, and lent her aid on the landing of the pretender; but she was now in a condition very different to that in which she was when William was stadtholder, and Fagel and Heinsius at the head of his administration. "The government of the United Provinces," said Horace Walpole, now minister at the Hague, "was become a many-headed, headless government, containing as many masters as minds." That stupid obstinacy which had so often tried Marlborough had only increased as the vigour of their great minds had disappeared. As for the emperor, he was more feeble and sluggish than he had shown himself as the aspirant to the throne of Spain. He was a bigoted catholic, little disposed to trouble himself for securing a protestant succession, although it had expended much money and blood in defence of his own. On the contrary, he felt a strong jealousy of George, the elector of Hanover, as king of England, and therefore capable of introducing, through his augmented resources, aggressive disturbances in Germany. The king of Prussia, his son-in-law, was rather a troublesome and wrangling ally than one to be depended upon.

Taking this view of his continental neighbours, George was driven to the conclusion that his only safety lay in firmly engaging France to relinquish the pretender. The means of the attainment of this desirable object lay in the peculiar position of the regent. Betwixt him and the throne of France stood only the weakly boy, Louis XV. Philip V. of Spain had, as we have seen, renounced solemnly all right to the succession in case of the decease of the infant king of France, but that circumstance gave no security to the regent's mind. He knew, as De Torcy had declared to Bolingbroke, that the hereditary practice of France sanctioned no such renunciations. He knew that Louis XIV. had renounced all claim on the Spanish throne on his marriage with the infanta, Maria Theresa; yet there was his grandson sitting on that throne in consequence of hereditary claim, and in defiance of that renunciation. He knew more, that Philip made the renunciation of the throne of France with mental reservation, and with a determination to assert his right to it in case of the decease of the young French king. It was, therefore, clearly the interest of the regent to strengthen his chance of succession by an alliance with England for support in case of a struggle; but then this alliance must be purchased by guaranteeing George's British throne against the pretender. So long as the chances of the pretender appeared tolerable, the regent had avoided the overtures on this subject, but the failure of the expedition to the Highlands had inclined him to give up the pretender, and he now sent the abbé Dubois to Hanover to treat upon the subject.

There was another point, however, which king George had in view, and without which the treaty was not likely to be accomplished—the port of Mardyk. By the peace of Utrecht France was bound to destroy the port of Dunkirk; but, with true French finesse, having carried out that demolition, she began to construct another port, even better and stronger, at Mardyk, at a short distance from Dunkirk. The English ministry had protested against this barefaced evasion of the treaty of Utrecht on that point both before and since the present king's accession, but with no effect. The French replied that they had faithfully observed the treaty; that they had destroyed the port of Dunkirk, and that Mardyk was not Dunkirk, nor Dunkirk Mardyk. But however much George I. desired the proposed alliance and mutual guarantee for the two successions, he was resolved not to conclude it without the suppression of the new port of Mardyk. It was now that the regent, reflecting on the casualties of his own position and the augmented strength of England, resolved to concede something, if not the whole, regarding Mardyk to achieve the other object. He therefore withdrew the negotiation on this point from M. Chateneuf, the French resident at the Hague, and placed it in the more able and willing hands of the abbé Dubois.

The abbé was at once the most infamous and the most adroit man of his time. The son of a poor apothecary near Limoges, he had contrived to mount by degrees into the confidence of the duke of Orleans, in whose service he had filled the post which Chiffinch filled to Charles II.—the manager of his infamous amours, the panderer to his vices, the paid seducer of women into his toils. This he did whilst he was the tutor of Orleans, and this he continued when he was regent and duke of Chartres. But he was not only the agent of that profligate man's pleasures; he was also his diplomatic envoy, first at one court and then at another. We have seen him coming and going betwixt England and



THE CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE AND HIS COUNCIL.

France in the negotiations both regarding the peace of Utrecht and the pretender. Like Talleyrand of our time, he had trained himself to an impenetrable concealment of his feelings and his real sentiments, and was so thorough a rogue that when the regent, in spite of the public clamour against such a man being put in his council, had ventured to do it, he was obliged to say to him, "I do beg, my dear abbé, you will endeavour to be a little honest."

This model of a minister was now sent to Hanover to manage the treaty with the king, and to get a guarantee for the regent's succession, whilst he gave up as little as possible. Such are the strange bedfellows which politics, as well as poverty, make people acquainted with, that, on arriving at Hanover, the virtuous and respectable Stanhope received the abbé as a guest at his house. The return which the accomplished abbé made for his hospitality was what Stanhope, of course, expected. He did all in his power to overreach him in his negotiations. As for Mardyk, which the English court was most anxious about, he had brought a huge pile of sketches, plans, and papers with him, with which he endeavoured to entrap and confuse Stanhope; but the English minister was quick enough to perceive that all that the abbé offered was to alter the direction of the sluices, but to leave the port just as capacious and as deep in water as before. As for the parts of the treaty regarding the succession, he endeavoured to bring that in, not as the principal matter, but as a mere accessory, and at the same time to do it in the form of a guarantee to the treaty of Utrecht, the sixth article of which, he said, contained everything that related to the crown of France. That was a good reason for no treaty at all, but worse than none whatever for guaranteeing the treaty of Utrecht, which would cover these whig ministers with disgrace, for they had denounced the treaty as most unpatriotic and scandalous.

But Stanhope was too clear-headed to be duped by the wily Frenchman. He politely but firmly adhered to the demands of England for the suppression of Mardyk as a port, and the abbé then tried the expedient of being angry, and threatening to go away. This, however, failed him too, for Stanhope took his bluster very coolly; and he therefore came down to these conclusions—That in the articles fourth, fifth, and sixth in the treaty of Utrecht between France and England, and the thirty-first between France and Holland, the two former of which relate only to the succession of England, and the two latter containing everything which concern that of France and the renunciation upon which it is founded. This Dubois signed, but not till after three days' wrangling, and then without including Mardyk, the article about which was to be settled in London. Thus the French plenipotentiary had got the better, after all, of his English rival; and when the preliminaries were sent to London, lord Townshend expressed his satisfaction with the treaty as far as it went, but expressed his doubt whether they should ever get the article regarding Mardyk completed. This opinion was fully confirmed when they came to discuss the matter with M. Ibeville, the French agent in London, it being plain to the ministers that the French were determined to retain a depth of water sufficient to admit men-of-war and privateers into Mardyk. This was a great disappointment; but suddenly, three days after, Ibeville gave way, urged by some cause from home which was not very clear, but which, no doubt, regarded the security of the regent. He consented that the sluices of Mardyk should be confined to sixteen feet in width, which would, of course, wholly exclude ships-of-war and privateers. This sudden turn greatly delighted the English ministry. The preliminaries were concluded, and the Dutch included in them; but the treaty was not ratified till January, 1717.

But though this difficulty was tided over, there remained a still greater one with the northern nation. Charles XII. of Sweden, overthrown by the czar Peter at the battle of Pultowa, had fled into Turkey, and obstinately remained at Bender, though the czar and his allies were all the time overrunning and taking possession of all the Swedish territories on the eastern side of the Baltic. Russians, Norwegians, Danes, Saxons, and Prussians were all busy gorging the spoil. The king of Denmark, amongst the invasions of Swedish territory, had seized on the rich bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, which had been ceded to Sweden at the peace of Westphalia. These bishoprics, which lay contiguous to Hanover, had always been an object of desire to that state. And now Charles of Sweden, suddenly ruined by the proceedings of his vulture neighbours, rending limb from limb his kingdom, galloped away from Bender, and, in November, 1714, startled all his enemies by appearing at Stralsund. Denmark, seeing a tempest about to burst over its head, immediately tempted the English king to enter into alliance with him, by offering him the stolen bishoprics of Bremen and Verden on condition that he should pay a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and join the alliance of the northern ruffians against Sweden. The bait was greedily swallowed by the virtuous George, and England was immediately called upon to pay the costs of this nefarious transaction.

Here was immediately seen the wisdom of those statesmen who, admitting the petty prince of Hanover to the throne of England, had endeavoured to prevent the kingdom being dragged into the dirty squabbles and dishonest rapacities and complicities of this little German electorate. And here, at the same time, was seen how totally inefficient are all human precautions to prevent such mischief. The second article of the Act of Settlement provided—that in case any foreigners came to the throne of these kingdoms, this nation should not be obliged to engage in any wars for the defence of any dominions that did not belong to the crown of England without consent of parliament.

What was the immediate consequence of this treaty betwixt George of Hanover and Denmark for the cession of the usurped bishoprics of Bremen and Verden? Without waiting for any consent of parliament, Sir John Norris was sent with a fleet to the Baltic, under the pretence of protecting our trade there, but with the real object of compelling Sweden to cede the bishoprics, and to accept a compensation in money for them. Thus we were at once thrown into a hostile attitude towards Sweden, an ancient ally, which was intimately connected with us in trade, which we had assisted this very Charles XII. to defend against former encroachments of Denmark. But now we were made to sanction George of Hanover's unprincipled bargain for a petty addition to his petty electorate; to become, in reality, at war with our late ally, and to join one of the most rapacious and thievish confederations with the northern princes which ever existed. Under the pretence that the possession of Hanover of these towns on the Elbe and the Weser was important to British commerce, we were to encourage the gigantic aggressions of Peter the Muscovite in the Baltic, which infinitely more menaced our future commerce in those waters. Such were the immediate fruits of placing on the throne a small German prince—fruits to be followed by far greater indignities, debts, wars, and embarrassments from the same source—an alliance which has led the little protestant states of Germany to look on this country as a sort of promised land of rich and well-pensioned wives, subsidies, and honours, and which made Englishmen rejoice when circumstances at length cut loose the little barge of Hanover once more from the wake of the great British vessel.

At the same time that we were thus dragged into hostilities with Sweden, and made to favour the encroachments of the czar, we were brought into hostilities with the czar too in defence of this troublesome state of Hanover. The czar had married his niece to the duke of Mecklenburg, who was on bad terms with his subjects, and the czar was only too glad to get a footing in Germany by sending a large body of troops into the duchy. Denmark became immediately alarmed at such a dangerous and unscrupulous neighbour, and remonstrated; whereupon the czar informed tho Danish king that if he murmured he would enter Denmark with his army too. Of course the king of Denmark called on his ally, George of Hanover, for the stipulated aid; and George, who hated the czar mortally, and was hated by the czar as intensely in return, at once sent his favourite, Bernsdorff, to Stanhope, with a demand that "the czar should be instantly crushed, his ships secured, his person seized, and kept till he should have caused his troops to evacuate both Denmark and Germany." These were the little matters which England was immediately to do for the honour of having the elector of that important little spot, Hanover, for its king. Stanhope was confounded by these peremptory demands. He went to the king, and found him resolved to have them carried out. Orders were to be sent forthwith to Sir John Norris to that effect. But Stanhope replied that he could not take upon himself measures of such moment. He could only refer them to the other ministers in England; and he wrote to Townshend in a manner which showed his embarrassment, but with no more than a minister's average principle. "I shall check my own nature, which was ever inclined to bold strokes, till I can hear from you. But you will easily imagine how I shall be daily pressed to send orders to Sir John Norris. The truth is, I see no daylight through these affairs. We might easily master the czar if we go briskly to work, and this be thought a right measure; but how far Sweden may be thereby enabled to disturb us in Britain you may judge. If the czar be let alone, he will not only be master of Denmark, but with the body of troops which he has still behind on the frontiers of Poland, may take quarters where he pleases in Germany. How far the king of Prussia is concerned with him we do not know, nor will that prince explain himself. The king now wishes, and so does your humble servant, very heartily, that we had secured the king of France."

Such were the disgraceful and impolitic affairs into which England was dragged by Hanover. Her clear and honest course was to have maintained her alliance with Sweden By this means the designs of the czar, so far as our prospects of trade were concerned in the Baltic, would have been kept in check. But now to do the dirty work of Hanover, we had let loose the czar by mortally offending Sweden. George of Hanover had not only secured Bremen and Verden which Denmark had robbed Sweden of, but had marched a large body of troops into Pomerania, to unite with the Danes and Prussians, who had reduced the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and attacked Charles at Stralsund. Enraged at this conduct of George and of the English cabinet in sending Norris to the Baltic, Charles XII. immediately entered into alliance with the pretender, and engaged to invade Scotland with twelve thousand veteran Swedes. Thus this kingdom was menaced with an attack in its least defencible quarter by one of the most skilful generals of Europe, converted from our ally into an implacable enemy, simply by our being dragged into the aggressions of Hanover, swelling itself like the frog in the fable, and presuming in the most unprincipled manner, in reliance on the power of poor, humiliated, degraded England.

The receipt of such proposals in England produced the utmost consternation in the cabinet. The least reflective member of it could not avoid perceiving the undignified entanglements in which we were involved by this long-cherished protestant succession. Townshend, in an "absolutely secret" answer to Stanhope, expressed the concern both of himself and the prince of Wales at the prospect of a rupture with the czar, who would seize the British ships and subjects in Russia, and prohibit the supply of naval stores from his kingdom, and that especially at a crisis when England was threatened with an invasion from Sweden and a rising of the Jacobites. He did not deny that there was a great danger of both these kingdoms and the German empire being exposed to imminent danger by the designs of the czar on the whole coast of the Baltic, a danger which he might, had he dared, truly have attributed to George's own deeds by offending Sweden, instead of uniting with it to counterbalance the czar's plan of aggrandisement. But Townshend, not being able to say so much, ended by offering very crooked advice, which was that, although he could not openly at first sanction the king of Denmark in attacking the czar, he might do it secretly, and openly when once the blow was struck. It is impossible to contemplate the predicament, and the dishonourable policy to which these pitiful Hanoverian involvements reduced British statesmen, without blushing and indignation.

But king George, who did not think the English crown of any value unless it enabled him to play the despot and aggressor all around him in Germany, would listen to no such half measures. Sir John Norris was to remain all the winter in the Baltic, the czar was to be crushed. This lordly and obstinate temper of the king made Townshend forget the subtlety of the statesman, and he caused his secretary Poyntz to write the following uncourtier-like note to Stanhope:—"My lord perceives by a letter from M. Robethon, that the king is likely to insist on Sir John Norris's squadron being left to winter in the Baltic; and he commands me to acquaint you that it makes him lose all patience to see what ridiculous expedients they propose to his majesty for extricating themselves out of their present difficulties, as if the leaving you eight men-of-war to be frozen up six months would signify five grains towards giving a new turn to the affairs of the north." This billet was, as might have been expected, never forgiven Townshend, and he was soon made to feel the effects of it. Stanhope continued to write urging the king's views, the danger of allowing the czar to make himself the master of the Baltic, and suggesting that Cromwell had sent a fleet several times to that sea to protect trade, and check the northern potentates. But Townshend might have replied that Cromwell really knew what he was about, and supported Sweden both by ships and money against the aggressions of its neighbours, which the Hanoverian, in his small but grasping intellect, had alienated, and then found himself exposed to the natural consequence—the power of the czar. Fortunately, the czar was induced, by the combined remonstrances of Austria, Denmark, and Sir John Norris, to abandon his projects for the moment, at least in Germany, and to withdraw his troops from Mecklenburg.

The fear of the Russians being removed, the king was impatient to get the treaty with France ratified both by England and Holland. As there was some delay on the part of Holland, Stanhope proposed to comply with the king's desire, that the treaty should be signed without further waiting for the Dutch, but with the agreement on both sides that they should be admitted to sign as soon as they were ready. The abbé was to proceed to the Hague, and there sign the treaty in form with our plenipotentiaries at that place, lord Cadogan and Horace Walpole. But these ministers had repeatedly assured the States that England would never sign without them, and Horace Walpole now refused to consent to any such breach of faith. He declared he would rather starve, die, do anything than thus wound his honour and conscience; that he should regard it as declaring himself villain under his own hand. He declared he would rather lay his patent of reversion in the West Indies, or even his life, at his majesty's feet, than be guilty of such an action, and he begged leave to be allowed to return home. Townshend, for a moment, gave in to the proposition for not waiting for the Dutch, but immediately recalled that opinion; and he drew the powers of the plenipotentiaries for signing so loosely, that Dubois declined signing upon them. As we have said, the ratification did not take place till January 1717, and after great causes of difference had arisen betwixt Townshend and Stanhope. So greatly did Stanhope resent the difference of opinion in Townshend, that he offered his resignation to the king, who refused to accept it, being himself by this time much out of humour with both Townshend and Robert Walpole, the paymaster of the forces.

Various causes, in fact, were operating to produce a great schism in the ministry of George I. Townshend, as we have seen, had very unguardedly expressed his disgust with the measures of the king at and concerning Hanover. Walpole had equally offended by refusing to advance a sum demanded for the payment of certain German troops engaged by the king on the landing of the pretender in Scotland, which the king declared that Walpole had engaged to pay, and Walpole denied any knowledge of. As George I., however, could speak no English, and Walpole neither German nor French, mistakes between them were by no means wonderful, as they endeavoured to converse in a little bad Latin. These differences were rendered worse by the German favourite, Bothmar, and the king's mistresses. Townshend declared that Bothmar had every day some infamous project or other on foot to get money. One of these projects was to obtain a good share of the proceeds of the French lands in St. Christopher, ceded to England at the peace of Utrecht, and which Townshend did his best to prevent him getting. Madame von Schulemberg, now duchess of Kendal, had at this time, amongst her various transactions of the kind, undertaken, for a handsome bribe, to procure a peerage for Sir Richard Child, a tory member of the house of commons; and Townshend strongly advised the king against granting this request, as Child was a political opponent, and might in his elevation do much mischief. Whilst these creatures, therefore, were doing their best to undermine Walpole and Townshend, they found an equally formidable enemy in the earl of Sunderland, now privy seal.

Sunderland was a man of a blunt and fiery temper, concealed under a cold exterior. Queen Anne and his own father-in-law, Marlborough, used to complain of his excessive rudeness, and Anne, in 1710, dismissed him from his post of secretary of state, but offered him a retiring pension of three thousand pounds a year This Sunderland refused, observing that if he could not have the honour of serving his country, he would not plunder it. Notwithstanding this, and his being much lauded by certain parties for his honesty and independence, there were charges of embezzlement against him when in office that have never been cleared up to satisfaction. One thing is certain, that he was an able and a proud man. When George came to the throne, he, as well as his father-in-law, was deeply mortified in being placed beneath Townshend in the administration. He had solicited, through Bothmar, the honour of being placed at the head of the administration, but that honour was conceded to lord Townshend, and he was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland He accepted the office with an ill grace, and never went over to discharge its duties. On the death of lord Wharton, however, he exchanged that post for the privy seal and a seat in the cabinet. But, for the two first years of the reign of George, he did not find himself making way in the royal confidence, and he took little part in the administration, and less in defending its measures in the house of lords. He attached himself, moreover, to the seceders from the great whig party, especially to lord Cadogan, Hampden, and Lechmere, and was prepared to assist in the overthrow of the cabinet to which he still belonged.

But as he saw, during the king's absence, the decline of Townshend in the royal favour, a new desire seemed to spring in his mind to win the confidence of the king, and there can be little doubt but that it was suggested by the possibility of superseding the man whom he had always since the accession of the house of Hanover, regarded as his rival. In July he procured permission from the king to go to Aix-la-Chapelle to drink the waters; and Walpole at this moment was aware of his real design—that of getting to Hanover, and setting himself right with the king. In a letter on the 30th of that month to Stanhope, at Hanover, he says—"Lord Sunderland talks of leaving England in a fortnight, and, to be sure, will not be far from you. He seems very pressing to have instructions from us how to behave at Hanover. His professions for an entire reconciliation and a perfect union are as strong as words can express, and, you may be sure, are reciprocal; and when I consider that common interest should preserve sincerity amongst us, I am astonished to think there is reason to fear the contrary."

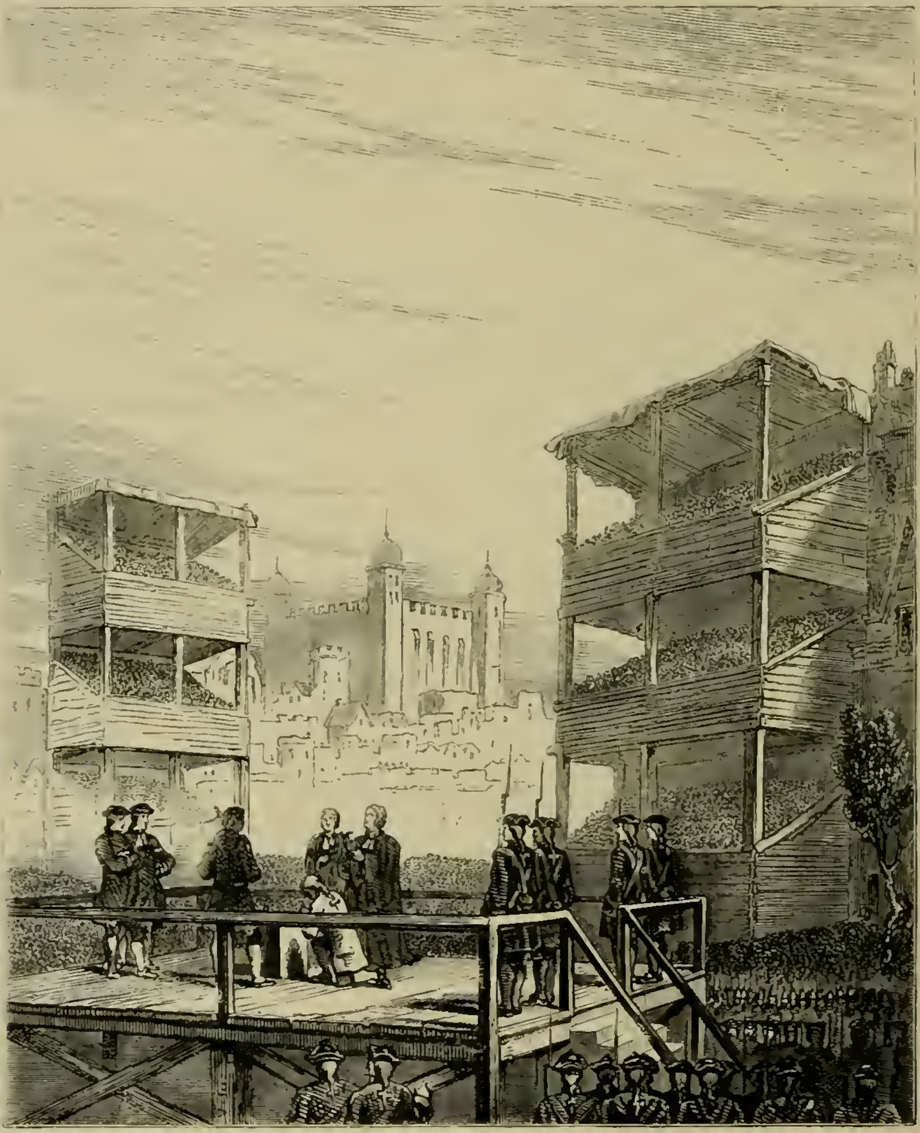
Accordingly Sunderland soon requested the royal permission to proceed from Aix to Hanover, and Stanhope seconded his request, which was granted. At Hanover, or rather, at the little court of Gohrde, where the king spent his summers, Sunderland used all diligence to win the good will of both the king and Stanhope, and the royal feelings towards Townshend and Walpole gave him peculiar facility in this respect. To such a pitch of confidence had Sunderland arrived, that on the 11th of November, when Stanhope had offered his resignation, which was not accepted, but, on the contrary, had been desired by the king to write to Townshend, expressing his displeasure at the delays of the French treaty, Sunderland also wrote a letter to Townshend, without, it is alleged, any authority from the king, in a tone of haughty rudeness, which appeared as if studied to offend.

Townshend wrote a clever and masterly reply to the king, stating satisfactory reasons for his conduct, but taking no notice of the letter of Sunderland. His explanations appeared to satisfy the king, and all ill will to be thus averted; but this was far from being the case. Before he received the king's letter and replied to it, Townshend dispatched Horace Walpole to Hanover, bearing letters in reply to a suggestion of his majesty's, that he was inclined to continue at Hanover through the winter, provided the state of affairs in England did not seem to necessitate his return earlier, and requesting Townshend to give him the matured opinion of the cabinet upon it. Accordingly, Townshend stated in full, in the dispatch by Horace Walpole, the views of the cabinet on the politics of the north, the payment of the public debts, the trial of lord Oxford, and a proposed act of indemnity. So far all was right; but then Townshend came upon tender ground. Whilst he did not press the return of the king, he advised, in case of his absence, the grant of a discretionary power to the prince of Wales to meet any difficulty or altered circumstances.

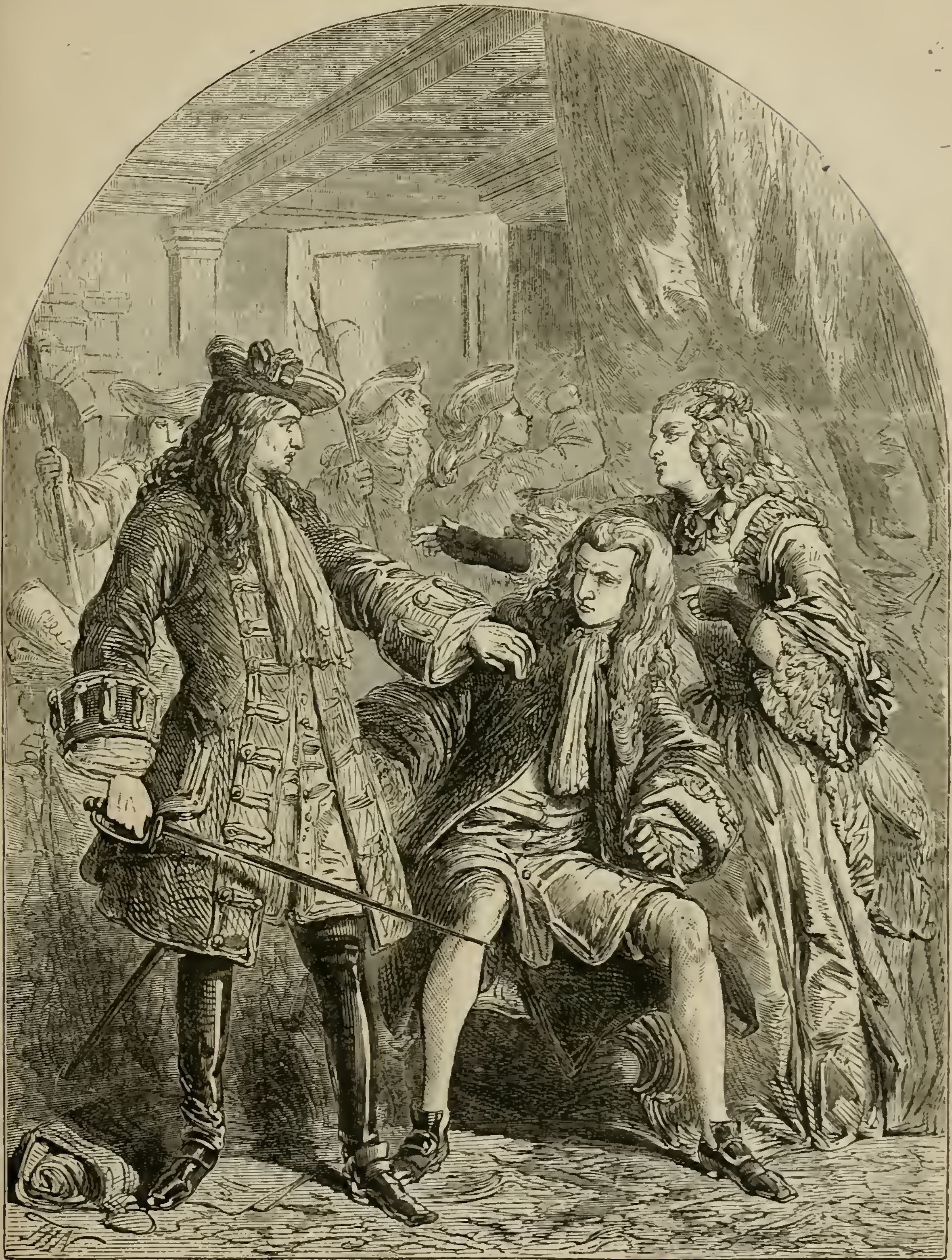
This called forth at once George's jealousy of his son, and roused all his suspicions. Horace, hearing the king express his intention of returning to England, and to open the parliament in person, considered the dispatch of which he was the bearer of little consequence, and thought no more of it. The king did not forget it for a moment. Walpole was soon, however, forced to observe the unfriendly feeling in the minds both of the king and of Stanhope towards lord Townshend in regard to the management of the French treaty, and he did his best to remove it by expressing the strongest conviction of the thoroughly honourable conduct of both Townshend and Walpole through the whole. His zealous words appeared to have had their full effect. Stanhope declared his suspicions removed, and then came the full explanations of Townshend in his letter to the king, and it appeared to heal all the sore feeling. Walpole, therefore, returned home with the full conviction that everything was restored to a footing of harmony and confidence. There was only one thing which left a lingering trace of uneasiness, and that was an ever-returning rumour of Townshend and Walpole having entered into cabals for transferring some part of the king's authority to the prince of Wales, and that they were accustomed to associate with the prince's adherents, especially the duke of Argyll. Horace Walpole, however, felt satisfied that the king's arrival in England would effectually dissipate this. He was grievously mistaken.

The king's ears were sensitively alive to all accounts of his son's proceedings, and he had plenty of people in England to communicate such news to him, amongst the rest, his creature Bothmar. The prince, on his part, does not seem to have taken much pains to prevent statements to his prejudice. Being more open and cheerful than his father, and having the advantage of knowing something of the language, he was much more popular than the king. He took evident pains to conciliate the English. He made a short tour through Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, and conferred various acts of grace, such as dispensing with passports betwixt Dover and Calais. The discontented whigs and Jacobites seized on the greater affability and pleasantness of the prince to draw unfavourable contrasts between him and his father. They represented the prince as more English, and more disposed to unite all parties. The Jacobites went so far as to present most loyal addresses to him, not with the view of expressing a real attachment to the prince, but to show the king to disadvantage, and in this they were imitated by the discontented whigs. Had the prince been most guarded and exemplary in his conduct, he could not possibly have escaped giving offence, for the feeling which haunts most kings of their successors was excessive in George, and the evident desire of the prince to obtain a personal influence with the people was poison to the jealous parent. The prince, besides associating with Argyll, Lechmere, Hampden, and other discontented whigs, made himself agreeable to the tories, and displayed an evident desire to open the parliament in person. The ministers, Townshend and Walpole, thought it their duty, left as they were to conduct the government under the prince, to endeavour, by their frank and courteous behaviour, to draw him as much as possible from the influence of Argyll and that party. But this only aggravated the jealousy of the king. The recommendation of Townshend in his dispatch by Horace Walpole, to confer a discretionary power on the prince, put the climax to his resentment. He suppressed it, however, sufficiently to allow Walpole to depart in a false security, and waited further details by the next post. This, which arrived about the middle of December, seemed to cause his anger to burst all bounds, and he vowed that he would dismiss Townshend at once from his service.

Stanhope appears to have done his best to break Townshend's fall. He represented to the king the high character of that minister, his real services, and the injustice and impolicy of disgracing him; that he might remove him to another office, and thus answer every purpose. He could take the chief direction of affairs out of his hands, even while appearing to promote him. He therefore advised lord Townshend should, without a word of dismissal or disapprobation, be offered the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, instead of that of secretary of state, and to this the king consented. Accordingly Stanhope was directed to write to Townshend, and also to secretary Methuen, and he did so on the 14th of December, conveying in most courteous terms the king's desire that he should accept the lord-lieutenancy, and that without a syllable of discontent on the part of his majesty. To Robert Walpole, however, by the same post, he more fully opened his mind. He assured him that if he could have a little private talk with him, he could make him sensible how desirable it was that lord Townshend should accept the post offered; how sincerely he had endeavoured to serve him in recommending him to do so. That the king was made more uneasy than he (Stanhope) cared to say, and that through communications which came neither through the hands of himself nor Sunderland; that he was very jealous of the prince's intimacy with Argyll and his brother, the earl of Isla; that he hoped the king's presence in London would dispel these jealousies; that ill offices had been done not only to Townshend at Hanover, but to him (Walpole), and that he and Sunderland had exerted themselves sincerely to remove them; that



EXECUTION OF LORD DERWENTWATER ON TOWER HILL.



ARREST OF THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR.

if Townshend accepted the lord-lieutenancy the council would remain just as it was, except with the addition of the duke of Kingston as privy seal; but if Townshend should decline, and he, Robert Walpole, should quit his employment, the king had determined to make Sunderland secretary of state, and he, Stanhope, chancellor of the exchequer. He concluded by urging Walpole to do his utmost to induce Townshend to accept the lord-lieutenancy.

When the news of lord Townshend's removal reached London, it excited a great sensation. Townshend was considered pre-eminently an English minister, above all foreign influences, and this change was regarded as a Hanoverian cabal, a proof that no man could stand with the king and those about him, who would not fall in with the continental plans of that court. Townshend and the Walpoles were greatly exasperated, and this feeling was aggravated by a very intemperate letter of Sunderland's to lord Orford, in which he accused Townshend, Robert Walpole, and the lord chancellor of having entered into engagements with the prince and the duke of Argyll against the king's authority. This revealed the ground on which Townshend was really removed, and as he knew himself to be quite innocent in that respect, he denied the charge in no measured terms, as being an "infamous accusation," originating in "the villany and infatuation" of lord Sunderland. He declared that Sunderland wrote his letters in "frenzy fits."

To the king Townshend wrote, declining the offer of Ireland, saying, "My private affairs would not permit me to remove to Ireland, any more than common honesty would permit me to put the profits of that employment in my pocket without going over to do the duties of it." This was aimed at Sunderland, who had done so. To Stanhope both Townshend and Walpole wrote, violently accusing him of having changed towards his sworn friends. Stanhope replied, calmly repelling the charge, and still urging Walpole to keep his place, and Townshend to accept Ireland. On his way home the king spent a few days at the Hague, and there the Dutch ministers, who were warm friends of Townshend, and especially Slingeland, to whom Townshend had written, stating the whole affair, used their offices to disabuse the mind of the king with good effect. The king's presence at the Hague also facilitated the signing of the treaty by the Dutch, which was done a few days after he left, and thus became THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

On the arrival of George in London he received Townshend very cordially, and so softened him as to induce him to accept the lord-lieutenancy, and to do the very thing he had declared it was not common honesty to do—accept the post and still remain in London, acting with the rest of the cabinet. His political adherents, including Methuen, Pulteney, the Walpoles, lord Oxford, and the duke of Devonshire, were contented to remain in office. The only change was that Methuen was made one of the two secretaries along with Stanhope. It was thus imagined that the great schism in the whig party was closed; but it was far from being the case: the healing was only on the surface.

Thus entered the year 1717. It had been intended to open parliament immediately on the king's return, but the discovery of a new and singular phase of the Jacobite conspiracy compelled its postponement. We have seen that the paltry and unprincipled trafficking of George with Denmark for the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, reft in the king of Sweden's absence from his possession, had justly incensed that monarch, and made him vow that he would support the pretender and march into Scotland with twelve thousand men. Such a menace on the part of a general like Charles XII. was not likely to pass unnoticed by the Jacobites. The duke of Berwick had taken up the idea very eagerly. He had held several conferences upon it with baron Spaar, the Swedish minister at Paris, and he had sent a trusty minister to Charles at Stralsund, with the proposal that a body of seven or eight thousand Swedes, then encamped near Gothenburg, should embark at that port, whence, with a favourable wind, they could land in Scotland in eight and forty hours. The pretender agreed to furnish one hundred and fifty thousand livres for their expenses. At that time, however, Charles was closely besieged by the Danes, Prussians, and their new ally, George of Hanover, purchased by the bribe of Bremen and Verden. Charles was compelled by this coalition to retire from Stralsund, but only in a mood of deeper indignation against the king of England, and therefore more favourable to his enemies.

The invasion of Scotland was again brought under his notice, and strongly recommended by his chief confidant and minister, baron Gortz. Charles now listened with all his native spirit of resentment, and Gortz immediately set out on a tour of instigation and arrangement of the invasion. Gortz was by birth a Franconian, an adventurer whom many ups and downs and secret intrigues had made acute and destitute of every principle that might impede his objects, before he attracted the notice and the favour of the hero of Sweden. Among other clever spirits whom he had sought to enlist in his cause, was Voltaire, who, in his history of Charles XII., says he was equally lavish of gifts and promises, of oaths and lies. Gortz now hastened to Holland, where he corresponded with count Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador at London, and baron Spaar, the Swedish minister at Paris. He put himself also into communication with the pretender and the duke of Ormonde. The scheme of Gortz was able and comprehensive. A peace was to be established betwixt Charles and his great enemy and rival, Peter of Russia. They both hated George of Hanover and England, and by this union might inflict the severest injuries on him. Next a conspiracy was to be excited against the regent of France, so as to prevent his aiding England according to the recent treaty, and all being thus prepared, Charles XII. was himself to conduct the army of twelve thousand veterans destined to invade Scotland, and, if supported by the Jacobites, England.

The Jacobites were in ecstasies at this new phase of their old enterprise. By Charles's adhesion, their scheme was stripped of all those prejudices which had insured its ruin with the English. It had no longer the unpopular aspect of a French invasion; it was no longer headed by a popish but a protestant leader; it was no longer consigned to an untried or doubtful general, but to one of the most victorious monarchs living, who came as a protestant to call on a protestant nation to receive their rightful king. Money was not wanting. Spain remitted to baron Spaar a million of livres for the expedition, and the court of the pretender offered sixty thousand pounds.

But unfortunately for the pretender, at the moment that the Swedish hero should prepare his armament for the earliest spring, the conspiracy exploded. Whilst the leaders of it had been flattering themselves that it was conducted with the profoundest secresy, the English ministry were in possession of its clue. So early as October they had found reason to induce them to intercept the correspondence of Gyllenborg, and had come at once on the letters of Gortz. The matter was kept close, and as nothing was apprehended in winter, ministers used the time to improve their knowledge of the scheme from the inspected letters passing betwixt Gortz and Gyllenborg. On the king's return it was resolved to act, and accordingly Stanhope laid the information regarding this formidable conspiracy before the council, and proposed that the Swedish minister, who had clearly, by conspiring against the government to which he was accredited, violated the law of nations, and deprived himself of its protection, should be arrested. The cabinet at once assented to the proposal, and General Wade, a man of firm and resolute military habits, was ordered to make the arrest of the ambassador. The general found count Gyllenborg busy making up his dispatches, which, after announcing laconically his errand, Wade took possession of, and then demanded the contents of his escritoire.

The ambassador vehemently denounced the violation of his privilege, declared the laws of nations insulted in his person, and insisted upon sending for the Spanish ambassador, the marquis de Monteleone; but the general told him that he had strict orders not to allow any person to speak with him, and as he refused to give up the key, ordered the escretoire to be broken open, although the countess protested that it contained nothing but her plate and linen. The bursting open of the escritoire, however, told another tale. It revealed a mass of papers, which Wade also sealed up and carried away, leaving the ambassador, under a sufficient guard, prisoner in his own house. The same day Mr. Cæsar, a creature of lord Oxford's, with whom Gyllenborg had passed most of the preceding summer in Hertfordshire, was arrested, as well as Sir Jacob Banks, formerly member for Minehead, who were suspected of being engaged in the conspiracy.

Stanhope then addressed a circular letter to all the representatives of foreign powers in London, informing them of the grounds for this arrest. None of them expressed any dissatisfaction at the proceeding except the Spanish ambassador, whose government had implicated itself in the conspiracy by sending money to support it. To make all the world aware of the facts, the government published the letters which had been seized in the post or at the house of the Swedish ambassador, in themselves a complete justification of this bold measure. Gyllenborg was found saying in his letters, "There is no medium. Either Bremen or the Hanoverian must be sacrificed. The latter is not so difficult, considering the general discontent. Ten thousand men would be sufficient. The malcontents require but a body of forces, to which they may join themselves. That body being transported in the month of March, when the easterly winds reign, and when it will not at all be dreamt of, will cause a general revolt."

This model of an ambassador, who was plotting against the government to which he was sent, then took another view of affairs, for any view which suited the convenience of his master was alike to him. He put the case, whether it would not be quite as well to make an arrangement with king George about Bremen, and thus bribe him to see what he would do in assisting to wrest some advantage from the czar. "But," continued this pliant diplomatist, "if we do not come to such terms, your excellency may be assured that, as well to justify their past actions, as to force us to a compliance, they will prevail upon the mercenary parliament which they have at present, to take vigorous resolutions, and perhaps even to declare war against us. The English ministers do not mince the matter, and they have already made it appear that they will stick at nothing. They are all furious persons. Sunderland, who, in a manner, is at the head of affairs, has got all the interest that he has with the king of England, by consenting to what has been done against us. Your excellency, therefore, will find that we ought to make use of this opportunity to enter into measures against people who certainly will not do anything by halves. We must either ruin them or be undone ourselves. My friends are now in town: an express which came to them yesterday from the pretender will put them into a better condition for forming a plan. To-day they are going about it."

The letters of Gortz were equally plain. He declared that before leaving Sweden he had strongly recommended this invasion to the king, and that the more he saw, the more he was convinced of the excellency of the plan. "There is, therefore," he went on, "now no other question but of the best means to satisfy our just desire of revenge. For several months past we have had some preliminary negotiation upon these matters with the court of Avignon; and which way can the king of Sweden better secure to himself the recovery and possession of the duchy of Bremen, than by reducing king George to be nothing more than an elector of the empire?"

In one of the letters to Gyllenborg there were words which throw suspicions on various persons, and amongst the rest, on Walpole, as if, on account of his brother-in-law lord Townshend's dismissal, he had been ready to join the Jacobites. "I do not know," says Gyllenborg, "whether Mr. Walpole's expressions were the effect of his first rage on account of his brother-in-law my lord Townshend's being removed, or whether they came from his heart." But this was only the eager conspirator catching at straws. Walpole might use some indignant expressions regarding the dismissal of Townshend, but he was far too politic to think for a moment of going over to a desperate cause.

Gortz, the arch-conspirator, had a narrow escape. He had already reached Calais on his way to England to complete the conspiracy in person, when he heard of the arrest of Gyllenborg. He drew back just in time, but he did not escape. He and his two secretaries were taken into custody by order of the States, on the application of England, at Arnheim. The arrest of Charles XII.'s prime minister, and that on a foreign soil, was a still bolder measure than the arrest of Gyllenborg; but his secret plotting against the country, and his encouraging the Swedish ambassador to break so shamefully the law of nations for the betrayal of the country, were too flagrant for justifying, and the headstrong Charles, "the madman of the north," did not venture to remonstrate against it. He preserved a sullen silence, neither acknowledging nor repudiating the acts of his ministers; but he seized Mr. Jackson, the British resident in Sweden, in retaliation. Towards the Dutch he was still more forbearing, for he wished to conciliate them, and only, therefore, forbade the Dutch ambassador his presence. All parties, indeed, thought the sooner the affair of the Swedish minister was done with—their scheme being frustrated—the better. At the intercession of the regent of France, who, on the part of Charles, declared that the king of Sweden had never intended to disturb the tranquillity of Great Britain, count Gyllenborg was discharged, but ordered to leave the kingdom. Gortz and his secretaries were liberated in Holland, and Mr. Jackson was set free by the Swedish court, in return for Gyllenborg.

When parliament met, however, on the 20th of February, and this conspiracy was laid before it, it excited great indignation. One member demanded that war should be declared against Sweden; but this met with no support, it being very properly observed that it would be soon enough to do that if Charles acknowledged the proceedings of his ministers. As we have seen, however, he soon, in effect, denied them. The two houses voted cordial addresses to his majesty, and for a while there was an air of harmony. But the fires of discontent were smouldering beneath the surface, and, on a motion being made in April, in consequence of a royal message, to grant the king an extraordinary supply in order to enable his majesty to contract alliances with foreign powers, that he might be prepared to meet any attempts at invasion which the Swedes might, after all, be disposed to make, the heat broke forth. The supply moved for was fixed at two hundred and fifty thousand pounds. It was expected that Walpole, having had his name suspiciously mentioned in Gyllenborg's correspondence, would take this opportunity to wipe off all doubt by his zeal and co-operation. On the contrary, he never appeared so lukewarm. Both he and his brother Horace, indeed, spoke in favour of the supply, but coldly; and Townshend and all their mutual friends openly joined the tories and Jacobites in voting against it; so that it was only carried by a majority of four. This could not pass; and the same evening Stanhope, by the king's order, wrote to Townshend, acknowledging his past services, but informing him that he was no longer lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Walpole did not wait for a like humiliation. The next morning he waited on the king, and tendered his resignation of his places as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The king, if he could be judged by his conduct, had formed no resolution of parting with Walpole. He handed again to him the seals, cordially entreating him to take them back, speaking to him in the kindest manner, and appearing as though he would take no refusal. But Walpole remained steady to his purpose, and, accordingly, his friends Methuen, Pulteney, lord Orford, and the duke of Devonshire, resigned a few days afterwards. Stanhope was then appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Sunderland and Joseph Addison were made secretaries of state; Craggs, secretary at war; lord Berkeley, first lord of the admiralty; the duke of Newcastle, lord chamberlain; the duke of Bolton, lord lieutenant of Ireland; lord Cowper and the duke of Kingston retaining their old places.

The retired ministers showed for the most part a very hostile attitude and Pulteney denounced the new ministry as as "a German ministry." Walpole, for a little time, affected a liberal conduct, declaring, when the supply of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds was voted, that, as he had before spoken in its favour, he should now vote in its favour, and would show by his proceedings that he never had intended to make the king uneasy, or to embarrass his affairs. But it was not in Walpole's nature to maintain this air of temperance long. He was as violent in opposition as he was able and zealous in office. Whether in or out of office, he was, in fact, equally unscrupulous. He very soon joined himself to Shippen, Wyndham, Bromley, and the other violent opponents of the reigning family; so that Shippen himself ere long said exultingly that he was glad to see that Walpole was no longer afraid of being styled a Jacobite.

Before Walpole thus threw off the mask of moderation—indeed, on the very day of his resignation, he introduced a well-matured scheme for the reduction of the national debt, which was, in fact, the earliest germ of the National Sinking Fund. Though the ordinary rate of interest had been reduced, by the statute of the 12th of queen Anne, to five per cent., the interest on the funded debt remained upwards of seven. The Long and Short Annuities were unredeemable, and could not be touched without the consent of the proprietors; but Walpole proposed to borrow six hundred thousand pounds at only four per cent., and to apply all savings to the discharge of the debts contracted before December, 1716. He proposed, also, to make some arrangement with the Bank and the South Sea Company, by which the Bank should lend two millions and a half, and the company two millions, at five per cent., to pay off such holders of redeemable debts as should refuse to accept an equal reduction.

In proposing the first of these measures, Walpole said that he now presented that bill as a country gentleman; but he hoped that it would fare no worse for having two fathers, expressing his confidence that his successor would take care to bring it to perfection. Stanhope, in fact, took up the matter in the same laudable spirit, not being averse to inaugurate a measure which his predecessor would have the honour of having originated. But Stanhope was no financier, and in the course of conducting those measures through parliament, Walpole could not avoid exposing the inferior financial abilities of his rival. Stanhope, stung by the act, fell into great anger and confusion; confessed his incapacity for the affairs of the treasury, which, he said, were remote from his studies and inclination, and on which account he would fain have kept his former situation. He then, however, made a severe retort on Walpole, who had been once expelled parliament for his peculations, saying, "he would endeavour to make up by application, honesty, and disinterestedness what he wanted in ability and experience that he would content himself with the salary and lawful perquisites of his office; and though he had quitted a better place, he would not quarter himself on any one else to make it up; that he had no brothers or other relations to provide for, and that upon his first entering into the treasury he had made a standing order against the late practice of granting reversions of places."

Every word of this harangue was a hard hit at Walpole, who, however, justified himself by declaring that he had done much which he had done in granting reversions of places, to defeat the boundless rapacity of some of the king's German ministers, but especially of Robethon, whom he characterised as "a mean fellow, of what nation he knew not, who was eager to dispose of places."

The new administration took measures to render themselves popular. They advised the king to go down to the house on the 6th of May, and propose a reduction of the army to the extent of ten thousand men, as well as an act of grace to include many persons concerned in the late rebellion. Walpole and his friends, on the contrary, did all in their power to embarrass the government. Lord Oxford was not included in the act of indemnity, and it was resolved now by his friends to have his trial brought on. Before this was effected, however, a violent attack was made on lord Cadogan. As ambassador at the Hague, he had superintended the embarkation of the Dutch troops sent to aid in putting down the rebellion. He was now charged with having committed gross peculations on that occasion. Shippen led the way in this attack, but Walpole and Pulteney pursued their former colleague with the greatest rancour, and Walpole declaimed against him so furiously that, after a speech of nearly two hours in length, he was compelled to stop by a sudden bleeding at the nose. Stanhope, Craggs, Lechmere, and others defended him; but such was the combination of enemies against him, or rather, against the ministers, that the motion was only negatived by a majority of ten.

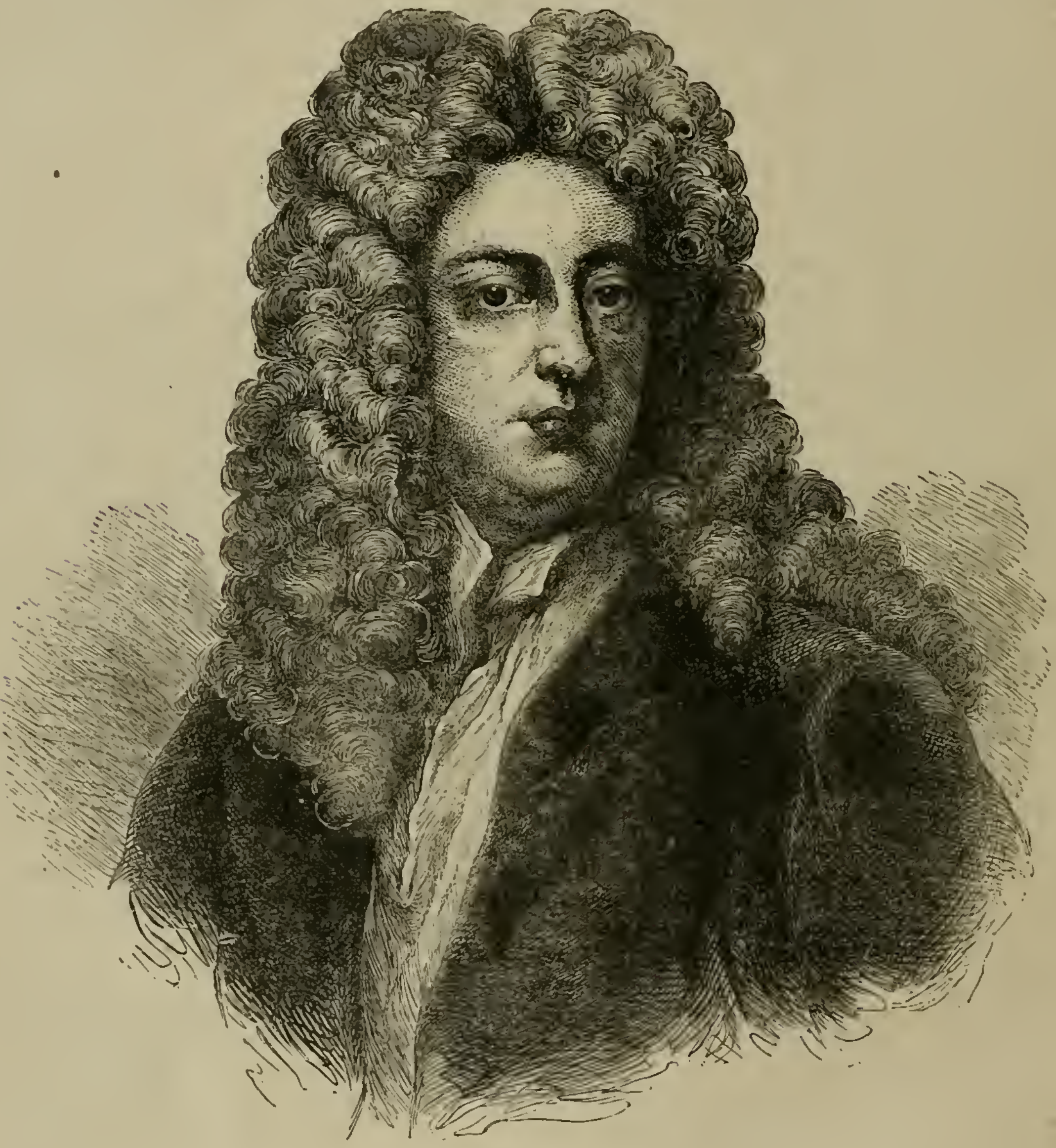
Lord Oxford's case was brought at length to a termination also in his favour. His friends having complained of the hardship of keeping him without a hearing for nearly two years, the 24th of June was appointed for the trial to take place in Westminster Hall. The commons again met in committee to complete the evidence against him; but it was now found that Walpole, who was the chairman, and who had formerly pursued the inquiry with all eagerness, had suddenly cooled, and seldom came near the committee; and they therefore appointed a new one. In fact, he and Townshend, out of opposition, were doing that secretly which they could not do openly without loss of character—they were exerting themselves in favour of their old antagonist, and they soon hit on a scheme for bringing him off without any trial at all.

Accordingly, the peers assembled in the due form of trial in Westminster Hall on the appointed day. The king, the royal family, and the whole of the foreign ministers had attended to witness the proceedings. Oxford was brought from the Tower and placed at the bar, the executioner at his side with the axe, according to ancient custom. The articles of impeachment were read, and then the answer of the earl. Hampden opened the charge against him, and Sir Joseph Jekyll rose to support it, when the earl of Harcourt interposed, and stated that he had a motion to make. The peers, therefore, adjourned to their own house, where lord Harcourt observed that the impeachment ran to such a length that to go through the whole of the articles would draw out the trial to a prodigious time; that a peer was entitled on charges for misdemeanour only to sit at the bar, to have his liberty, and privilege of appearing in his place in parliament; but, mixed up as these charges of misdemeanour were with those of high treason, the earl would be deprived of these privileges through the whole course of the trial. He moved, therefore, that these charges should be separated, and that the two articles for high treason should be brought forward first; for, if the earl was condemned on these, he would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter. This motion was warmly resisted by Sunderland, Coningsby, Cadogan, and others, who were well aware that there was no evidence to convict Oxford of treason, but it was carried by a majority of eighty-eight against fifty-six.

But the result foreseen by the opposition took place when the resolution was reported to the commons. They immediately determined that it was an infringement of their privileges, and declined compliance with it. This was what Walpole and the then partisans, secret or open, of lord Oxford, had foreseen. They had a great model for their plan in the proceedings of the lords on the trial of lord Somers in 1701, when the commons, taking exception to the lords refusing a joint committee, declined to attend the trial whereupon the lords, seizing on the fact of the commons not having appeared to prefer their charges on due notice, declared Somers acquitted, from lack of any charge against him, and the impeachment dismissed; and not only so, but the lords made use of the same stratagem to acquit the earls of Halifax, of Portland, of Orford, and finally the duke of Leeds, which had been hanging over him for six years. The opposition, well instructed by these precedents, proceeded precisely in the same manner, and with the same result. The commons refusing to attend in Westminster Hall on the day fixed, the lords returned to their own house, and passed a resolution declaring the earl of Oxford acquitted, an announcement received by the people with acclamation. The commons then demanded that Oxford should be excepted from the act of grace; but, notwithstanding, he was released from the Tower, and the commons never renewed the impeachment. Yet nothing is more certain than that Oxford richly deserved impeachment, for not only had he tampered greatly with the Jacobites, even during his confinement in the Tower, as Sir James Mackintosh discovered in the Stuart papers; he had, so late as September, 1716, written to the pretender, and that at the very time he was preparing his expedition, giving his advice as to the best mode of proceeding.

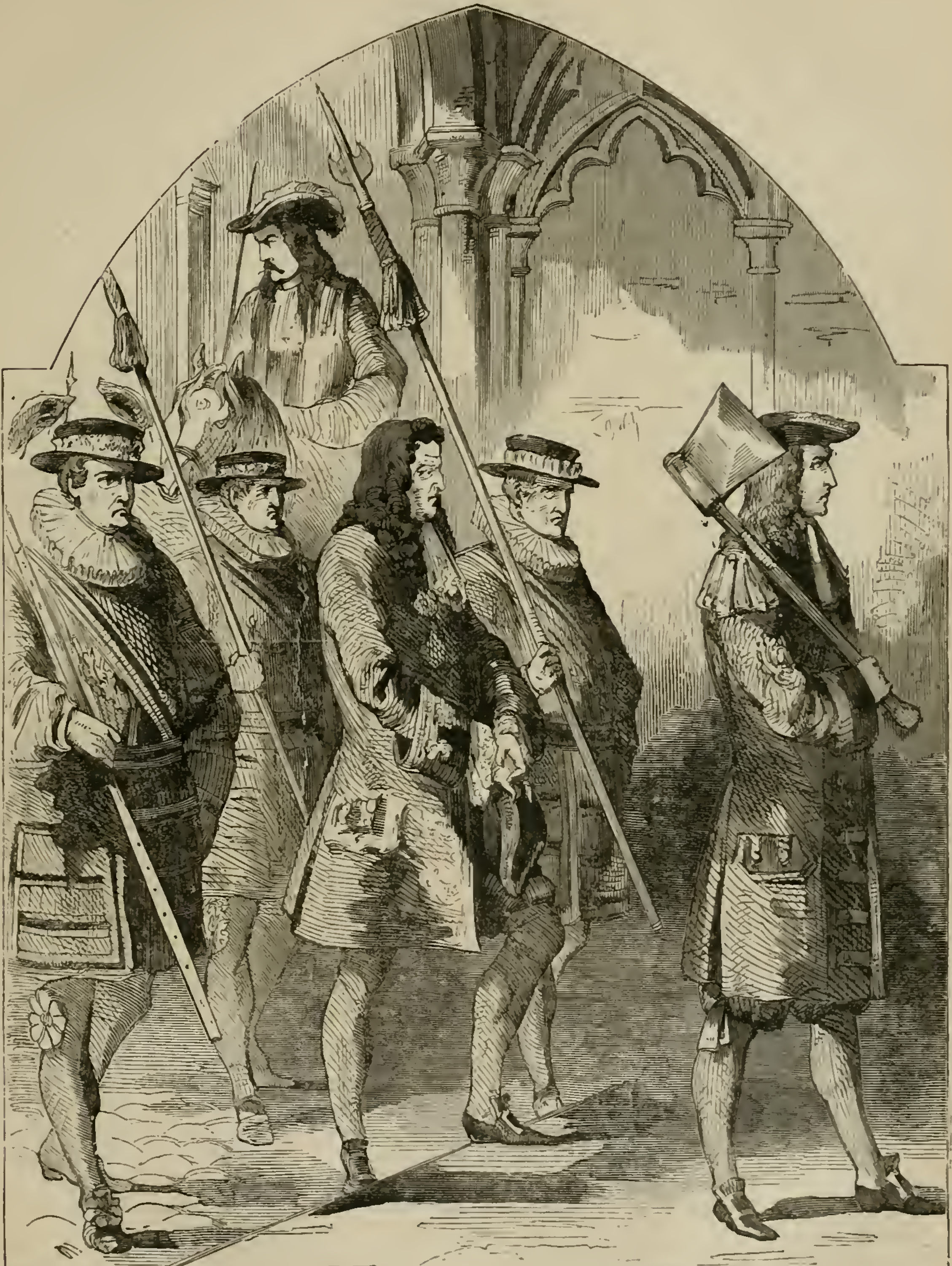
The session was closed very popularly with the act of grace. By it a whole crowd of political prisoners were liberated by their long confinement. The lords Carnwath, Widdrington, and Nairn came out of the Tower; seventeen gentlemen lying under sentence of death in Newgate, and twenty-six in Carlisle Castle, were liberated, and many others from the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and from the custody of messengers. About two hundred of the prisoners taken at Preston were set free from Chester Castle, and all those in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. Besides the earl of Oxford, lord Harcourt, Matthew Prior, and Thomas Harley were excepted. So much more liberal was the mercy of this act than those of former reigns, that an exulting pamphleteer declared blasphemously that "the clemency of king George was not only great, but even extended farther than that of God himself!" Yet it did not admit to its mercy a single individual of the clan Macgregor, nor did it reverse the past attainders, nor restore the forfeited estates, the annual value of which in Scotland was about thirty thousand pounds, and in England forty-eight thousand pounds.

At the close of the session, also, the king raised Stanhope to the peerage by the title of viscount Stanhope—a promotion which left the leadership of the commons in the hands of Addison, Craggs, and Aislabie, who had not sufficient experience to supply the necessary weight and authority of that position. Both the government of Anne and of George were guilty of this political error of too soon removing their practical men, as Oxford, Harley, and St. John, from the commons, leaving it without government members of sufficient parliamentary tact or of intellectual ability to maintain the government interest there.



JOSEPH ADDISON.

It might have been supposed that Europe, or at least the southern portion of it, was likely to enjoy a considerable term of peace. France, under a minor and a regent, appeared to require rest and recruiting of its population and finances more than any part of the continent. The king of Spain



THE EARL OF OXFORD GOING TO TRIAL.

was too imbecile to have any martial ambition; and though his wife was anxious to secure the succession to the French throne in case of the death of the infant Louis XV., yet Alberoni, the prime minister, was desirous to remain at peace. This able churchman, who had risen from the lowest position, being the son of a working gardener, and had made his way to his present eminence partly by his abilities and partly by his readiness to forget the gravity of the clerical character for the pleasure of his patrons, was now zealously exerting himself to restore the condition of Spain. He boasted to Philip that, if he could remain five years at peace, he would make him the most powerful monarch in Europe. Bubb, the British minister at Madrid, bore testimony to the wonderful improvement which he had introduced into the trade, the finances, and the navy of the kingdom. He said Spain was actually relieved from a heavy expenditure by the loss of Italy and Flanders; that Alberoni had drawn income from Aragon and Catalonia, which had paid little or nothing before; that he had reduced the expenses of the kingdom one-half, and increased the revenues one-third more than any of the king's predecessors had enjoyed; so that, in a little time, Spain under Alberoni would become a very useful ally.

For a time these prospects continued. Alberoni showed the most friendly disposition towards England. During the invasion of the pretender he had avoided all open support of his claims, and had gone so far as to issue a proclamation declaring that it was his majesty's intention to give no countenance to the king's enemies; and Alberoni said to Bubb, his minister, "Next to God, the king my master looks up to yours." But this flattering state of things did not continue long. Alberoni's interest was to please the queen, who ruled rather than the poor invalid king, and she had causes of antagonism which clashed with his schemes of peace. She exerted herself all in her power to undermine the government of the regent of France through the duke of Maine and other malcontents, and Alberoni was obliged to go with her. Again, the emperor had never acknowledged the title of Philip as king of Spain, but continued to appropriate that title to himself, and to confer that of the prince of Asturias on his infant son, who, however, died during this year, the celebrated Maria Theresa being also born during it. The emperor, moreover, assembled around him at Vienna a number of Spanish exiles, and conferred on them the title of a Spanish council of state; and under the peace of Utrecht he held all the former Spanish dominions in Italy. These causes maintained an ill feeling towards Austria; and, besides these, the queen, as a princess of Parma, claimed the eventual succession of one of her sons to that duchy, and to Tuscany; and, continued Mr. Bubb, writing to secretary Stanhope, "the absolute command over Spain will belong to the highest bidder for the queen's son. This is the grand and the only maxim, which has never changed since I have been here."

Notwithstanding, therefore, that secretary Stanhope and Alberoni corresponded on the most amicable terms, and passed from one to another the warmest assurances of a "sincere and lasting friendship" between the two courts, it is obvious that the Spanish minister could not long calculate on the peace which he deemed so desirable. England was under engagement both to France and the empire, which must, on the first rupture with either of those powers and Spain, precipitate her into war. The treaty with the emperor, as it guaranteed the retention of the Italian provinces, which Spain beheld with unappeasable jealousy in Austrian hands, was the first thing to change the policy of Alberoni towards this country. This change was still further accelerated by the news of the triple alliance, which equally guaranteed the *status quo* of France. The Spanish minister displayed his anger by suspending the treaty of commerce, and by conniving at the petty vexations practised by the Spaniards on the English merchants in Spain, and by decidedly rejecting a proposal of the king of England to bring about an accommodation between the emperor and the court of Spain.

In this uneasy state of things Austria very unnecessarily put the match to the political train, and threw the whole of the south of Europe again into war. Don Joseph Molines, the Spanish ambassador at Rome, being appointed inquisitor-general at Spain, commenced his journey homewards, furnished with a passport from the pope, and an assurance of safety from the imperial minister. Yet, notwithstanding this, he was perfidiously arrested by the Austrian authorities, and secured in the citadel of Milan. The gross insult to Spain, and equally gross breach of faith, so exasperated the king and queen of Spain, that they would listen to nothing but war. The earnest expostulations of Alberoni, delivered in the form of a powerful memorial, were rejected, and he was compelled to abandon the cherished hopes of peaceful improvement, and make the most active preparations for war. The war, unwelcome as it was to Alberoni, probably became the cause of his salvation from his enemies. The marquis of Villadarias, Don Joseph Rodrigo, president of Castile, and upwards of thirty of his most devoted officers, had entered into a design, with the cognisance of the French minister, for his overthrow; but the patriotism of Villadarias now compelled him to let this scheme fall, and to engage in the service of his country.

Alberoni dispatched Don Joseph Patiño to Barcelona to hasten the military preparations. Twelve ships of war and eight thousand six hundred men were speedily assembled there, and an instant alarm was excited throughout Europe as to the destination of this not very formidable force. The emperor, whose treacherous conduct justly rendered him suspicious, imagined the blow destined for his Italian territories; the English anticipated a fresh movement in favour of the pretender; but Alberoni, an astute Italian, who was on the point of receiving the cardinal's hat from the pope, led him to believe that the armament was directed against the infidels in the Levant. The pope, therefore, hastened the favour of the Roman purple, and then Alberoni no longer concealed the real destination of his troops. The marquis de Lede was ordered to set out with the squadron for the Italian shores; but when Naples was trembling in apprehension of a visit, the fleet drew up, on the 20th of August, in the bay of Cagliari, the capital of the island of Sardinia. That a force which might have taken Naples should content itself with an attack on the barren, rocky, and swampy Sardinia, surprised many; but Alberoni knew very well that, though he could take, he had not yet an army sufficient to hold Naples, and he was satisfied to strike a blow which should alarm Europe, whilst it gratified the impatience of the Spanish monarch for revenge. There was, moreover, an ulterior object. It had lately been proposed by England and Holland to the emperor, in order to induce him to come into the triple alliance, and convert it into a quadruple one, to obtain an exchange of this island for Sicily, with the duke of Savoy. It was, therefore, an object to prevent this arrangement by first seizing Sardinia. The Spanish general summoned the governor of Cagliari to surrender, but he stood out, and the Spaniards had to wait for the complete arrival of their ships before they could land and invest the place. The governor was ere long compelled to capitulate, but the Aragonese and the Catalans, who had followed the Austrians from the embittered contest in their own country, defended the island with furious tenacity; and it was not till November, and after severe losses through fighting and malaria, that the Spaniards made themselves masters of the island. The marquis of Lede then left three thousand men as a garrison, and returned to Barcelona with the rest of the troops, which were greatly reduced, and in a sickly condition.

England was thus again dragged into war by its continental engagements. George was bound by the triple alliance to preserve the peace of Europe; he was bound by treaty with the emperor to maintain the neutrality of Italy, and the security of his dominions there. Dubois was speedily in London from the regent of France to concert measures for this emergency, and it was concluded that these proposals should be submitted to the contending parties:—That Spain should relinquish all claims on the Italian provinces, and the emperor all claims on Spain; that, notwithstanding, the emperor's desire for Sicily instead of Sardinia should be gratified, and that Parma and all or nearly all Tuscany should be secured in succession to the infant Don Carlos. But, however fair these propositions, they were haughtily rejected by the two parties. Stanhope, however, sent his cousin, colonel Stanhope, as ambassador to Spain to endeavour to persuade that government, and M. de Nancré was sent by the French. The French and Dutch, however, though bound by the triple alliance, were very lukewarm in the matter. Lord Stair, writing from Paris, said that he had seen the instructions to M. de Nancré, and that they were the most cautious terms that he had ever seen; that no one could touch fire with more caution than France did these affairs, lest it might give the slightest chagrin to Spain; that he had no orders to insist that Spain should not, pending the negotiation, attempt any invasion of Italy; and that, though the Dutch would readily concur if the emperor concurred, their government was now so pitiable that they would do nothing except they found themselves in good company.

But the emperor was not likely to concur. He was so determined on the subject of retaining his claims on Spain, that his ministers trembled to mention the subject to him; and though he now professed himself ready to conclude a peace with Spain, and would agree to surrender Parma, he would not listen to the transfer of Tuscany. He had been immovable on this head when he had been most harassed by war with the Turks; and now that he had a prospect of peace with them he was not likely to give way.

As for Alberoni, though threatened with a powerful combination against Spain, he showed all the confidence and activity of a man at the head of the most powerful of kingdoms. The pope, incensed at being outwitted by him in the matter of the cardinal's hat, launched his thunders against him, but Alberoni took no notice of them. To Stanhope and Nancré his tone was bold, and even menacing. He said the king his master was perfectly disposed to make peace, but then it must be on conditions which would make peace permanent, and not leave the emperor in a condition capable of making himself master of all Italy at pleasure. He twitted the English with the disgraceful peace of Utrecht. "You went to war," he said, "to establish the balance of power, and you made peace without any balance at all." He expressed his contempt for partition treaties and their framers. "There are certain unprincipled men," he said, "who would cut and pare states and kingdoms as though they were so many Dutch cheeses"—a severe but just censure on king William's part in such treaties. At the same time, whilst holding this language, Alberoni exerted himself to call forth all the resources of the kingdom, and prepare for war. He built ships, he purchased others, he had cannon cast at Pampeluna, and various arms in Biscay; he mustered six regiments of the brave Miquelets of Catalonia, and to avoid exciting discontent amongst the people, he laid no fresh taxes on them, but mortgaged some of the revenues, and put the government on the footing of the strictest economy, even curtailing the expenditure of the queen, and selling a number of offices about the court.

At the same time he put in practice the most extensive diplomatic schemes to paralyse his enemies abroad. He won the good will of Victor Amadeus by holding out the promise of the Milanese in exchange for Sicily; he encouraged the Turks to continue the war against the emperor, and entered into negotiations with Rogatsky to renew the insurrection in Hungary; he adopted the views of Gortz for uniting the czar and Charles XII. of Sweden in peace, so that he might be able to turn their united power against the emperor, and still more against the electorate of Hanover, thus diverting the attention and the energies of George of England. Still further to occupy England, which he dreaded more than all the rest, he opened a direct correspondence with the pretender, who was now driven across the Alps by the triple alliance, and promised him aid in a new expedition against Britain under the direction of the duke of Ormonde, or of James himself. His agents were suddenly found in the utmost activity spreading a violent opposition to a fresh war in speeches and pamphlets, declaiming against a standing army and the heavy losses to trade which must inevitably follow a war with Spain. Both tories and the discontented section of the whigs were readily engaged in this movement. In France the same skilful pressure was directed against all the tender places of the body politic. He endeavoured to rouse anew the insurrection of the Cevennes and the discontents of Brittany. The Jesuits, the protestants, the duke and duchess of Maine, were all called into action, and the demands for the assembling of the States-General, for the instant reformation of abuses, the reduction of the national debts, and for many other ameliorations, were the cries by which the government was attempted to be embarrassed.

The proceedings of Alberoni were worthy of the best days of Spain; but he did not carry out these measures without danger from a strong opposition party. The king was now a decided invalid, as his predecessor, Charles, had been. Alberoni and the queen allowed none but their own creatures to approach his bedside. This roused the pride of the Spanish nobles, and Las Torres, Aguilar, and others proposed that the king should be set aside as incompetent, and the prince of Asturias be placed on the throne. They contended that the king was no longer capable of business, and that the country was under the real control of Alberoni and the queen. The duke of Escalona, as lord chamberlain, insisted on penetrating to the presence of the monarch in the discharge of his duty; and though he was compelled by gout to go upon crutches, he resolutely forced his way thither, though opposed by the officials, and actually coming to blows with Alberoni himself. The consequence, however, was the banishment of Escalana, and the triumph of Alberoni.

The interest with which these menacing foreign affairs was contemplated was interrupted by the scandalous quarrels betwixt the king and his son and successor at home. George I. had never tolerated the prince electoral, even whilst in Hanover, and, if we are to believe St. Simon, because he never believed him to be his own son. However that might be, the feuds of the nominal father and son had been long and bitter in Germany, and the accession to the throne of England had only tended to aggravate them. They now broke forth with open and unrestrained violence, the ostensible cause being a most frivolous one. The prince, being about to christen one of his children, proposed as godfather the child's uncle, the duke of York; but the king ordered the duke of Newcastle to take that place, not as proxy for the duke of York, but in his own character. The prince, resenting this, used very offensive language to Newcastle, which, of course, applied still more offensively to the king. In consequence, the prince was ordered to confine himself in his own apartment, and soon after to quit the palace. On this, he took up his residence with the princess and family at Leicester House. This, which, on expulsion, became on the prince's part a necessity, was immediately regarded by the king as the erection of a sort of standard of public opposition and insubordination. A notice was issued that any person paying his or her respects to the prince or princess would not be received at court. The prince and princess were deprived of their guard of honour and other distinctions. To such a length was this unseemly and unnatural quarrel carried, that the king ordered the secretary of state to send an account of the whole matter to all foreign ministers; and he proposed to bring in an act of parliament to decree that on coming to the throne the prince should relinquish his German states. This would have been the best thing that could have happened to England, so far as those states were concerned; but the ministers dissuaded George from indulging his paternal hatred to that extent. Not the less, however, was the public mind kept on the tension by this royal animosity, and parliament was in daily expectation that the subject would be broached in one house or the other. On one occasion lord North, in a very full house, and the prince present, rose and produced a startling sensation by saying that he wished "to take notice of the great ferment which was in the nation." He paused for a moment, and the most painful suspense kept the house hushed; but he then relieved it by disclosing the fact that the ferment to which he alluded regarded the great scarcity of silver. Besides the discussion on this scarcity, which was attributed to its having been extensively melted down for exportation to foreign countries, and for the use of silversmiths, as well as the great exports of plate and bullion to the East Indies, the only other topics of interest during the session were the demand of additional troops in consequence of the aspect of affairs abroad, and for the renewal of the military bill. On both these occasions the Walpole and Townshend party made a determined opposition. The demand was for eighteen thousand troops, and Walpole contended that twelve thousand were ample, and became extremely eloquent against standing armies. He likewise contended that martial law was contrary to our constitution, and that soldiers, any more than other subjects, ought not to be left to the mercy of courts-martial, but should have the benefit of the civil courts and of juries. It was well known, however, that this was but the language of opposition, and that Walpole and his friends, in office, would be equally eloquent on the other side. Both bills were, therefore, carried by considerable majorities, Walpole himself, after all, voting with the majority on the mutiny bill. During the debate on the grant of troops, Shippen indulged in very keen remarks against the German tendencies of the king. He observed that the proposed augmentation of the army seemed "rather calculated for the meridian of Germany than of Great Britain; but it is the infelicity of his majesty's reign that he is unacquainted with our language and constitution, and it is, therefore, the more incumbent upon his British ministers to inform him that our government does not stand upon the same foundation as that which is established in his German dominions." For these words, such was the loyalty of the house, Shippen was committed to the Tower.

During this session, too, a circumstance occurred which showed that the merciful spirit of Anne no longer occupied the throne. A youth named James Shepherd, who had every appearance of being insane, was condemned and executed for professing his readiness to convey letters to *his majesty* in Italy, and then to smite the usurper, George, in his own palace.

The year 1717 terminated thus in blood, which "the good queen Anne" would have spared, and in busy preparation for more bloodshed abroad. The session of parliament terminated on the 21st of March, 1718, and the words of the king in dismissing the houses sounded, as Walpole observed, very like a declaration of war—a meaning only too well borne out by the active preparation of a large armament at Portsmouth, though the negotiations betwixt the great powers still continued.

The fact was that cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a man of wonderful spirit and activity, but of an ambition that led him to overrate the power and resources of Spain, was daring enough to imagine that he could cope with

England, France, and Austria. He was preparing a great armament, and building and fitting out ships, to the astonishment of all Europe. Lord Stanhope thought it necessary to make a personal visit to Spain, to see whether he could not bring the cardinal to more reasonable views; and in order to liberate himself for this mission, various changes were made in the ministry. Stanhope had resigned the office of foreign secretary of state, and taken that of first lord of the treasury; but he had lived so much abroad, and had been engaged in diplomacy so much in the courts of Paris, Vienna, and the Hague, besides having fought in Spain, that the princes and ministers of those courts still continued to apply to him rather than to Sunderland, who now occupied the post of foreign minister. This could neither be agreeable to Sunderland, a very proud man, nor advantageous to the business of the country. Stanhope, therefore, resumed the foreign department, and Sunderland went to the treasury. The chancellorship of the exchequer, which Stanhope also held, was conferred on Aislabie. Addison, who was the home secretary, now resigned. Justly illustrious as a writer, Addison had never shone as a statesman. He now accepted a retiring pension of one thousand five hundred pounds a-year, and died fifteen months afterwards at Holland House. There can, therefore, be no doubt but that his failing health had rendered his discharge of his ministerial duties increasingly inefficient. James Craggs, a ready speaker, and a man of business, took his place. The whig cabinet also at this time lost the services of lord Cowper, who was opposed to the views of his colleagues on some important questions, and he resigned in some degree of dudgeon, though he was soothed by an earl's patent, Stanhope also receiving the same promotion. Lord Parker, chief justice of the King's Bench, afterwards earl of Macclesfield, succeeded to the woolsack. At this period, too, died the earl of Shrewsbury, who could not, however, be said to be any real loss to his party. Though greatly esteemed as a man, and sought after by his successive sovereigns from William III. to George I., with a singular faith in his great talents and probity, he had always exhibited a hesitating and timid disposition, which made him as persevering to retreat from office as it was forced upon him.

Government was, amongst its other changes, also released at this juncture from the perpetual nuisance of convocation. The constant quarrels of the clergy in convocation were so scandalous that the whole nation was ashamed of them. Through the reign of queen Anne these had grown to a most intolerable height; and on the accession of the present king the lower house of convocation had plunged with so much acrimony into what was called the Bangorian controversy—that is, into a dispute with Dr. Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, who had, in a sermon before the king, declared that the kingdom of Christ was a spiritual and not a temporal kingdom, thus, as it was asserted by the clergy, laying the axe to the royal supremacy—that, to put an end to this incessant squabbling, the government suddenly prorogued the convocation, and it has never since been called together by the sovereign. In our time it has again begun to meet, as it were by sufferance, but has no real authority.

These arrangements having been completed, Stanhope determined to make his journey to Spain, to endeavour in person to remove, if possible, the storm gathering there. He had used every exertion by means of correspondence, and of an ambassador, colonel Stanhope, in co-operation with Nancré, the French envoy, for that end. The endeavours of the ambassadors were fruitless, and the language of Alberoni to himself was most insolent. The inflated Italian denounced the peace of Utrecht as the work of the devil, and the endeavours to effect an alliance betwixt the different powers of Europe a *hircocerf*—a goat-stag. He said, proudly, "The arm of the Lord was not shortened," and he went on with his preparations for a military and naval force with a vigour which amazed all parties who knew the wretched condition of Spain. He had now accumulated twenty-nine ships of war, with transports for thirty-five thousand veteran soldiers, a hundred pieces of battering cannon, forty mortars, and immense supplies of ammunition and provisions. A Spanish historian declared that so formidable an armament had not been sent forth by any former Spanish monarch, not even by the emperors Charles V. or Philip II.

The command of the fleet was given to Don Antonio Castañeta, who had originally been a ship-builder, and that of the army to the marquis de Lede, a Fleming, deformed in person, but of great military experience. This grand armament was now equipping in the harbour of Cadiz, but its destination no one had yet been able to penetrate; for Alberoni, though a very vain man, had that rare quality in association with vanity, a profound power of reticence, and no one except the ex-Jesuit Patiño was in his confidence.

These preparations on the part of Spain were in one particular favourable to the king of England—they rendered the emperor much more conceding. The English envoy at that court—rather singularly a Swiss of the canton of Berne—the general de St. Saphorin, had found Staremberg, the emperor's minister, very high, and disinclined to listen to the proposals of the king of England regarding Bremen and Verden; but the news of the Spanish armament, and still more of its having sailed from Cadiz to Barcelona, produced a wonderful change. The imperial court not only consented to the demands of England, but accepted its mediation with the Turks, by which a considerable force was liberated for the service in Italy. The emperor acceded to the alliance proposed betwixt England, France, and Germany in order to compel Spain to terms, and which afterwards, when joined by the Dutch, was called the Quadruple Alliance. In France, however, all obstacles to this treaty were not yet overcome. There was a strong party, headed by the marshal d'Huxelles, chief of the council for foreign affairs, which strongly opposed this plan of coercing the grandson of Louis XIV. To overcome these obstacles, Stanhope went over to Paris, and had several conferences with king Philip; and, supported by lord Stair and Nancré, all difficulties were removed, and the alliance was signed in the succeeding August.

By this treaty Parma and Tuscany were ceded in reversion to the infant Don Carlos; Sicily was to be made over to the emperor, and in exchange for it Sardinia was to be given to Victor Amadeus of Savoy. As Sardinia was an island of so much less extent and value than Sicily, the succession to the crown of Spain was guaranteed to the house of Savoy in case of Philip of Spain having no issue. Three months were allowed for the king of Spain and the duke of

Savoy to come in, and after that, in case of their non-compliance, force was to be used to effect it. It was to avert such a result that Stanhope made his journey to Spain. Before setting out, however, admiral Byng had been dispatched to the Mediterranean with twenty-one ships of the line, and peremptory orders to attack the Spanish fleet whenever he should find it engaged in any hostile attempt against Sicily, Naples, or any other of the emperor's possessions in the Mediterranean. Byng sailed on the 4th of June, and soon after Stanhope, accompanied by Mr. Schaub, a Swiss, afterwards Sir Luke, continued his journey from Paris towards Madrid.

Meantime the Spanish fleet had sailed from Barcelona with sealed orders, which were to be opened at sea, and which then were found to direct that it should steer for Cagliari, and there open fresh orders. This being done, it was now made known that the object of the expedition was the invasion and conquest of Sicily. The object of this invasion was to act as a diversion with regard to England and France. Both these powers were bound by the treaty to guarantee the neutrality of Italy, but not of Sicily. Alberoni, therefore, reasoned that he could attack Sicily without giving a *casus belli* to either of those powers, and that in the meantime the intrigues which he was carrying on with Russia and Sweden, might bring down a northern army on Great Britain, and those which he was fostering in France might produce an explosion there, by which he would find these two kingdoms enough to do without interference with Spain. Sicily, moreover, was a tempting object, from the great number of Spaniards or Spanish partisans there, and the feeble manner in which it was garrisoned by Savoy.

The plans of Alberoni appeared by the first success to be well laid. The Spanish fleet landed in the Bay of Solanto on the 1st of July, only four leagues distant from Palermo, the capital, amid the warm welcomes of the people. The marquis Maffei, the Piedmontese viceroy, who had only about one thousand five hundred soldiers, made a precipitate retreat, and the Spaniards marched in in triumph. In a few days the citadel also surrendered, and they remained masters of the capital.

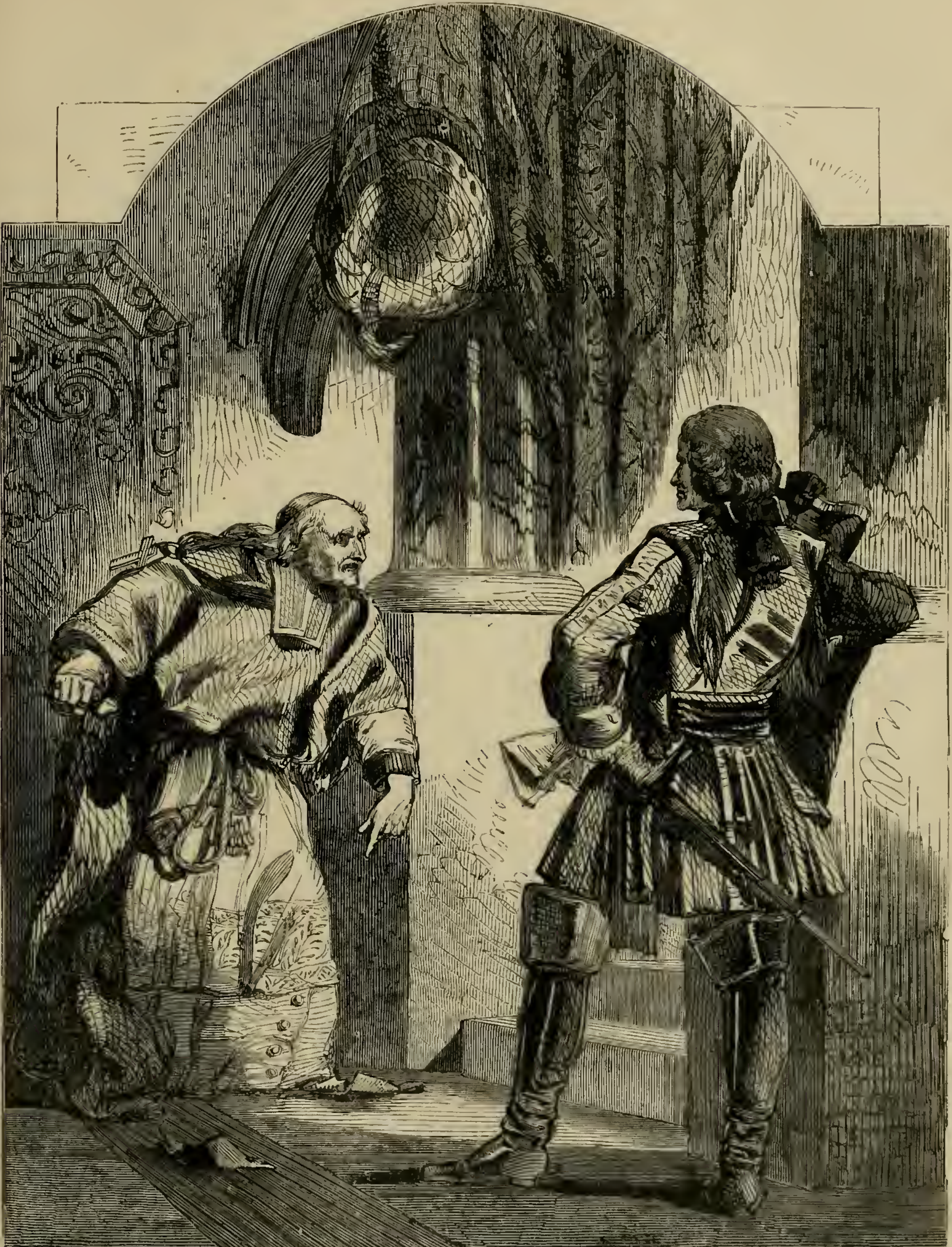
It was at this juncture that admiral Byng appeared off Cape St. Vincent, and sent a dispatch to Madrid to colonel Stanhope, the British ambassador, with a copy of his instructions, and a list of his ships, which he was to lay before the Spanish government. But Alberoni was so elated by his success in Sicily, that he only treated the menaces of England with contempt. He denounced the quadruple alliance in most haughty terms, declared that the king his master would wage eternal war against the contractors of it, and used language fit only for a Spanish minister in the proudest days of that kingdom. He declared that Stanhope need not come to Spain with the hope of laying down the law to him, and he concluded by snatching the list of the British ships out of the hands of the British envoy, tearing it up, and trampling it in his rage. In a few days he sent word from the king that Byng might execute the orders of the king his master, if he dared.

Whilst Alberoni was in this temper, lord Stanhope arrived on the 12th of August in Madrid. The Spanish minister, notwithstanding his menaces, conducted himself with more deference than he had promised, but he held out no hopes of compliance. He represented to Stanhope that to make war in Lombardy for the establishment of the emperor's power, was to make that country the grave of the English and French; that so long as the Germans were in Italy, the Italians must be slaves; and it was the height of madness to put the archduke in possession of Sicily too, and thus to hope to set any bounds to the Austrian power.

There was only too much truth in all this, and Alberoni enforced his arguments by conduct very different to that which he had promised. He was extremely courteous to Stanhope; disclaimed any desire of conquests in Italy, so far as he was concerned. He threw the blame of Spanish policy on the obstinacy of the king, and on his hostility to the emperor and the regent of France. For himself, he declared that he was certain that the prosperity of Spain lay in its Indies and in improving its condition, and he parted with Stanhope in tears, protesting that he would do all that he could to have matters adjusted. But a great part, if not the whole of this, was only affected.

The most extraordinary circumstance connected with this mission of Lord Stanhope was that he was authorised to give up Gibraltar. For what considerations does not appear, but whilst Stanhope professed to regard the surrender of Gibraltar as a matter of no great consequence, we may feel certain that the *quid pro quo* was no trifle, for it was not accepted. It has been surmised that the equivalent demanded was a large territory in America. Whatever it was, it was refused, and Stanhope returned without accomplishing his object.

Meantime the Spaniards were pushing their advantages in Sicily. The people were greatly in their favour; they rose in Caltanisetto and massacred forty of the Piedmontese soldiers. There were only some half-dozen towns which could offer any serious opposition, and the chief of these were Syracuse, Trapani, Melazzo, and Messina. Maffie, the viceroy, had betaken himself to Syracuse, but Lede, leaving a detachment to blockade Trapani, directed his attack on Messina. This soon opened its gates to the invaders; but the citadel, containing a garrison of two thousand five hundred soldiers, stood out firmly. To prevent their surrender, count Daun, the viceroy of Naples, was anxious to carry over some imperial troops, for the king of Sicily was now daily expected to join the quadruple alliance, and had consented to admit imperial troops into the Sicilian fortresses. Fortunately for the enterprise, Admiral Byng anchored in the Bay of Naples on the very day after the investment of Messina, and offered to carry over Daun's detachment of two thousand German infantry. The offer was gladly accepted, and Byng landed them at Reggio. He, however, sent an officer to the marquis de Lede, on arriving before Messina, proposing a suspension of hostilities for two months, to which Lede courteously replied, that he had no authority to make such a convention. Byng, therefore, went in pursuit of the Spanish fleet, which he heard was lying at the other end of the strait, in the direction of Tarmina. He sailed through the strait, the people of both sides, Calabrians and Sicilians, watching his progress from their shores and mountains with intense interest. He soon came in



INTERVIEW BETWEEN CARDINAL ALBERONI AND COLONEL STANHOPE.

sight of twenty-seven sail of the line, with fire-ships, ketches, bombs, and seven gallies, drawn up in line of battle between him and the shore.

A council of officers had been held, and Cammock, an Irishman in the Spanish service, had advised this plan, showing that, ranged thus with their broadsides to the sea, they would be defended by their batteries and troops on shore, and that the force of the currents would make it a very difficult thing to attack them. Castañeta, the admiral, however, dared not to maintain that position; he put out to sea. So soon as they were clear of the straits a council was held to determine whether they should fight or retreat. They came to no fixed resolution, but continued to linger about in indecision till admiral Byng was down upon them. Near Cape Passaro he found the Spanish rear-admiral de Mari, with six ships of the line, and all the galleys, fire-ships, bombs, and store-ships separated from the rest of the fleet, and standing in for the Sicilian shore. He ordered captain Walton, of the "Canterbury," and five other ships, to look after de Mari, and himself continued the pursuit of the main fleet.

Mari commenced firing upon Walton and his squadron, and thus the Spaniards were the first to commence hostilities. Byng's vessels were carried by the breeze into the very midst of the Spaniards, who seemed to have no plan of action whatever. Castañeta, though he had shown no generalship, displayed much bravery. He fought with desperation, though wounded in both legs; but no valour could save the fleet; every ship was taken or sunk except ten, with which Cammock forced his way out of the battle and escaped to La Valetta. Captain Walton, on his part, had come up with de Mari, and compelled him with all his ships, bombs, ketches, &c., to surrender. In his report to the admiral he said—"Sir,—We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships which were upon the coast; the number as per margin." On which Campbell, in his "Lives of the Admirals," observes—"The ships which captain Walton thrust into his margin would have furnished matter for some pages in a French relation."

This action, which annihilated the new armada of Spain, was fought on the 11th of August. The loss of the English was trifling; no ship was lost, but the "Grafton" was severely injured. Singularly enough, Byng affected not to regard this battle as any regular demonstration of war, but merely an accident, occasioned by the Spaniards firing upon him, and compelling him in honour to resist. He sent a complimentary letter to general de Lede, explaining the *accident*, and trusting that it would not be regarded as any motive for a rupture betwixt the two nations. At the same time he sent his son to carry the news of the victory to England, where he was received with enthusiasm. There was no change of ministry at this crisis to convert the *accident*, as in the modern similar case of the battle of Navarino, into "an untoward event." The king received captain Byng most graciously, made him a handsome present, and sent him back to his father with powers authorising him to negotiate with the princes of Italy as occasion might arise; and with a royal grant to the officers and seamen of all the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards.

And well was this liberal conduct merited, for the British fleet had at a blow crushed the reviving naval power of Spain—a power which, in its rapid resuscitation, had astonished Stanhope when in Spain, and which cotemporary writers describe in terms of equal wonder. Castañeta and some of the other principal prisoners assured Byng that in another summer they meant to have fifty sail of the line at sea. In proportion to these prodigious exertions was the rage of Alberoni at this exterminating defeat. He was beside himself. He wrote to the marquis de Monteleone, denouncing the English for breach of faith, though he was conscious that they had only counteracted his own, and ordered him at once to quit England. The ambassador's letter to Mr. Craggs, accompanied by a copy of this letter of Alberoni's, was published, by his direction, in London, in order to damage the ministry; and he ordered all British vessels and goods in Spanish ports to be seized, and the British consuls to be dismissed from Spanish territory. Privateers were sent out to molest the English commerce; and yet, singularly enough, no declaration of war was published on either side. In order to prevent the news of the destruction of the Spanish fleet becoming known to the nation at large, the cardinal took the insane precaution of prohibiting all persons from speaking of it, by beat of drum through Madrid.

Byng, on his part, exerted himself to follow up his advantages. On the 23rd of August he sailed to Reggio, and encouraged general Wetzell, the Austrian commander, to throw his troops into Messina; but the Savoyard authorities, count de Borgo, the resident, and count Maffei, the viceroy, elated by the victory of Byng, objected to admit the imperial troops, notwithstanding a convention to that effect was signed betwixt count Daun, the Austrian agent, and them. Byng, however, let them know that, unless they admitted the troops, he should sail away and leave them to the unobstructed attacks of the Spaniards. This had its effect; the troops were admitted, but were found so few and so indifferent, that, after all, the Savoyards were compelled to surrender the place on the 29th of September. Afterwards Byng sailed to Malta, and menaced its possessors, the knights of St. John, with vengeance for harbouring Cammock, who had fled thither with the ships which escaped from the battle of Passaro, but who had again sailed before they could reach Malta.

Alberoni, though defeated at sea, was more successful in Sicily, and he continued his cabals against England in nearly every court of Europe with only the more assiduity. He was zealously at work in France, England itself, Holland, Piedmont, and Sweden. By his ambassador at the Hague, the marquis Beretti Landi, he endeavoured to keep the Dutch out of the quadruple alliance by exciting their commercial jealousy; but he was ably opposed by our minister there, the earl of Cadogan. In Piedmont he endeavoured to deter Victor Amadeus from entering into this alliance by assuring him that he was only endeavouring to secure Sicily to keep it out of the hands of the Austrians, and reserve it for him; while, on the other hand, he threatened him with thirty thousand bayonets if he dared to accede to the quadruple treaty. The allies, however, threatened still greater dangers, and the duke at last consented to accept Sardinia in lieu of Sicily, and that island remains attached to the house of Savoy to the present time.

Foiled in these quarters, Alberoni appeared more successful in the north. A negotiation had been opened betwixt the two potentates, so long at bitter variance, the czar and Charles XII. of Sweden. They were induced to meet in the island of Aland, and to agree that the czar should retain Livonia, Ingria, and other Swedish territories south of Finland which he had reft from Sweden; but, in compensation, Charles was to be allowed to re-conquer from George of Hanover and England Bremen and Verden, and Norway from Denmark; and that the two monarchs were to unite their arms for the restoration of Stanislaus to the throne of Poland, and of the pretender to that of Great Britain. The latter enterprise was but the continuation of the old plan of Charles's minister, Gortz, who was now all the more bent on it in revenge for his seizure and imprisonment in Holland at the instigation of the king of England.

The success of these arrangements appeared to Alberoni so certain that he boasted that the northern tempest would burst ere long over England with annihilating fury; but even here he was doomed to disappointment. Charles XII. delighted in nothing so much as some wild and romantic enterprise. Such was that of the conquest of Norway; and he was led by his imagination to commence it without delay. With his characteristic madness, he divided his army into two parts, with one of which he took the way by the coast to Norway, and the other he sent over the mountains at the very commencement of winter. There that division perished in the snow amid the most incredible horrors; and he himself, whilst carrying on the siege of Frederickshall, was killed on the 11th of December, as appears probable, by the treacherous shot of a French engineer in his service. The death of this strange monarch, who had inflicted, by his military mania, the deepest calamities on his own country as well as on the north of Europe generally, was the signal for a total change of administration in Sweden. All his projects were abandoned, his ministers dismissed, his sister Ulrica was placed on the throne in his stead, and his favourite, Gortz, perished on the scaffold. The tempest on which Alberoni had so fondly calculated for the ruin of England, burst only in the north, and left the atmosphere of Britain perfectly serene.

In France, the machinations of the Spanish minister appeared for a time equally promising, yet proved equally abortive. He had dexterously availed himself of all the discontents in France to destroy the regent, and bring Philip of Spain to the French throne. The duke of Maine was engaged in a desperate conspiracy against the regent. It was intended that he should be seized in one of his parties of pleasure near Paris; that the States-General should be assembled, and Philip of Spain, as next of blood, proclaimed the rightful regent, and the duke of Maine his deputy. In this conspiracy the duchess of Maine, a granddaughter of the celebrated Condé, was the chief actor. She was a woman of a passionate and daring character, whom her flatterers had persuaded that she had all the abilities of her ancestor. As for the duke himself, he was weak and timid, but these deficiencies were supposed to be made up by the vigour and talent of his wife. She entered zealously into the conspiracy with Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador and creature of Alberoni, and fomented the many discontents which existed to a head. Almost all parties were indignant at the boundless influence of the profligate Dubois; the military men, especially the marshals d'Huxelles and Villars, were disgusted with the quadruple alliance; the Jesuits were busy intriguing for a return to power; there were complaints of oppressions from the provinces, and the parliament of Paris was plotting to increase its prerogatives.

The conspiracy had reached its height. Manifestoes were already prepared by cardinal Polignac for publication, armed bands, in the disguise of salt smugglers, were collecting on the Somme; and in the beginning of December Cellamare dispatched a young Spanish abbé, Don Vincente Portocarrero, a relative of cardinal Portocarrero, accompanied by a son of the marquis Monteleone, with an account of his proceedings, and with copies of the manifestoes to Madrid, and to bring back Alberoni's last instructions. Portocarrero had arrived at Poictiers, when he was arrested and his papers seized. Securely as the conspirators thought they had been working, they had been long silently watched by Dubois, the French government having been warned both from the court of St. James and from the French embassy at Madrid that a grand plot was in progress. Dubois had let the matter go on till he had full evidence to produce by seizing the emissary with all the papers, which he then laid before the astonished regent. The duke and duchess of Maine were instantly seized, the duke confined at Dourlens, in Picardy, the duchess in the castle of Dijon. Cellamare was arrested, as Gyllenborg, the Swedish envoy, had been in London, his papers examined, and himself conducted to the frontiers. To justify this seizure of an ambassador, two of the letters which he had sent by Portocarrero were printed, and a circular addressed to all the foreign ministers in Paris, explaining his offences. Cardinal Polignac, M. de Pompadour, and other of the chief conspirators were also apprehended, and the scheme was thus completely crushed.

Meantime, the duke of St. Aignan, the French minister at Madrid, aware of what was going on, had demanded his audience of leave. Alberoni had eluded his demands under one pretext or another, anxious to retain him in his hands as a guarantee for the safety of Cellamare; but Aignan, perceiving his drift, quietly departed from Madrid, and made the best of his way towards France. Expecting pursuit and detention, he quitted his carriage near Pampeluna, and took his way across the mountains on a mule, thus safely reaching the frontiers. His apprehensions were soon justified; he was pursued, and his servant arrested in mistake for himself. Alberoni lost no time in warning Cellamare in Paris of what had taken place, and yet urging him, before providing for his own safety, to bring the conspiracy to a crisis. Before his letter arrived the conspiracy had reached a crisis, the reverse of what he hoped; and his letter to Cellamare falling into the hands of the French government, became the public evidence of his clandestine attempts against it. There remained, therefore, nothing for it but for his master, Philip, to hardily justify the Spanish proceedings as measures fairly directed against a spurious and illegal administration in France; and there was nothing for it on the part of the regent but to proclaim war against Spain—a measure which England had long been urging on him. The

English declaration appeared on the 17th of December, O.S. and the French on the 9th of January, N.S., 1719.

The Spanish affairs gave a handle to the opposition in parliament, which had met on the 11th of November. The addresses in both houses were opposed. In the lords the earl of Strafford led the attack; in the commons, Walpole; but they were boldly answered by lord Stanhope in the lords, who declared that it was high time to check the growth of Spanish ambition and protect our trade, and that he was willing to stake his head on the support of Byng's proceedings. Walpole, in the commons, was zealously backed by Shippen and Wyndham, and as ably replied to by Mr. Craggs; and in both houses the addresses were carried, in the lords by a majority of eighty-three against fifty, and in the commons by two hundred and sixteen against one hundred and fifty-five. On the declaration of war there was a still larger majority in the commons, and Byng was loudly applauded.

In this session Stanhope and his colleagues endeavoured to undo the arbitrary measures of 1711 and 1714, the Occasional Conformity Bill and the Schism Bill. Stanhope would have made a strenuous effort to abolish not only these laws, but the Test Act itself; but Sunderland, though equally liberal, was more prudent, and showed that, to attempt too much was to ruin all; and when they came to introduce their greatly modified measure—that of annulling only some of the less prominent clauses of the Test Act under the name of a bill for strengthening the protestant interest—they found so much opposition that Sunderland's discernment was fully justified. Not only the two archbishops and some of the bishops opposed the measure, but the great whigs, the duke of Devonshire and earl Cowper. Cowper, though he expressed himself willing to abolish the Schism Bill, stood stoutly for the Test and Corporation Acts as the very bulwarks of our constitution in church and state; whilst the earl of Isla declared even this moderate measure a violation of the union with Scotland. On the other hand, the bishops Hoadley, Willis, Gibson, and Kennett, supported the bill, which, however, was not carried without considerable mutilation; and had Stanhope introduced such a measure as he proposed, including even considerable relief to catholics, the whole would have been lost.

Parliament was prorogued on the 18th of April, and the king soon after set out for his German dominions, taking Stanhope along with him, and his mistress, the duchess of Kendal. In appointing the regency to administer affairs in the king's absence, the prince of Wales was entirely passed over, to his great indignation; nor were he and the princess allowed to hold *levées*, that duty being assigned to the young princesses, to the great scandal of the public, and further exposure of the discord raging in the royal family. Even during the session the ministers had brought in a bill to "settle and limit the peerage in such a manner that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond six of the present number, which, upon failure of male issue, might be supplied by new creations; that, instead of the sixteen elective peers of Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scotch peerage." Both the king and ministers flattered themselves that they should carry this bill, and thus fetter the prince of Wales when he came to the throne. The king was desirous to do this out of sheer jealousy and hatred of his own son, and the ministers, Sunderland in particular, out of dread of his vengeance in that case; for, if he created a dozen peers at a time, as Anne had done, he could easily swamp the whigs and put the present ministers in peril of impeachment. But though the whigs had been clamorous against the act of Anne, some of them now, Cowper and Townshend at their head, as vehemently denounced this measure as a gross infringement of the royal prerogative. The debate became very bitter, and many friendships were broken up by it, amongst others that of Addison and Steele, who took different sides; but the bill was finally dropped.

Scarcely had parliament ceased to sit, and the king was gone to spend the summer months in Germany, when the vigilance of the ministry was demanded to ward off a fresh invasion. Alberoni, defeated in his schemes on France, and his hopes of the invasion of England by Charles XII. crushed by that monarch's death, determined now to make a grand effort to support the pretender himself. For this purpose, he invited him to Spain, and at the same time began the equipment of a formidable fleet to carry over a Spanish force, under the command of the duke of Ormonde, to the shores of Britain. The pretender was not intended to accompany the expedition, but to be in readiness to follow on the first news of its successful landing. James joyfully accepted the invitation of Alberoni. He set out from Rome; but, to avoid being intercepted by the imperialists, who were in strong force in Italy, and who were supported by a powerful fleet of the English in the Mediterranean, he pretended to set out on a journey northward in company with the earls of Mar and Perth. A most treacherous act on the part of the Austrians, perpetrated at the request of the English, had satisfied him that neither of those powers would be scrupulous in the means of getting him into the power of England. He had of late contracted a marriage with the princess Clementina, the daughter of John Sobiesky, the late king of Poland. His party was delighted at the prospect of a continuance of the Stuart line, and the English government as much chagrined. Whilst on her way, therefore, to join her betrothed husband in Italy, the princess was arrested, at the instance of the king of England, and kept confined at Innspruck. This was an act disgraceful to the English king, and much more disgraceful to the emperor of Germany as perpetrated towards the daughter of that noble Pole who had rescued Vienna from the Turks. Thus warned, instead of really accompanying the two Scotch earls, James stole away to the little port of Nettuno, where he embarked, and after touching at Cagliari, arrived safe at Rosas in the commencement of March. Meantime, Mar and Perth were arrested by the Austrian authorities at Voghera, proving too truly the just fears of the pretender, who was supposed to be concealed in their train. They were conveyed in great triumph to the castle of Milan, the news was spread on all sides that James was captured, and lord Stair announced it in high glee from Paris to ministers in London; and it was some time before the truth was discovered.

James, whilst supposed to be a prisoner, was entering

Madrid in great festal rejoicing. Alberoni was proud to let the English government see that he had the power of annoying them. The pretender was received as king of England, and his residence was fixed in the palace of Buen Retiro, where the Spanish monarch and his queen visited him in state. The armament was immediately put in motion; it was to sail from Cadiz, and to consist of five men-of-war and twenty transports, carrying five thousand troops, many of them Scotch and Irish refugees, who were eager to obtain one more chance of regaining a footing on their native soil. Several of the leading insurgents of 1715 were amongst them. Ormonde was to take the command on the arrival of the fleet at Corunna, with the title of captain-general of the king of Spain. The last time Ormonde had been in Spain it was at the head of an English fleet and army to storm Vigo and bombard Cadiz for the queen of England; now he was leading back a Spanish force to attack his own monarch and country! Yet he does not seem to have had much faith in the enterprise, for he wrote from Corunna to Alberoni, informing him that the English were well aware of the expedition, and prepared both by sea and land to resist it; and that, under the circumstances, to invade England with only five thousand men was madness. The cardinal, however, does not seem to have paid any regard to this prudent statement. The command continued to sail, and Ormonde was provided with a proclamation to publish on landing in England, announcing the king of Spain's determination to support the just cause of king James, and bidding every one have no fear of the result, for that, in case the enterprise did not succeed, all who took part in it were promised a secure retreat in Spain; that every sea and land officer should retain the rank he had enjoyed in his own country, and all the soldiers be received and treated as his own.

But, as Ormonde had intimated, England had made a vigorous preparation for the enemy. The regent of France had offered George the aid of any number of troops; but, as if too proud to owe the safety of England to France, these tenders were courteously declined; yet the same feeling did not prevent the government accepting the service of six battalions from the Austrians in the Netherlands, and of two thousand men from the Dutch. These and the English troops were disposed so as best to meet any invasion in the north or west, and Sir John Norris rode with a powerful squadron in mid-channel. A reward of ten thousand pounds was set on Ormonde's head in London, and five thousand pounds upon it in Dublin—as if he were of less consequence in Ireland than in England; and thus Great Britain awaited this new Spanish armada.

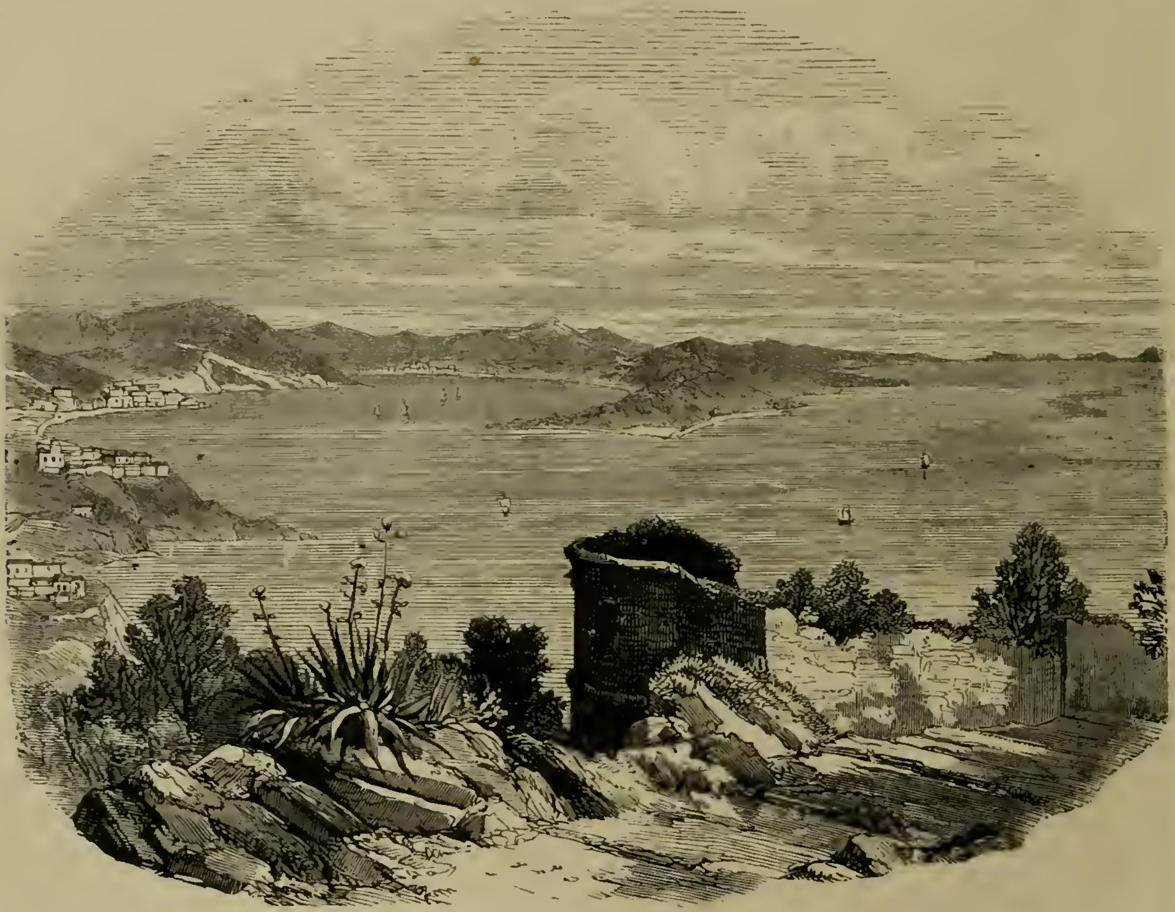
But it was no more destined to reach these shores than the grand armada. It has always been the fate of invading squadrons to encounter providential tempests in coming hitherward, and the usual hurricane was ready to burst. Scarcely, indeed, had the fleet lost sight of cape Finisterre before the storm swooped down upon it. For twelve days the terrible Bay of Biscay was swept by a frightful wind, which drove the vessels in all directions, and rendered it impossible to manage them. The struggling and confounded crews threw overboard cannon, ammunition, arms of all kinds, and horses, to save the ships, but in vain. Many were lost, and those which managed to regain the port returned mere shattered wrecks.

Fortunate would it have been if every vessel had failed to reach the shores at which they aimed; but two vessels, on board of which were the earls Marshal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardine, accompanied by about three hundred Spanish soldiers, reached Scotland, and landed, on the 16th of April, at Kintail, in Rosshire. In the hope that Ormonde would still reach England, this small force lay quiet for some time, and so little did they excite notice, that the government imagined that they had re-embarked. Their presence there, however, had the mischievous effect of exciting some few of the Highlanders to join them. They seized Donau Castle, and thus attracted the attention of the English. Some vessels of war arrived upon the coast. The castle was speedily retaken, and lord Carpenter, the commander of the forces in Scotland, sent some troops from Inverness against them. General Wightman, the officer thus dispatched, was attended by about a thousand men, and found the enemy, now swollen to about two thousand, strongly posted at Glenshiel. He immediately attacked them, and the miscellaneous force speedily dispersed. The Highlanders, who knew the country, rapidly disappeared amongst the hills, and the Spaniards had no other resource than to lay down their arms. They were conducted as prisoners to Edinburgh, where the Jacobites did all in their power to succour their distress and relieve their necessities, which were great. Wightman meantime pursued the flying Highlanders through the hills, chastising—probably with no very correct or merciful hand—the rebels by burning their houses and laying waste their fields. The three lords, Tullibardine, Seaforth, and Marshal, made their escape to the Western Isles, and after some time succeeded in again reaching Spain instead of the block, which would have been their goal if taken. Seaforth lived to return to Scotland, and ended his days there in retirement, having received a pardon in 1726; Tullibardine to engage again in the enterprise of 1745, and die of a broken heart in the Tower. The earl Marshal, with his brother, James Keith, entered the Prussian service, where he was engaged in various diplomatic missions to France and Spain, and is mentioned by Rousseau, in his "Confessions," with great eulogium. His brother became a marshal in the army of the great Frederick, and was killed in the bloody battle of Hochkirchen.

Such was the winding up of the mighty schemes of Alberoni against France and England. His puppet, the pretender, was now no longer of any use to him, and he was anxious to be rid of him, and fortune, in this one point, favoured him James heard that his betrothed, the princess Sobiesky, had contrived, by the aid of Charles Wogan, a devoted partisan of his, who had been one of the prisoners of Preston, to make her escape from Innspruck, and to reach the state of Venice. He therefore took leave of Spain, and hastened to Italy to complete his marriage.

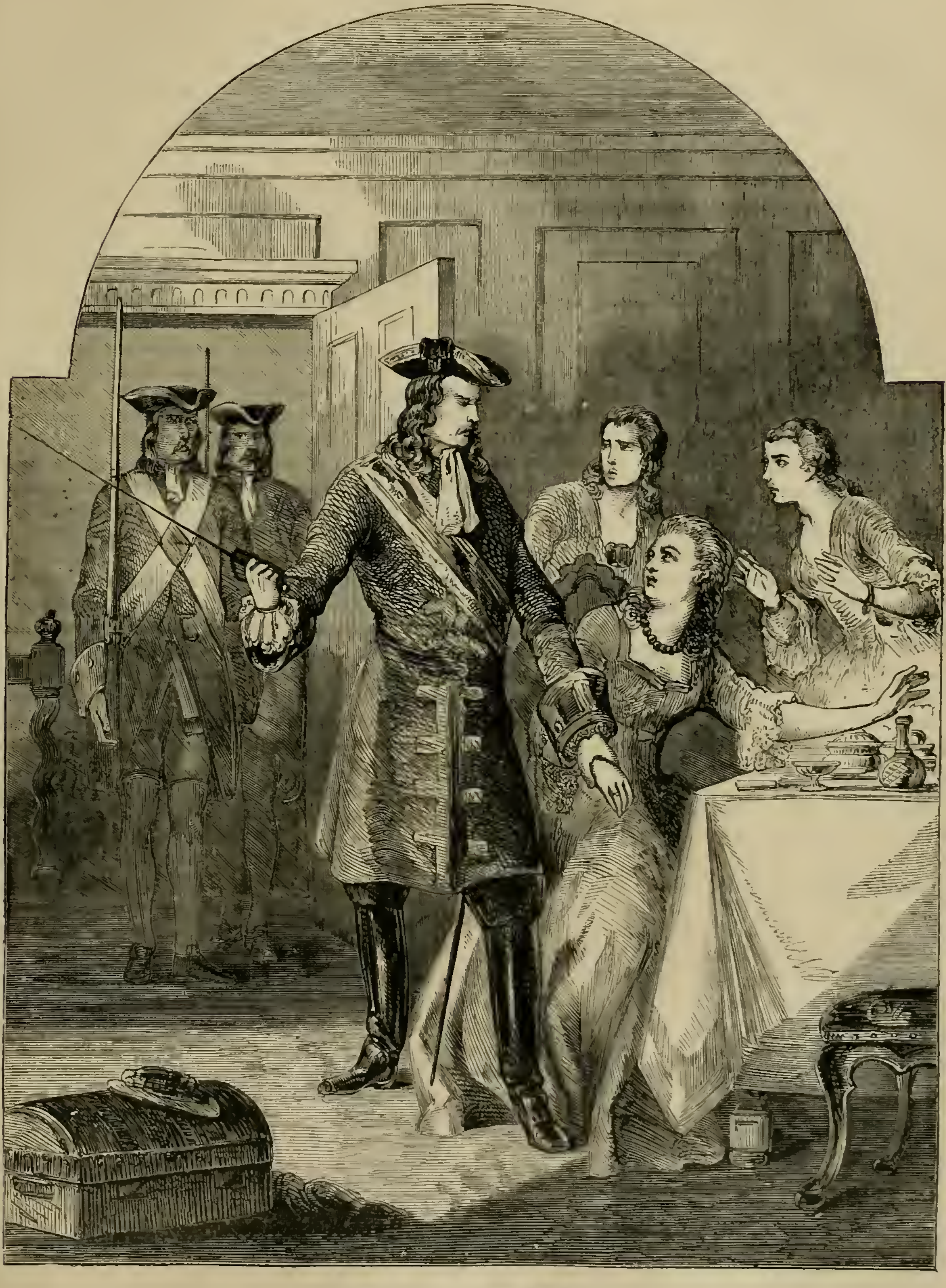
Alberoni now found himself in turn attacked by France. Whilst busying himself to repair a few of the shattered ships which had escaped from the tempest, in order to harass the coast of Brittany in conjunction with the malcontents there· he beheld an army of thirty thousand French menacing the

Pyrenean frontier. Villars had declined the command, being wholly averse to the quadruple alliance, but it was accepted by the duke of Berwick, though it must have been anything but an agreeable one to him. He it was who more than any other man had established Philip on the throne of Spain. He had won the decisive victory of Almanza, and was the stanch friend of the Bourbon cause in Spain, as well as half brother to the pretender, whose interests Spain was endeavouring to maintain when France had abandoned them. But Berwick was a man in whom a sense of duty predominated over all other considerations, and it was sufficient for him to have received the regent's commands for this service. He now, therefore, became the antagonist, as he had before been the champion, of Philip.



MESSINA, IN SICILY.

Philip had but a few regiments of worn-out veterans or raw recruits to oppose to the powerful army of Berwick, for the flower of his troops were engaged in Sicily; but he put himself at their head confidently, for his agents had represented that the grandson of Louis XIV. had only to present himself before a French army for it to desert in a body to him. He arrived, therefore, at Pampeluna, attended by the queen, the prince of Asturias, and Alberoni. Addresses were drawn up to distribute amongst the soldiers of Berwick; and so strong was the king's infatuation, that he proposed to ride alone into the French army and claim their allegiance, assured of instantly receiving it. Alberoni, however, was not so mad; and when he could not prevent this fatal folly by argument, he disconcerted it by issuing false orders to the king's attendants, by which they were not ready in time, and the absurdity of the proposal was shown by the proclamations being distributed and their producing no effect. The safety of Philip was thus insured by undeceiving him as to the real sentiment of the French army, and he soon beheld M. de Silly, who commanded the army till the arrival of Berwick, advancing upon him with a force that compelled him to retreat before it. The French army passed the Bidassoa and reduced the Port Passages, where Silly found six large men-of-war on the stocks. Colonel William Stanhope, who had been sent to insure the most complete destruction of the Spanish naval preparations, recommended that they should be burnt, and it was done. The Biscayan provinces had been the most zealous in carry-



ARREST OF THE PRINCESS CLEMENTINA.

ing out Alberoni's maritime schemes; and both France and England were alive to the importance of crushing these preparations in the bud. In all the ports ships were building, and magazines of arms and ammunition preparing. The French destroyed the magazines and arsenal—a loss calculated at two millions of dollars. By the aid of an English squadron, eight hundred French soldiers were conveyed to Santoña, where the garrison fled at once, and the allies burnt three more ships-of-war, and materials for seven more. This completed the annihilation of the Spanish navy, which was attributed to the jealousy of England.

Berwick having now arrived, advanced on the town of St. Sebastian, which surrendered on the 2nd of August, and the citadel on the 17th of the same month. Philip retreated once more to Madrid in hopeless weakness. Berwick soon overran the whole of Guipuscoa, which had been greatly exasperated by Alberoni attempting to abolish some of its ancient laws and privileges, in order to assimilate it to the rest of Spain. They therefore not only submitted, but offered to acknowledge themselves part of France on their ancient privileges being guaranteed to them. The French pushed their conquests into Catalonia, took several forts, and made an assault on Rosas. In September, an English squadron, commanded by lord Cobham, and having on board four thousand troops, appeared before Corunna to take vengeance on that fort for the offence of Ormonde's expedition having sailed from it. A near view of the defences of the place, however, deterred Cobham, and he coasted along to Vigo, where many of Ormonde's stores still remained. There the English landed, the place having but a feeble garrison, and commenced an attack upon it. The troops nimbly evacuated the place, and commenced a brisk fire on the invaders from the neighbouring hills, but at such a distance that not a ball reached the English. In the town the English found forty-three pieces of ordnance, eight thousand muskets, two thousand barrels of powder, and seven sloops in the harbour, which were all seized and carried off. The citadel held out till the 21st of October. The English troops made themselves so drunk with the wine which they found in the shops and cellars, that, had the enemy been aware of it, they might have readily surprised them; but they never appeared again. The neighbouring towns of Redondella and Pontevedra were also sacked, and the utmost consternation prevailed in the court of Madrid, where the number of the English was totally unknown, and a great army and general invasion were expected. But the English, though they had failed in the chief object of the expedition, had done what they deemed substantial damage, and so re-embarked and returned home.

In Sicily, for the conquest of which Spain had been thus left exposed, the war was now, too, beginning to run heavily against the Spaniards. Through 1718 the campaign there had been wonderfully encouraged and invigorated by the presence and activity of Byng and his fleet. After the capture of Messina, general Lede, though compelled to retreat thence, marched upon Melazzo, a place of great natural strength, built upon a narrow headland jutting far into the sea. The town would probably have been compelled to surrender, but general Caraffa, with eight thousand Germans, was carried by Byng to its relief; and on its arrival, the garrison making a smart sally, there was a vigorous action fought, and there the two armies entrenched themselves, and thus contrived to face each other without further fighting through the winters of 1717-18. Great numbers on both sides perished from lying on a low, marshy ground, and enduring severe want of provisions. The Spaniards could procure supplies from the interiors, but the Germans and Neapolitans were dependent on supplies by sea, and here Byng served them most essentially. It was an unheard-of thing for vessels to keep these dangerous seas during winter, but Byng braved all the hardships and perils of it. He had posted captain Walton to prevent Cammock and his ships coming out of the Faro of Messina whilst he carried supplies to the imperial army; but Walton being thrown by a tempest from the station, Cammock slipped out, and appearing before Tropea, where the provisions were stored, had nearly obtained an ample supply by writing a letter to the governor as an English officer, at the same time carrying English colours. The *ruse* was, however, discovered, and Cammock had the luck to regain his retreat before Walton was able to recover his station.

In the spring of 1718 the emperor, having ten thousand foot and three thousand horse liberated through the peace with Turkey, brought them to Naples, in order to be conveyed over to Sicily. Byng engaged to carry them to the bay of Patti, a little to the westward of Malazzo, as the best landing-place; but he strongly represented that a greater number of troops would be necessary to cope with the Spaniards, who were brave soldiers, and under an able general. So far, however, from getting these, he found the army, which was under the command of count de Mercy, almost destitute of artillery, and still more so of money. He stripped his Spanish prizes to furnish them with a train of artillery, and gave powder and ball from his own stores. He landed the German troops safely at Patti on the 28th of May; and the Spaniards at Melazzo, though twenty miles off, immediately decamped in such haste, that they left behind them their sick, two thousand bags of flour, some artillery, and ammunition. De Mercy led his army to Melazzo, Byng sailing along the shore to support them, and anchoring off the town. On arriving, count Seckendorf was dispatched with a sufficient force to clear the Lipari isles of the piratical inhabitants, who had continued to intercept the supplies of the army; and that service being thoroughly performed, De Mercy prepared to follow the Spaniards, who had retreated inland to Villa Franca, and there entrenched themselves. It was the 27th of June, however, before the Austrians were ready to march, for they were proverbially slow, and their army very ill supplied, not only with stores, but with all kinds of requisites. They had few surgeons, and those very bad; and it was remarked by the author of an account of this expedition, that there was little difference betwixt being wounded and killed in action, except that of a lingering or sudden death.

The Spaniards had made their retreat to Villa Franca in a day; but the weather was now become intensely hot, and the Austrians found it a most fatiguing march over rugged and wild mountains, conducted by unwilling guides, and harassed by the armed peasantry of the district. They were worn down by carrying in the burning heat not only their arms, but their ammunition and six days' food. At length, from the heights of Tre Fontane, they descried the camp of the Spaniards below on the plains of Villa Franca, and raised a shout of exultation at the sight, for fighting appeared infinitely preferable to their sufferings on the march. The Spaniards, though on a plain, had posted themselves in a strong position, their front defended by the steep banks of the river Alcantara, their wings by entrenchments, and their rear by the little town of Villa Franca, and rocky hills covered by armed peasants. In front of the enemy was a hill crowned by a convent of Capuchins, and on this De Lede had posted Villardarias with five battalions of his best troops. De Mercy was said to be very short-sighted, and he was by no means aware of the strength of Lede's position, and especially of the force occupying the advantageous position on the Capuchin hill. He had no friendly guides, either, to make him aware of the real dangers, for the whole population was on the Spanish side. Byng had warned him not to imagine the Spaniards weak, or easily to be defeated, because they had made a rapid retreat, and he now found this only too true. They were attacked by the troops of Villardarias as they were advancing on the town, and taken by surprise. Night came down on them before they could recover their order. The next morning, however, they advanced in their attacking columns, and there was stout fighting on both sides; but the troops of Villardarias on the hill defended that post most gallantly, and the choicest troops of the emperor were necessarily thrown forward to drive them back. As a second night was fast approaching, De Mercy put himself at the head of the attacking column and made a desperate charge, but it was in vain. After having one horse killed under him and two others disabled, he received a severe musket-wound, and was carried off the field. De Mercy, still undaunted, ordered a renewal of the attack on the following morning; but when the army was drawn up at the foot of the Capuchin hill, the officers represented the strength of the place, and the severe losses they had already received from it, and De Mercy retired. The Austrians had upwards of three thousand men killed and wounded, the Spaniards not above half so many. De Mercy then drew off his troops, in order to renew his communication with the English fleet, and prevent the march of De Lede and his army towards Messina.

The second son of admiral Byng was severely wounded in this battle, and the Austrians were in the greatest destitution of provisions. Byng got on horseback, and rode to meet the Austrians, and see provisions carried to them. He found the ground scattered with the bodies of men and horses, and the wounded left lying on the spot where they had fallen with their ammunition and bread set beside them. Other poor wretches were endeavouring to crawl down to the sea-side by the help of their wives. His own son was in danger of death from want of necessary attendance; and the general's own wound was only dressed by his valet. The different officers were upbraiding one another, each declaring that, had his opinion been followed, the battle of Villa Franca would have been a complete victory. Byng endeavoured to show them that there was no use in looking back, they must be united and look forward; and he undertook to persuade the emperor and the king of Sardinia to send six thousand troops—destined to drive the Spaniards from the island of Sardinia—to their aid. He made a journey immediately to Naples for that purpose, obtained his object after much difficulty, and completed the benefit by supplying their deficiency of cannon and ammunition out of his own fleet. On the voyage he was seized with an attack of fever, but he put back in all haste, and on the 28th of July came to anchor at Faro Point again, near Messina. That place was assaulted with fresh vigour, and compelled to open its gates on the 8th of August. But the strong citadel still held out, and, as it was clear that it could never be taken without heavier and more cannon, and without the better supply of the besieging army with all manner of necessaries, Byng made another voyage to Naples, and after much expostulation, and even menacing to withdraw the English fleet, he had the pleasure of once more reaching Messina with a tolerable quantity of artillery, ammunition, and stores, and the six thousand men originally destined for Sardinia. On the 19th of October the citadel of Messina surrendered.

Under the able advice and indefatigable assistance of Byng, De Mercy advanced to the strong fortress of Trapani, and in the summer of 1719 De Mercy mustered before it seventeen thousand foot and horse. He had left garrisons in Messina, Melazzo, and other places, and he soon reduced De Lede to such extremities that he entered into negotiations with De Mercy for the evacuation of Palermo and of all Sicily, on condition that the Spanish army should be allowed a free passage to Barcelona, or some other Spanish port in the Mediterranean. The Austrians were very ready to accede to this, which would have left Sicily in their entire possession; but Byng protested that not a man of that army should quit the island till a peace took place, as it would be immediately employed against England or against France in the war with Spain then raging. It was then proposed that the Spaniards should retire into Castro Giovanni, in the interior, or some other defensible position, and that a truce of six weeks should be granted in order for each party to consult their respective courts. These negotiations, however, were broken off in consequence of advices from Madrid; hostilities went on, and the Austrians, by the exercise of a little vigour, might have taken Palermo, and have finished the war in the island.

But by this time the failure of the great plans of Alberoni had produced their effect in Spain. That country was become dreadfully tired of the war. It had received nothing but disasters and humiliations instead of the proud triumphs which Alberoni had promised it. He himself was become convinced by woful experience that his proud spirit had soared far beyond the power and resources of Spain. He had himself snatched at the opportunity afforded by the little gleam of success—the victory of Villa Franca—to propose terms of peace. They were terms which the allies would have accepted at the moment when Stanhope visited Spain, and was even ready to surrender Gibraltar. But the time for these had gone by for ever. Alberoni dispatched his countryman, the marquis Scotti, to Paris, with the message that Spain was desirous to appoint the States-General as mediators betwixt herself and the allied powers; that she was ready to surrender Sicily and Sardinia on condition that

France retired from the Biscayan Provinces, and the English from Gibraltar and Port Mahon.

When the regent of France had read these propositions, he refused to grant Scotti passports to visit the Hague till he had first consulted the emperor and the king of England. George was still at Hanover, and Stanhope with him. Dubois wrote to Stanhope there, inclosing the Spanish propositions, and Stanhope replied that it was no longer time for the entertainment of such ideas; that nothing now, it was clear, could secure the peace of Europe but the expulsion of Alberoni, not only from the Spanish cabinet, but from Spain altogether; that his unbounded ambition had been the sole cause of the war; that to gratify it he had broken through the most solemn treaties, and that there was no security, so long as he continued in Spain, against his breaking any new ones; that it was necessary to hold forth this example to Europe, as a means of intimidating wicked and turbulent ministers, who might wish to violate treaties and embroil kingdoms.

France and England being thus determined, the day of Alberoni's fall was at hand. His own conduct hastened the catastrophe. As things went wrong, his temper became more imperious, and the grandees of Spain, never very well pleased to see the son of a foreign gardener exalted above their heads, now exerted themselves in coalition with France and England for his overthrow. His old friends began to fall away, his enemies to acquire double activity. Several of the grandees entered into secret engagements with the French regent to procure his dismissal. The king of Spain's confessor, discovering that Alberoni was trying to introduce another into his office, immediately became a dangerous ally of the discontented; but the finishing stroke was given by the restless and clever lord Peterborough. Though neither employed nor trusted by his own government, he saw how the most effectual blow might be given to Alberoni's influence, and he at once put the idea into operation. He entered into a private correspondence with the duke of Parma, whose niece, Elizabeth Farnese, was queen of Spain. With his usual impressive eloquence he soon convinced the duke of the necessity for the dismissal of Alberoni, in order to contribute to the peace of Europe, and that the casting die was in his hand. He refused to proceed to the duke's court to complete this negotiation in order to avoid suspicion, but he agreed to meet a confidential agent of the duke's at Novi, in Piedmont. There it was arranged that the duke should privately write to the queen of Spain, urging the necessity of the cardinal's dismissal; and about the time of the arrival of the duke's letters at Madrid, the marquis Scotti, Alberoni's agent to the regent of France, returned, having been induced, by a bribe of fifty thousand crowns, to desert his employer, and exert his influence over the queen against him.

These united schemes succeeded. Alberoni was suddenly dismissed, and ordered to quit Madrid in eight days and Spain in twenty-one. It was in vain that he sought interviews, and wrote letters to the king and queen: audience was refused him, and his letters remained unanswered. He was compelled to set out according to the royal command, and at Lerida he was overtaken by an officer sent to search his baggage for papers missed from the government offices, which, unfortunately for the reputation of the cardinal, were discovered upon him. The grandees, once assured of being rid of him, paid him great honours at his departure, but the abstraction of the government papers seems to have greatly embittered the king and queen against him. They made heavy accusations to the pope against him. He was arrested at the instance of his holiness in the Genoese territories, and various charges preferred against him to the Genoese senate by the king of Spain, as an enemy to the church, amongst which his having made war on catholic princes was impudently enough put in the foreground. The Genoese declined going into these charges, and Alberoni published several spirited defences of himself, flinging the charges with only too much truth upon the king and queen of Spain. The court of Spain, therefore, pursued him with redoubled acrimony, and endeavoured to deprive him of his cardinal's hat, and to prevent him finding an asylum anywhere. They did not succeed in degrading him from his rank of cardinal, but they compelled him to seek refuge in Switzerland. Alberoni, however, was not the man to remain long in secluded inactivity, and we shall soon again find him busy in the cause of the pretender, thus endeavouring to avenge himself on England.

The king of Spain hoped, by the dismissal of Alberoni, to obtain more advantageous terms of peace from France and England; but they still stood firmly to the conditions of the quadruple alliance. On the 19th of January, 1720, the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Holland signed an engagement at Paris not to admit of any conditions of peace from Spain contrary to those of the alliance. Stanhope dispatched his secretary, Schaub, to Madrid, to endeavour to bring over the queen to this agreement, and Dubois sent instructions to the marquis Scotti, father d'Aubenton, and others in the French interest to press the same point. She stood out firmly for some time, but eventually gave way, and the mind of the king was soon influenced by her. Some difficulties which could not be overcome were referred to a congress to be held at Cambray. On the 26th of January Philip announced his accession to the quadruple alliance, declaring that he gave up his rights and possessions to secure the peace of Europe. He renewed his renunciation of the French crown, and promised to evacuate Sicily and Sardinia within six months, which he faithfully performed.

Dispatches were instantly sent by the English and Austrian ministers, informing admiral Byng and the count De Mercy of the accession of Spain to the quadruple alliance, and these informed De Lede of the fact by a trumpet. De Lede, however, who still maintained his hostile attitude at Alcamo, had received no intelligence of the event from his own government, and therefore declared himself unable to treat for a cessation of hostilities until he did obtain such authority. Byng and De Mercy still pressed him to a convention for the cessation of hostilities; but De Lede would not consent to any other terms than those of still retaining possession of Palermo, by which he would be in full enjoyment of the provisions of the island, and the allies would be cooped up in one corner of it, subject to great privations. After much fruitless negotiation, the allied general and admiral prepared to force the surrender of Palermo, and De Lede to defend it, and the two armies were on the point of engaging in a sanguinary conflict, when De Lede received the official intelligence from Spain, and orders to arrange for the evacuation of the island.

This great event put in train, the English admiral sailed to Cagliari, conveying the Savoyard troops thither, and actively exerting himself for the complete surrender of the island to the new king of Sardinia; and he did not quit the port till he had seen the Spanish troops all embarked, and the island put completely into the hands of the authorities of Savoy. Throughout all these transactions, by which the attempts of Alberoni on Sardinia and Sicily were completely defeated, the conduct of admiral Byng had been most meritorious. "This," says the historian of "The Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily," "ended the war wherein the fleet of Great Britain bore so illustrious a part that the fate of the island was wholly governed by its operations, both competitors agreeing that the one could not have conquered nor the other have been subdued without it. Never was any service conducted in all its parts with greater zeal, activity, and judgment, nor was ever the British flag in so high reputation and respect in those distant parts of Europe."

By the firmness of the allies a peace which continued twelve years was given to Europe, and the storm which Alberoni had so fondly expected out of the north was as completely dissipated. The new queen of Sweden had consented to yield absolutely to George I., as king of Hanover, the disputed possession of Bremen and Verden. Poland was induced to acknowledge Augustus of Saxony as king, and Prussia to be satisfied with the acquisition of Stettin and some other Swedish territory. But the czar and Denmark, seeing Sweden deprived of its military monarch, and exhausted by his wild campaigns, contemplated nothing less than the actual dismemberment of Sweden. The queen of Sweden threw herself for protection on the good offices of the king of England, and both England and France agreed to compel the czar and the king of Denmark to desist from their attacks on Sweden if they would not listen to friendly mediation. Lord Carteret, a promising young statesman, was sent ambassador to Stockholm, and Sir John Norris, with eleven sail of the line, was ordered to the Baltic. Russia and Denmark, however, continued to disregard the pacific overtures of England, trusting to there being no war with that power. They ravaged the whole coast of Sweden, burning above a thousand villages, and the town of Nyköping, the third place in the kingdom. Seeing this, lord Stanhope, who was still at Hanover with the king, sent orders to admiral Norris to pay no regard to the fact of there being no declaration of war, but to treat the Russian and Danish fleet as Byng had treated the Spanish one. Norris accordingly joined his squadron to the Swedish fleet at Carlscrona, and went in pursuit of the fleet of the czar. Peter, seeing that the English were now in earnest, recalled his fleet with precipitation, and thereby, no doubt, saved it from complete destruction; but he still continued to refuse to make peace, and determined on the first opportunity to have a further slice of Swedish territory. Denmark, which was extremely poor, agreed to accept a sum of money in lieu of Marstrand, which they had seized; and thus all Europe, except the czar, was brought to a condition of peace. England had, in fact, saved Sweden from annihilation, though the motives of her monarch had not been of the most sublime or generous kind. They were Bremen and Verden which had been the influencing motive, and in other particulars the Hanoverian transactions of George were not very creditable. In exchange for the services of Byng in the Mediterranean, according to lord Chesterfield, George had obtained from the emperor the administration of the affairs of the duchy of Mecklenburg. The duke of that state had been suspended by a decree of the Aulic council for tyranny and maladministration; and George, thus invested with the protection, was strongly suspected of an attempt at annexing it permanently to Hanover. The suspended duke declared that Hanover had constantly fomented the quarrels betwixt himself and subjects. In fact, the corruption and rapacity of George's Hanoverian court and ministers were of the most extraordinary kind, and were severely commented on in England. Mr. secretary Craggs, in a letter, draws the most revolting picture of the domineering spirit and selfishness of George's favourite minister, Bernsdorf, and of all the Germans at the English court. He says the sales of offices were of the most scandalous nature, and threw the utmost discredit on the king's service. Everything was set to sale in church and state, by land and sea; and that, provided a man had money, he might buy anything of the favorites and mistresses, however sacred or important. Lord Chesterfield ironically remarked, according to Horace Walpole, that "if we had a mind effectually to prevent the pretender ever obtaining this crown, we should make him elector of Hanover, for the people of England would never fetch another king thence."

George arrived in England from his German states on the 11th of November of the preceding year, 1719, and opened parliament on the 23rd. He laid sufficient stress on the success of his government in promoting the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia by Spain, in protecting Sweden, and laying the foundation of a union amongst the great protestant powers of Europe. He then recurred to the subject of the bill for limiting the peerage, which had been rejected in the previous session. George was animated by the vehement desire to curtail the prerogative of his son, and declared that the bill was necessary to secure that part of the constitution which was most liable to abuse. Lord Cowper declared, on the other hand, that besides the reasons which had induced him to oppose the measure before, another was now added in the earnestness with which it was recommended. But Cowper was not supported with any zeal by the rest of the house, and the bill passed on the 30th of November, and was sent down to the house of commons on the 1st of December. There it was destined to meet with a very different reception. During the recess Walpole had endeavoured to rouse a resistance to it in both houses. He had obtained a meeting of the opposition whigs at Devonshire House, and called upon them to oppose the measure; but he found that some of the whig peers were favourable to it, from the perception that it would increase the importance of their order; others declared that it would be inconsistent in them to oppose a principle which they had so strenuously maintained against a tory ministry—that of discountenancing the sudden creation of peers for party purposes; and others, though hostile to the bill, declared that they should only expose themselves to defeat by resisting it. But Walpole persisted in his opposition, and declared that, if his party deserted him, he would contend against the bill single-handed. He asserted that it would meet with strong resistance from the country gentlemen who hoped some time or other to reach the peerage—a hope which the bill, if carried, would extinguish for ever.

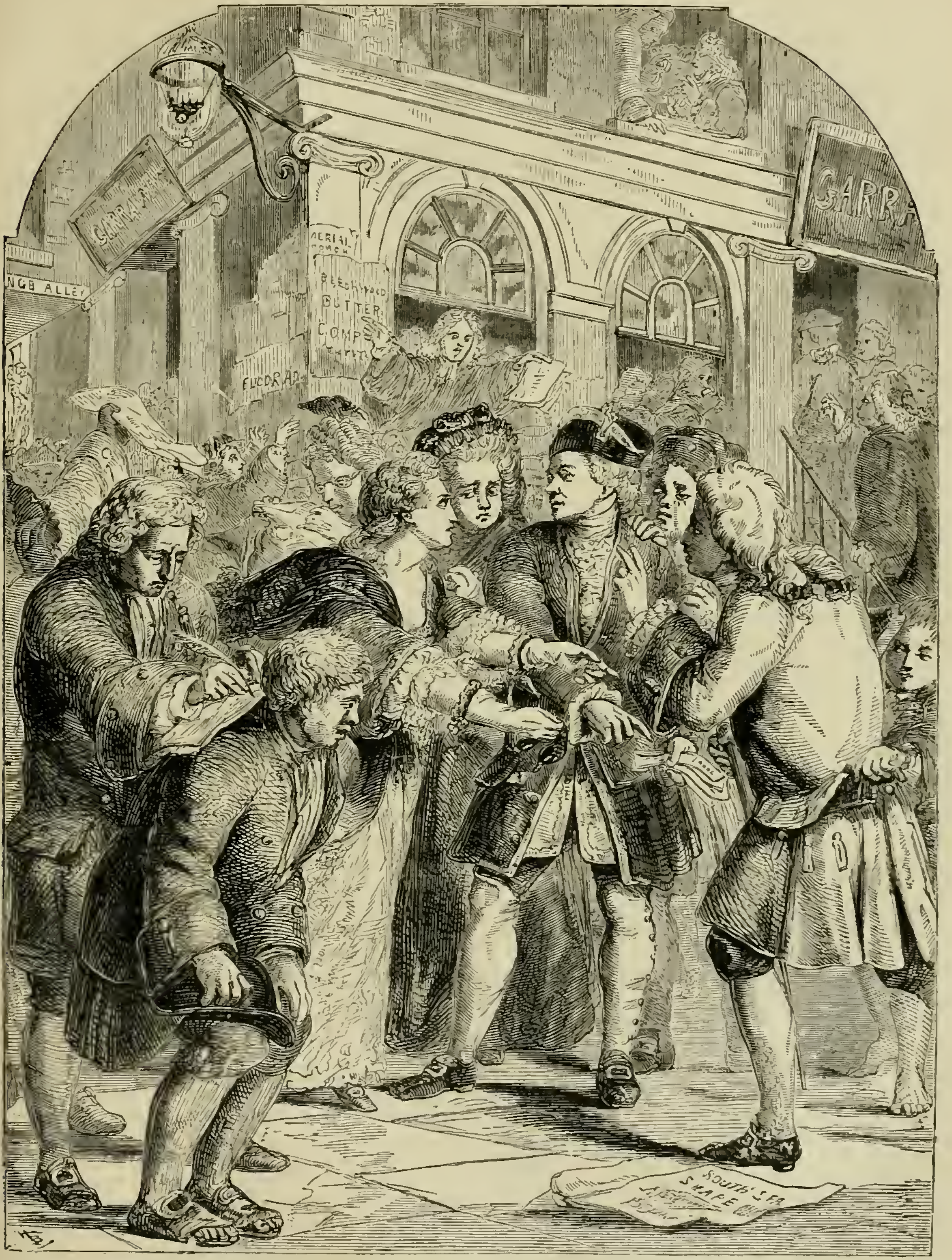
By these endeavours Walpole managed to array a considerable body of the commons against it. It was introduced on the 8th of December, and Sir John Packington, Sir Richard Steele, Smith, Methuen, and others joined him in attacking it. Steele made a very powerful speech against it, but the grand assault was that of Walpole. He put out all his strength, and delivered an harangue such as he had never achieved till that day. He did not spare the motives of the king, though handling them with much tact, and was unsparingly severe on the Scotch clauses, and on the notorious subserviency of the Scotch representative peers. He declared that the sixteen elective Scotch peers were already a dead weight on the country; and he asked what they would be when made twenty-five, and hereditary? He declared that such a bill would make the lords masters of the king, and shut up the door of honour to the rest of the nation. Amongst the Romans, he said, the way to the Temple of Fame was through the temple of Virtue; but if this bill passed, this would never be the case in this country. There would be no arriving at honours but through the winding-sheet of an old, decrepit lord, or the tomb of an extinct noble family. Craggs, Lechmere, Aislabie, Hampton, and other ministerial whigs supported the bill; but, in the words of Speaker Onslow, the declamation of Walpole had borne down everything before it, and the measure was defeated by a majority of two hundred and sixty-nine to one hundred and seventy-seven.

In our time this defeat would, as a matter of course, have turned out the ministry, but in that day it had no such effect. They continued to hold office, and to command undiminished majorities on other questions. Still more singular was its effect, for it induced them to offer office to their triumphant opponent Walpole, who not only accepted a subordinate post amongst them—the paymaster of the forces—but consented to support the very clauses regarding the Scotch peers which he had so firmly denounced, should they be inclined to bring forward the bill a third time—a sufficient proof, if any were wanting, that Walpole did not expect to make his way through the temple of virtue, but through the easy abandonment of any principle which lay in the way of his ambition.

The spring of 1720 was a period of remarkable national prosperity. By the able management of Stanhope, all the schemes of Alberoni were defeated, and that minister driven from Spain. The Spaniards were driven from Sicily, the regent of France was confirmed in his power, Holland and Austria were brought again into alliance with us, and the hostility of the Prussians, Danes, and Poles allayed. The czar still held aloof from treaty, but his alliances were weakened, and the attempts of the pretender were rendered nugatory. At home he had strengthened his ministry by the accession of Walpole, Townshend, and Methuen. By the mediation of Walpole, a reconciliation betwixt the king and prince of Wales was effected, and the hopes of the Jacobites proportionably reduced. Bishop Atterbury, the most industrious and steadfast of Jacobites, wrote to the pretender to express his alarm at the aspect of affairs; that though the seeming reconciliation was far from sincere, there was a probability that time would make it so; that the common necessity of affairs would drive these new allies into measures of mutual interest, and the grand money schemes projected of late, would settle and fix them in such a manner, that it would not be easy to shake them. Under the flattering influence of these auspicious appearances, George departed for Hanover on the 14th of June, attended by Stanhope, and adding before his departure lord Townshend and the duke of Devonshire to the council of regency.

But "the grand money schemes projected of late," which appeared to Atterbury and others calculated to cement the royal peace and strengthen the foundation of the government and nation, were destined to produce a very different effect. They were pregnant with the most unparalleled delusions and ruin. The whole public were smiling in the most golden hopes on the bosom of a volcano. One John Law, a Scotchman, had a few years previous broached a grand scheme for paying off the national debt. It had not taken in England, and he proceeded to France to try to introduce it there. He established a bank in Paris, which became successful, and he there unfolded his ulterior views. These were to embody the public debt as stock in an "Indian Company," which, by being endowed with the exclusive privilege of trading to the Mississippi, was to make enormous profits, and by this means to speedily liquidate the debt. This project gradually seized on the public imagination, and in December, 1719, had grown into a popular mania. The "actions" or shares, or as we should now call it, the scrip of the new company, sold for more than twenty times their real value. The Rue Quincampoix was the place where this scrip was sold, and it became thronged all day like a fair. The smallest room in the street let for incredible sums, the clerks could not register fast enough the purchase of stocks, and a little hunchback was said to have made fifty thousand francs by letting out his back for a desk! The arrogance of Law, the grand adventurer, became prodigious. Voltaire says that he had seen him at court followed humbly by dukes, marshals, and bishops; and even Dubois, the prime minister, and Orleans, the regent, were treated with the utmost freedom by him. He attempted to mortify the English, by saying that there was but one great kingdom in Europe and one great town, and these were France and Paris. His haughtiness had the effect of rousing the resentment of lord Stair, who had so long and brilliantly conducted our diplomatic business at the French capital; and the feud betwixt him and Law became so violent, that Stanhope was compelled to make a visit to Paris on that account, and when there, to displace Stair and send Sir Robert Sutton in his stead. The success of this adventurer deprived England of the eminent services of Stair for twenty years.

So far as the French government was concerned, the scheme of Law answered very well, for it contrived to throw


GARRA
NGB ALLEY
AERIAL TORCH
BEECHWOOD BUTTER COMP
ELDORAD
GARRA
SOUTH SEA

CHANGE ALLEY DURING THE PHRENZY OF THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE.

fifteen millions of debt from its own shoulders to those of Law; but the public had to pay for it. Before the end of 1720 the bubble had burst—several arbitrary decrees of the government had in vain been issued to bolster it up, and Law flew for his life out of the kingdom. Unfortunately, the contagion of speculation originating in Law's French experiment had taken deep hold in this country before this explosion occurred. In 1711, Harley, being at his wit's end to maintain the public credit, established a fund to provide for the national debt, which amounted to ten millions of pounds. To defray the interest he made permanent the duties on wine, vinegar, and tobacco, &c. To induce the purchase of the government stock, he gave to the shareholders the exclusive privilege of trading to the Spanish settlements in South America, and procured them an act of parliament and a royal charter, under the name of the South Sea Company. The idea, hollow and groundless as it was, seized on the imagination of the most staid and experienced traders. All the dreams of boundless gold which haunted the heads of the followers of Drake and Raleigh were revived. The mania spread through the nation, and was industriously encouraged by the partisans of Harley. But this stupendous dream of wealth was based on the promises of ministers, who at the peace of Utrecht were to secure from the government of Spain this right to trade to its colonies. The right was never granted by that haughty and jealous power, further than for the settlement of some few factories, and the sending of one small ship annually of less than five hundred tons. This, and the shameful Assiento, or privilege of supplying those colonies with African slaves, were the sole advantages obtained, and these were soon disturbed by the war with Spain, which broke out under Alberoni. The South Sea Company, however, from its general resources, remained a flourishing corporation, and was deemed the rival of the Bank of England.

It was at the close of 1719, when George I. returned from Hanover, that this company, inspired by the apparent success of Law's project in France, proposed to ministers to consolidate all the funds into one. It was strange that both ministers and merchants could be deluded by the hope of enriching themselves by a share of the trade with the Spanish South American provinces, when Spain herself, in full enjoyment of them, was sunk into indigence and weakness, and presented the most determined resistance to the unfettered intercourse of any other nation with them. Yet Sir John Blunt, a leading director of the South Sea Company, persuaded the ministers that by granting the company power to deal with the public funds, and especially to buy up the unredeemable annuities which had been granted in the last two reigns, chiefly on terms of ninety-nine years, and which now amounted to about eight hundred thousand pounds a year, they could, in twenty-six years, pay off the entire national debt. But to enable them to do this, they must be empowered to reduce all the different public securities to one aggregate fund in their hands, to convert both redeemable and unredeemable debts into stock by such arrangements as they could make with the holders, and to have certain commercial privileges invested in them. Ministers accepted the proposals with great alacrity. Aislabie introduced the scheme to parliament in the month of February of the present year, declaring that, if it was accepted by the house, the prosperity of the nation would be amazingly enhanced, and all its debts liquidated in a very few years. Craggs seconded the proposal in most sanguine terms, expressing his conviction that every member of the house must be ready to adopt so advantageous an offer. Ministers had already closed with the proposals of the company, and they were themselves greatly disconcerted by the suggestion of Mr. Thomas Broderick, the member for Stockbridge, who expressed his entire accordance with ministers, but thought that the nation should endeavour to obtain the best terms for itself by opening the competition of every other company or association of men as well as that in question. Ministers were confounded by this proposal, and Aislabie endeavoured to get out of it by declaring that to do this would be like putting the nation up to auction, and that such things should be done with spirit. But Jekyll interposed, saying it was this spirit which had ruined the nation, and it was now requisite to consider seriously what was best for the public. A violent debate ensued, in which Walpole eloquently recommended open competition, and was sharply replied to by Lechmere. Walpole rejoined as warmly, and Lechmere was about to return to the charge, for the house was in committee, but the noise was become awful. The chairman called out, "Hear your member!" but nearly the whole house cried out, "We have heard him long enough!" The question was carried in favour of competition; and then the Bank of England, which before had coolly declined to enter into the proposals, suddenly appeared in a new temper, and made liberal offers for the privilege of thus farming the public debts. But the South Sea Company was not to be outdone; it offered seven millions and a half, and the Bank gave way in despair. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed that the rival companies should share the advantages of this scheme between them; but Sir John Blunt, making use of Solomon's words, said, "No, sir, we will never divide the child." The Scripture-quoting knight and his company retained the whole engagement. Walpole, however, continued to oppose the South Sea Bill in the commons, declaring that the terms were too extravagant ever to be fulfilled; that the experiment could result in nothing but a fearful increase of the costs of stock-jobbing, and final confusion and ruin. He insisted that, before the proposals of the company were accepted, the rise of their stock should be limited, and every means taken to prevent the fever of infatuation that would ensue from the promise of dividends out of funds which could never be realised. He proposed for this purpose the introduction of a clause, fixing the number of years' purchase to be granted to the annuitants of the South Sea Company; but to this it was objected that it was the interest of the company to take up the annuities; and, as the annuitants had the power of coming in or not, as they pleased, the company would, of course, offer advantageous terms, and, therefore, the whole affair might be safely left to private adjustment. Aislabie added that the South Sea Company would not submit to be controlled in an undertaking they were to pay so dear for.

On the 2nd of April the South Sea Bill was passed by a division of one hundred and seventy-two against fifty-five, and two days afterwards it passed the lords, but with a minority of only seventeen. Such was the estimation of this bill by the peers, although lord Cowper, in the debate, described it as resembling the project of the Trojan horse—ushered in with great pomp and acclamation, but contrived for treachery and destruction. Such, too, was the infatuation of stock-holders, that, although Cowper had declared that "the main public intention of the bill, the re-purchase of annuities, would meet with insuperable difficulties," no sooner was the bill carried than numbers of these annuitants hurried to the South Sea House to dispose of their claims before they had received any offer, or knew what terms would be allowed them. When the offer was made of eight years and a half's purchase, it was much less than the excited annuitants had calculated on; but still, within six days, nearly two-thirds of the whole number had accepted it. When the royal assent was given to the bill, the funds rose immediately from one hundred to above three hundred.

The king, as we have said, set out for Hanover on the 14th of June, and Walpole, now become one of the ministry, retired to his seat at Hampton. But he was not long there before he was disturbed by the reports of the mania already raging to such an extent as to justify his worst prognostics.

The South Sea Company had immediately on the passing of the bill proposed a subscription of one million, and this was so eagerly seized on that, instead of one, two millions were subscribed. To stimulate this already too feverish spirit in the public, the company adopted the most false and unjustifiable means. They had eight millions and a half to pay over to government as a *douceur* for granting them the management of the funds; and, therefore, to bring this in rapidly, they propagated the most lying rumours. It was industriously circulated that lord Stanhope had received overtures at Paris to exchange Gibraltar and Port Mahon for invaluable gold lands in Peru! The South Sea trade was vaunted as a source of boundless wealth in itself. In August the stocks had risen from the one hundred and thirty of the last winter to one thousand! Men sold houses and land to become shareholders; merchants of eminence neglected their affairs and crippled their resources to reap imaginary profits. The company flattered the delusion to the utmost. They opened a third, and even a fourth subscription, larger than the former, and passed a resolution that from next Christmas their yearly dividend should not be less than fifty per cent.! In labouring to increase the public delusion they seem to have caught the contagion themselves, for they began to act, not like men who were blowing a bubble which they knew must speedily burst, but like persons who had mounted permanently into the very highest seat of prosperous power. They assumed the most arrogant and overbearing manner, even towards men of the highest station and influence. "We have made them kings," said a member of parliament, "and they deal with everybody as such."

The spirit of gambling thus set going by government itself, soon surpassed all bounds, and burst forth in a thousand shapes. It was well known that the king, his mistresses, his courtiers, his son and heir-apparent, were all dabbling busily in the muddy waters of this huge pool of trickery and corruption. A thousand other schemes were invented and made public to draw in fresh gudgeons, and the prince of Wales allowed his name to stand as governor of a Welsh Copper Company. Walpole and the speaker of the house of commons earnestly entreated him to withdraw it, or that "The Prince of Wales' Bubble" would be cried in 'Change Alley, and he would be attacked in parliament. It was not, however, till the company was threatened with prosecution and exposed to loss that his royal highness withdrew his name, with a profit of forty thousand pounds.

The prince's example, however, had been extensively followed by the aristocracy. All sorts of bubble schemes were announced, with nobles as their patrons. The duke of Chandos headed one, the earl of Westmoreland another. 'Change Alley now became the *fac-simile* of the Rue Quincampoix; like it, the throng of purchasers of stock in these different companies became so great, that it was occupied with tables out of doors as well as within, at which busy clerks were taking the orders of the speculators. All ranks and classes rushed thither—dukes, lords, country squires, bishops, clergy, both established and dissenting, were mixed up with stockjobbers and brokers in eager traffic. Ladies of all ranks mingled in the throng, struggling through the press and straining their voices to be heard amid the hubbub. No foreigner, says lord Mahon, could then have charged the English with taciturnity. There, and all over the kingdom, were advertised and hawked about the following and other schemes:—"Wrecks to be fished for on the Irish coast; insurances of horses and other cattle (two millions); insurances of losses by servants; to make salt water fresh; for building of hospitals for bastard children; for building of ships against pirates; for making of oil from sun-flower seeds; for improving of malt liquors; for recovering of seamen's wages; for extracting of silver from lead; for the transmuting of quicksilver into a malleable and fine metal; for making of iron with pitcoal; for importing a number of large jackasses from Spain; for trading in human hair; for fatting of hogs; for a wheel for perpetual motion; and finally, for an undertaking which shall in due time be revealed." Such was the height to which the mania had now risen, that one thousand shares of two guineas each were subscribed in the first morning for this nameless project, with which the wag of a projector decamped in the afternoon; as it would seem, rather unnecessarily, for the strength of the delusion might probably have extended to the pocketing of many thousands. A prospectus which was circulated in ridicule of these mad schemes—namely, "For the invention of melting down sawdust and chips, and casting them into clean deal boards without cracks or flaws"—appears not a whit more extravagant than the rest, and would no doubt have obtained subscriptions, if seriously attempted. The railway mania of our own time leaves us little room to laugh at our ancestors on this occasion.

The South Sea Company, with a folly of which extreme greed only is capable, endeavoured to put down these rival bubbles, and obtained an order from the lords justices and writs of *scire facias* against several of these new bubbles. It was like raising a wind to blow away the bubbles, forgetting that their own was a bubble too, and would go with them. The moment that the people began to distrust one they distrusted all. The panic became as great as the mania had been. The South Sea stock dropped in less than a month from one thousand to below six hundred. There was a simultaneous rush to sell out, and the shares must have sunk instantly to nihil, but for the gigantic exertions of the company to raise money and buy in. The relief, however, was but temporary. The bankers and pawnbrokers who had advanced money on scrip broke and fled; merchants, goldsmiths, and speculators rushed away after them. Walpole was summoned in haste from Haughton, to devise some means of staying the panic. He endeavoured to get the Bank of England to circulate three millions of South Sea bonds for a year; but the bank, seeing that the case was desperate, declined it. That was decisive, and to make the ruin complete in all its parts, at that moment came the news that Law, the author of the scheme, was flying for his life from France, and the whole of his dupes in that country were reduced to beggary. If the whole country had not been bewitched by the passion for enormous gains, the symptoms which had been exhibiting themselves for some time in France, would have prepared them for the catastrophe. Probably many about the court did observe these symptoms, for, as we shall find, they took care to save themselves—Walpole amongst the number, who, though he saw through the farce, availed himself of it to make a large profit, so long as speculation was safe. But beyond the few exceptions, one vast ruin fell on the public. The rage and despair of the swarming dupes were indescribable. They heaped execrations not only on the South Sea Company, but on ministers, the king, his mistresses, and the royal family, who had all been deep in the affair, and who had taken good care of themselves. Walpole, as we have said, had benefited greatly; but then he had never approved of nor applauded the scheme. It was said that lords Stanhope and Townshend, and the dukes of Roxburgh and Argyll, were almost the only nobles or ministers who "had not been in the stocks!" Sunderland was a heavy loser; the duke of Portland and lords Lonsdale and Irwin were so reduced as to solicit West Indian governments. The principal people who had gained were the king and his ugly and fat and lean mistresses, who had made enormous gains by the vilest means, and sent them off to Hanover to be there invested. George and these female harpies were still in that country, but his majesty was entreated by ministers to hasten over to England to support by his presence the necessary measures for rescuing the nation from its distress. He accordingly landed at Margate on the 9th of November, soon after which the South Sea stock fell to one hundred and thirty-five.

On the 8th of December parliament met, and Walpole propounded his plan for maintaining the public credit, which was to engraft nine millions of the public stock into the Bank of England, the same quantity with the East India Company, on certain conditions, leaving twenty over millions to the South Sea. The advantages of this scheme, the simple one of government redeeming its own undoubted debts, and giving the holders their original securities, it is difficult at this time to perceive. The plan was, however, adopted by both houses, but never carried into execution, another law, as will be seen, superseding it. Nor could the security offered by Walpole's scheme prevent the opposition from falling with all its fury on this monstrous business. Tories, Jacobites, and disappointed whigs all united in an attack upon it. Shippen moved an amendment on the address from the commons to the king, implying a severe censure on ministers and all concerned in it. A violent debate ensued, during which lord Molesworth declared that he would have the directors of the company treated as the Romans treated parricides—he would have them sewn up in sacks and flung into the Thames.

Shippen's amendment, by the influence of Walpole, was rejected by two hundred and sixty-one against one hundred and three; but the next day the storm broke out with increased fury, and a clause was carried, demanding "the punishment of the authors of the present misfortunes." Three days afterwards it was also carried that the directors should forthwith lay before the house an account of all their proceedings, and a bill was introduced "to prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing."

The intervening Christmas recess had no influence in abating the spirit of vengeance against the company. Sir Joseph Jekyll brought in a bill to restrain the directors from leaving the kingdom, obliging them to deliver in upon oath a short account of the value of their estates, and offering rewards to discoverers and informers against them. The directors petitioned the house to be allowed to be heard by counsel in their defence, but this right of every British subject was denied them, and after a violent debate the bill was carried through both houses. A secret committee of inquiry was appointed to draw forth all the arcana of the subject, and the most violent enemies of the company, such as Jekyll, Molesworth, and Broderick, were put upon it. Broderick was made chairman.

This committee commenced its labours by examining Mr. Knight, the cashier of the company, and agent of its most secret proceedings. Knight could not stand more than one examination, but escaped to France, carrying with him the register of the company, called the "green book." On this discovery the house was thrown into the most violent excitement. The doors were ordered to be locked, and the keys to be laid on the table. General Ross, one of the secret committee, declared that they "had discovered a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation." Without requiring any other proof than this assertion, four of the directors, who were members of the house, were immediately expelled, their papers seized, and themselves taken into custody. Other directors and their papers were seized soon afterwards.

In the house of lords on the 24th of January, 1721, five other directors who had been called before them were arrested and their papers seized. By what had been drawn from them, it appeared that large sums had been given to people in high places to procure the passing of the South Sea Bill. Lord Stanhope rose and expressed his indignation at such practices, and moved that any transfer of stock for the use of any person in the administration without a proper consideration was a notorious and dangerous corruption. The motion was seconded by lord Townshend, and carried unanimously. The examination being continued on the 4th of February, Sir John Blunt refused to answer their lordships, on the plea that he had already given his evidence before the secret committee. A vehement debate arose out of this difficulty, during which the duke of Wharton, a most profligate young nobleman, and president of the "Hell-fire Club," made a fierce attack on Stanhope, accused him of fomenting the dissensions betwixt the king and his son, and compared him to Sejanus, who had sown animosities in the family of Tiberius, and rendered his reign hateful to the Romans. Stanhope, in replying to this philippic, was so transported by his rage, that the blood gushed from his nostrils. He was carried from the house, and soon afterwards expired. Thus one of the wickedest men whom the nation had ever produced actually killed one of the best and ablest ministers which it ever possessed. The ability and integrity of Stanhope had rescued the country from many foreign complications, and his integrity and disinterestedness stood forth conspicuously amid the corruptions of this great South Sea mania. Wharton, having by this unprincipled onslaught deprived the country of one of its most valuable lives, returned to his debaucheries, which involved him in treason and attainder, and curtailed his own worthless existence.

Lord Townshend succeeded as secretary of state to Stanhope. Aislabie, who had been deep in the iniquities of the South Sea affair, was compelled to resign his post as chancellor of the exchequer, to which Walpole succeeded. Meantime the secret committee continued its labours indefatigably. They sate nearly every day from nine in the morning till eleven at night, and on the 16th of February they presented their report to the house. This revealed a scene of the most astounding infamy. The committee, owing to Knight having eloped with the register, and to other books being falsified, and some altogether destroyed, had had many difficulties to contend with; but, through rigorous cross-examination of the directors and accountants, they had managed to make out that, in order to get the South Sea Bill passed, they had made over stock to different influential individuals to the amount of upwards of one million two hundred thousand pounds. Sir John Blunt, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Chester, Mr. Holditch, and Mr. Knight, the cashier, who had eloped, had the disposal of this stock, and they had given to the earl of Sunderland, at the request of Mr. Craggs, senior, fifty thousand pounds; to the duchess of Kendal, ten thousand pounds; to the countess of Platen, another of the king's mistresses, ten thousand pounds; to the two nieces of the countess of Platen, ten thousand pounds; to Mr. Craggs, senior, thirty thousand pounds; to Charles Stanhope, Esq., secretary of the treasury, and a relative of lord Stanhope, ten thousand pounds; to the Swordblade Company, fifty thousand pounds. Still more monstrously Charles Stanhope had received a difference or profit of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds through Sir George Caswal and Company, but that his name had been altered in their books to Stangape; that Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer, had accounts with merchants, as brokers, to the amount of seven hundred and ninety-four thousand four hundred and fifty-one pounds, and that he had advised the company to make their second subscription by their own authority, and without any warrant, a million and a half instead of a million; that, on the third subscription, Aislabie's list amounted to seventy thousand pounds, Sunderland's to a hundred and sixty thousand pounds, Craggs's to six hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds, and Stanhope's to forty-seven thousand pounds; and that, on the pawned stock which had been sold, there was, by the means of Mr. Knight, a deficiency of four hundred thousand pounds.

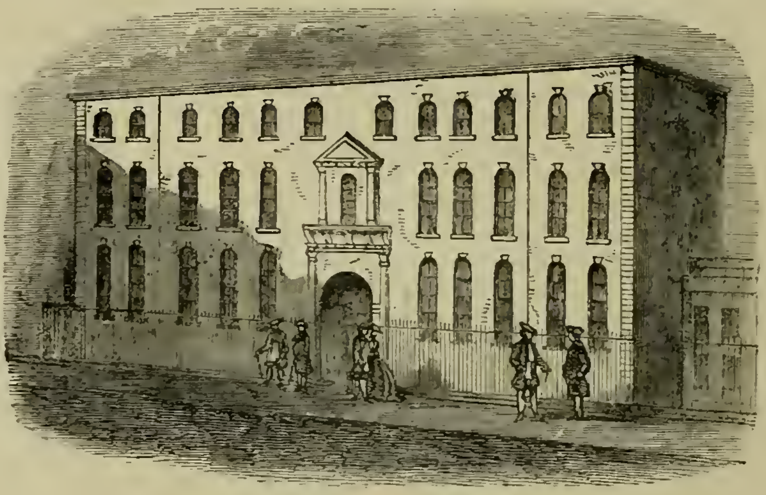
Bad as this was, it was far from reaching the bottom of this sink of iniquity. This report was followed by six others, full of monstrous details, and concluding with that of the absconding of Knight, who had been a depository of the deepest secrets, and often the sole agent in them, so that they were left in the dark as to many transactions. On the very day that this last report was being read in the house died one of the accused, James Craggs, secretary of state. His complaint was small-pox; but the state of mind induced by this exposure is supposed to have rendered the malady fatal. Craggs was considered a man of great business talents, and with a high love of literature and literary men. He was a friend of Pope, and his name remains in the eulogy of Pope's verse. It will always exist, however, equally conspicuous in the history of this transaction as that of one extremely corrupt in principle. His father, who was postmaster-general, was so shamefully involved in the same dishonest proceedings, that he took poison.

Charles Stanhope, whose name had been altered in the company's books, as we have said, to Stangape, escaped on examination in the house by a majority of three, though clearly guilty, but from respect for the memory of his deceased relative, the upright lord Stanhope. Aislabie's case was the next, and was so palpably bad that he was committed to the Tower, and expelled the house, amid the ringing of bells, bonfires, and other signs of rejoicing of the city of London. The bulk of his property, moreover, was seized. This was some compensation to the public, which had murmured loudly at the acquittal of Stanhope. Sunderland's case was the next, and he escaped by the evidence against him being chiefly second-hand, or resting on the word of Sir John Blunt, who now was a man of lost credit. He was acquitted by a majority of two hundred and thirty-three against one hundred and seventy-two. As to the king's mistresses, their sins were passed over out of a too-conceding loyalty; but no favour was shown to the directors, though some of them were found to be much poorer when the scheme broke up than they were when it began. Amongst them was Mr. Gibbon, the grandfather of the historian, who afterwards exposed the injustice of many of these proceedings, though at the time they were considered as only too merited. The directors were disabled from ever again holding any place, or sitting in parliament; and their estates, amounting to upwards of two millions, were confiscated for the relief of the sufferers by the scheme. When some allowance was pleaded for on their behalf out of these large forfeitures, they were jestingly offered twenty pounds, and sometimes a single shilling. One of them, who had, in his elation, talked of feeding his horses on gold, was now told that he might do that himself, for he should have as much gold as he could eat, and no more. But whilst this conduct appears to us inhuman, the public at the time only deemed their treatment too lenient. Petitions were poured in, demanding condign punishment on these "monsters of pride and covetousness;" "these cannibals of 'Change Alley;" "these infamous betrayers of their country." Some treated it as a national grievance that no blood was shed, and demanded that they should all be hanged, and that speedily.

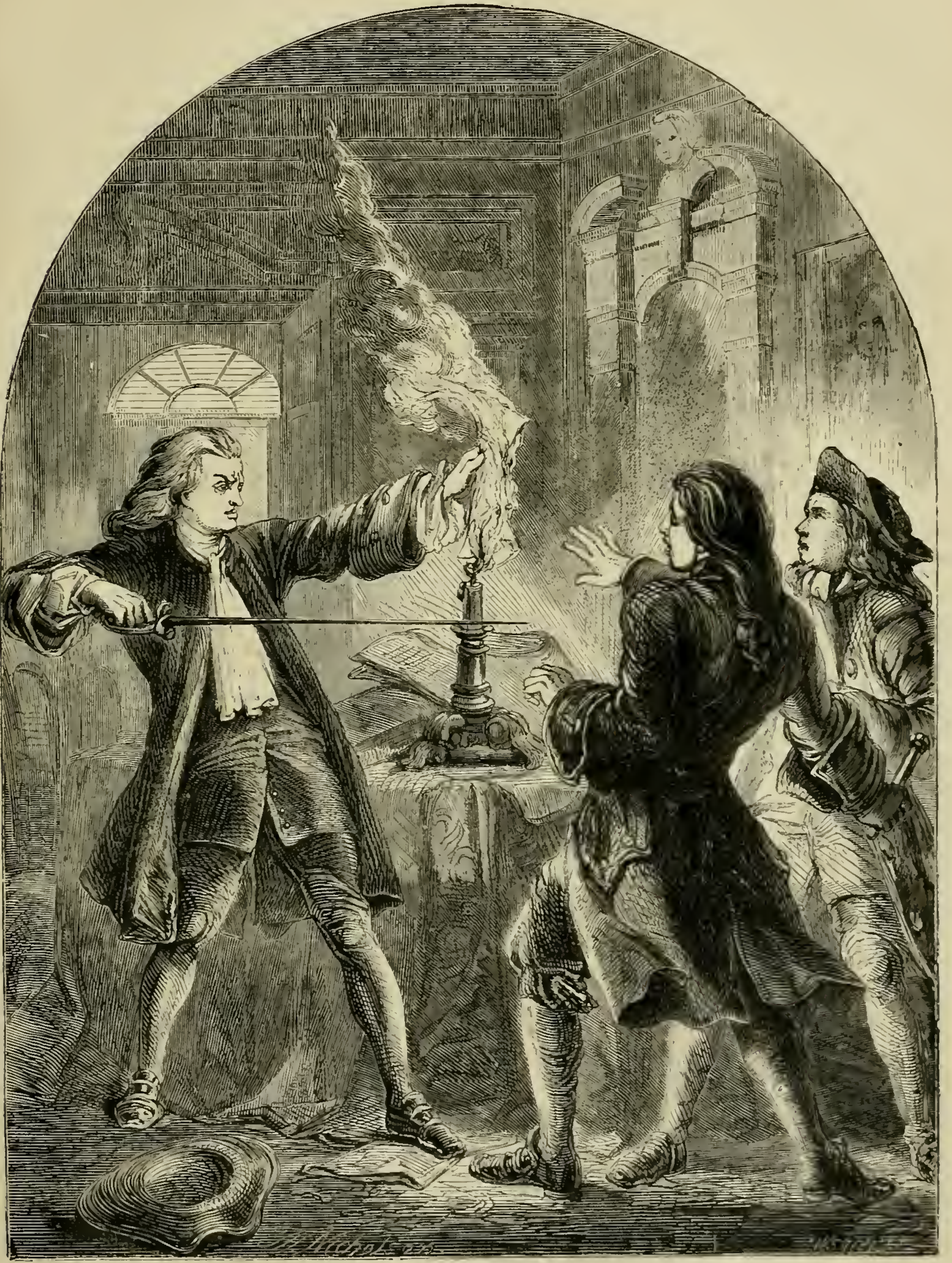
Sunderland, who in reality is represented to have lost a very heavy sum by the bubble, was compelled by public opinion to resign his position as premier and first lord of the treasury, in which he was succeeded by Walpole. He still, however, continued a favourite with the king, and to his influence it was attributed that lord Cadogan was placed at the head of the army, and lord Carteret succeeded to secretary Craggs.

Amid the general discontent, the house of commons was careful in voting the supplies to avoid anything like extravagance; yet amid this caution the court made a demand of seventy-two thousand pounds as a subsidy to Sweden. This was received with a very ill grace, being palpably one more item in the list of expenses and troubles which the Hanoverian affairs of the king had involved us in. Lord Molesworth opposed it at great length, contending that we were wasting money that would never be repaid by our trade in the Baltic, where at the present time hemp seemed almost the only commodity from that quarter needed. This was merely a play upon the idea that the authors and abettors of the South Sea bubble were many, and ought to be hanged. The subsidy was granted.

In addition to the deaths of Stanhope and Craggs followed that of the earl of Sunderland, who departed on the 19th of April. Notwithstanding his having a tendency to enrich himself at the country's cost—a pretty common failing of ministers—Sunderland appears to have been a blunt, outspoken, but able and straightforward minister. By the deaths of these leading men, Walpole was left entirely in the ascendant. He received his commission of first lord of the treasury on the 2nd of April, and from this period down to 1742, he continued to direct the government of this country. His great concern was now to restore the public credit. He drew up, as chairman of the committee of the commons, a report of all that had been lost in the late excitements, and the measures adopted to remedy the costs incurred. Amongst these were the resolutions of the house by which the seven and a half millions which the directors of the South Sea Company had agreed to pay to government; more than five had been remitted, and we may add that on the clamorous complaints of the company, the remainder was afterwards remitted too. The forfeited estates had been made to clear off a large amount of incumbrance, the credit of the company's bonds had been maintained, and thirty-three per cent. of the capital paid to the proprietors. Such were the measures adopted by the commons, and these being stated in the report to the king, a bill was brought in embodying them all. Many of the proprietors, however, were not satisfied. They were very willing to forget their own folly and greediness, and charge the blame on the government. On the second reading of Walpole's bill, they thronged the lobby of the house of commons, tumultuously calling on the members as they passed, and presented papers both written and printed, saying, "Do justice to the annuitants, who lent their money on parliamentary security." The tumult was so great, that the justices of peace for Westminster and the constables were sent for before the house proceeded to business. Sir John Ward presented a petition from the proprietors of the redeemable fund, praying to be heard by counsel or in their own person. Walpole, however, put and carried a motion for adjournment, and the riot in the lobby and about the house becoming only the more determined, the riot act was read, and the most noisy of the crowd arrested, who cried out, "You first pick our pockets, and then send us to gaol for complaining." The next day the bill was carried, and gradually produced quiet; but Walpole himself did not escape without severe animadversions. He was accused of having framed his measures in collusion with the bank,



SOUTH SEA HOUSE, LONDON.



KELLY, THE NON-JURING CLERGYMAN, DESTROYING THE TREASONABLE PAPERS.

and with a clear eye to his own interest; but he had been as strenuously vindicated from the charge, and on the whole the vigour and boldness with which he encountered the storm and quelled it, deserve the highest praise, and may well cover a certain amount of self-interest, from which few ministers are free.

This difficult business being arranged, parliament was prorogued, the king, in his parting speech, telling the country that he had taken measures to relieve the sufferers by the South Sea scheme, and to punish the guilty; but the nation did not close its eyes to the fact that this punishment did not reach the king's German mistresses, nor others of the court who had been amongst the most flagrantly culpable of all.

On the 16th of June of this year died at Windsor Lodge, by his seventy-second year, the great warrior of this age—the duke of Marlborough. Having been attacked with paralysis in 1716, he had lived for six years in a state of retirement. He died enormously rich, and was honoured by a very splendid funeral in Westminster Abbey, though his remains were, after a time, removed thence to the palace of Blenheim, and laid in a grand mausoleum there. His duchess survived him two-and-twenty years. The character of Marlborough has been sufficiently traced in the preceding pages. If he was remarkable for many meannesses as it regarded money and political double dealing, he was still more remarkable for his military talents, no English general since our Henries and Edwards having spread over the world so widely and proudly the martial glory of England.

The discontents occasioned by the South Sea scheme and its issue, had caused the Jacobites to conceive fresh hopes of success, and their spirits were still more elevated by the birth of a son to the pretender. This child, named Charles Edward Louis Casimir, destined to be the hero of 1745, but never the king of England, was born at Rome at the end of the year 1720. Bishop Atterbury declared it to be the most acceptable news which could reach the ears of a good Englishman. Lord Oxford had been consulted as to the number and dignity of the persons who should be invited to be witnesses on the occasion; and the Jacobites were actually led to believe that a star appeared in the heavens at the happy moment of the birth of this prince without a kingdom. The pretender and his titular queen of England were assured by lord Lansdowne that there were great rejoicings on Lord Mayor's day, for that dignitary being named Stuart, the people took the occasion to express their real predisposition, and cried amain, "A Stuart! a Stuart! High Church and Stuart!"

To increase the supposed Stuart tendency amongst the populace, every opportunity was used to ridicule the ugliness of the king's German mistresses, and the king's own awkwardness. "Mist's Journal," of May 21, 1721, declared that this country was governed by trulls, and not only so, but by very ugly old trulls. For this the publisher was fined and imprisoned by the commons, but the journal was continued under the name of "Fogg's Journal." The ungainly persons and habits of the English monarch and his favourites were placed in strong contrast with the assumed beauties, graces, and elegancies of the Stuart nominal king and queen, and heir-apparent.

The business of this faction was conducted in England by a junto or council, amongst the chief members of which were the earls of Arran and Orrery, lords North and Gower, and the bishop of Rochester. Lord Oxford had been invited to put himself at the head of this council of five, but everything of a decided nature was out of his character. He continued to correspond with the leaders of the faction, but he declined putting himself too forward. In fact, his habitual irresolution was now doubled by advancing infirmities, and he died two years afterwards. Though several of the junto were men of parliamentary, and North of military experience, Atterbury was the undoubted head of it. He was possessed of a fine person, a commanding eloquence, and great learning, but his ambition was directed to political rather than to ecclesiastical life. He had always been a busy champion of high church, and with all his sense and intelligence, he had that constitution of mind which prevented him perceiving what might have been thought most patent to any reflecting protestant Englishman, that the king and family which he would have introduced would be the certain ruin of the church of which he was a prelate, and of the constitution which gave security not only to his religion but to his civil rights and enjoyments. It was a strange sight to see a man, made what he was by protestantism and its church, continually plotting to bring in a man sworn to popery, and who would accept the British throne only with popery.

Little favourable as the temper of England was to the return of such a prince, the continent now offered scarcely a chance of foreign support. So long as France and Spain were at war with England, there were strong motives for their assisting an expedition to disturb it, and to drive out a protestant government. But now that both France and Spain were at peace with Britain, what prospect was there of any aid? Still this blind faction could not perceive this, and was as busy as ever plotting to obtain an armament from one of these countries, headed by the duke of Ormonde. That nobleman was intriguing for this in Spain, and general Dillon, an Irishman, who had taken service in France after the capitulation of Limerick, was the agent there. On this side Atterbury encouraged the insane hope of seizing the Tower, the Bank, the Exchequer, and other places where money was deposited, and proclaiming the pretender simultaneously in various parts of the kingdom. The period of confusion created by the South Sea agitation was first pitched on, then that of the general election, which had taken place in March; and finally, it was deferred till the king should have gone to Hanover, according to his custom, in the summer.

In preparation for this movement, James, the pretender, was to sail secretly to Spain, in readiness to cross to England; and he had already quitted his house in Rome, and removed to a villa, the more unobserved to steal away at the appointed moment. Ormonde, also, had left Madrid, and gone to a country seat half way to Bilboa, when the secret of the impending expedition was suddenly revealed by the French government to that of England. The conspirators had been mad enough to apply to the regent for five thousand troops, trusting that, notwithstanding his peaceful relations with this country, he would secretly enjoy creating it some embarrassment. But in this, as in all other views, they proved more sanguine than profound. Sir Luke Scraub, the English ambassador, was immediately informed of it, on condition, it was said, that no one should die for it.

Walpole was instantly on the alert on this startling discovery. He prevailed on the king to put off his journey to Germany. Troops were drawn round London, and a camp formed in Hyde Park. The king took up his residence at Kensington, in the very midst of the soldiers, and the prince of Wales retired to Richmond. General Macartney was dispatched for still more troops from Ireland; some suspected persons were arrested in Scotland; the states of Holland were solicited to have ships and soldiers in readiness; an order was obtained from the court of Madrid to forbid the embarkation of Ormonde; and general Churchill was dispatched to Paris to make all secure with the regent. This would have been ample preparation for the security of the country; but Walpole did not mean to stop short of the utter extirpation of the concealed mischief. All conceivable means of obtaining information of its fomentors and ramifications were set in motion. The letters of the conspirators were seized in the post, and, in order to throw the government on a wrong scent, the Jacobites wrote letters with assumed names and false news—but to little purpose; Walpole had already the names of the principal conspirators, and warrants were in prompt preparation for their arrest.

On the 21st of May Kelly, a nonjuring clergyman, was seized by two messengers at his lodgings in Bury Street. They came upon him by surprise, secured his sword and papers, which they foolishly laid in a window whilst they made further search. Kelly, who had twice their wit and courage, instantly recovered his sword and papers, and, threatening to run any one through who approached him, he burnt his papers in a candle with his left hand, whilst he held his drawn sword in his right. Having consumed the papers, he quietly surrendered himself. Neynoe, an Irish catholic priest, before the officers could force his house, tied together the blankets and sheets, and let himself down on a garden wall overlooking the Thames, whence he leaped into the water, but, not being able to swim, he was drowned. Layer, a young barrister of the Temple, also attempted escape, but unsuccessfully. Carte, the celebrated Jacobite historian, had secured his retreat in good time to France. Plunket, an Irish Jesuit, was seized with his papers. No sooner had lord North learned the arrest of Layer, the Templar, than he fled, for he had been in close correspondence with him. He reached the Isle of Wight, but was discovered and brought back. Lord Orrery and the duke of Norfolk, undoubtedly amongst the principal conspirators, were arrested and sent to the Tower; but they were soon released again, either because the evidence against them was insufficient, or that the government did not wish to convict them. It would seem, too, as if there was a desire to pass over Atterbury as well, for the warrant against him was not issued till the 24th of August, when he was arrested at the deanery at Bromley, in Kent. A very trivial circumstance tended to complete the evidence which rendered it necessary to apprehend him. A correspondence was discovered betwixt two individuals bearing the names of Jones and Illington; and through the circumstance of a lapdog of the late Mrs. Atterbury, called "Harlequin," being repeatedly mentioned in the correspondence, it was ascertained that "Illington" or "Jones" was no other than the bishop. When brought before the council, Atterbury refused to say anything, except irreverently using our Saviour's words before the high priest—"If I tell you, you will not believe; and if I also ask you, you will not answer me, nor let me go." He was sent to the Tower.

No sooner was his imprisonment known than the high churchmen raised a terrible outcry. They declared the incarceration of a prelate an outrage upon the church; they protested that the plot was a mere sham, got up for the ruin of a political opponent. The clergy prayed for him in the churches, and a touching print was issued, representing the bishop looking through the bars in his prison, and holding in his hand a portrait of archbishop Laud. It was actively circulated that the bishop was, moreover, very severely treated in the Tower, but this treatment appears to have consisted in a rigid examination of his correspondence, and scrutiny of both persons and even pigeon-pies going to him, for the same purpose. The ferment without and the busy agitation of his partisans were the very cause of these vigilant measures. Whilst these things were in progress, the king and prince were advised to make a progress through the western counties to gain a little popularity there, and so prevent any countenance to rebellion in that quarter.

Parliament opened its first sitting on the 9th of October. The rumour of invasion, of course, gave the tone to the king's speech. He recited the leading facts of the conspiracy, and observed that he should the less wonder at them, had he in any one instance, since his accession to the throne of his ancestors, invaded the liberty or property of his subjects. He very justly described the Jacobites as creating the very evils they complained of. "By forming plots they depreciate all property that is vested in the public funds, and then complain of the low state of credit. They make an increase of the national expenses necessary, and then clamour at the burthen of taxes, and endeavour to impute to my government as grievances, the mischiefs and calamities which they alone occasion."

The very first act was to suspend the *habeas corpus* act for a year, after again placing Mr. Compton in the chair. Mr. Spencer Cowper and Sir Joseph Jekyll opposed its enactment for so unusually long a period; but it was carried by two hundred and forty-six votes against one hundred and ninety-three. The next matter which came under consideration was the declaration of the pretender, issued at Lucca on the 22nd of September. In this absurd proclamation, founded, no doubt, on very false information as to the public feeling in England, it was stated that if George would quietly retire to his proper dominions of Hanover, the title of king of those dominions should be conceded by king James, and that he would solicit all other states to confirm that title, and that, moreover, he would take measures to secure the king of Hanover's succession to the British crown should the direct line chance to fail. This declaration was characterised by both houses as most insolent, and ordered to be burnt by the common hangman; and a joint address was presented to his majesty, declaring the futility of the enemy's designs against a prince supported by a vigorous parliament and an affectionate people.

To punish the catholics and nonjurors, who were all regarded as implicated in this conspiracy, Walpole proposed to raise one hundred thousand pounds by a tax on their estates. Stanhope had proposed other, and undoubtedly wiser, because more conciliatory measures. He had seriously contemplated the removal of the penal laws against the catholics; but this liberal project had been interrupted by the bursting out of the South Sea excitement, and finally quashed by his death. Walpole took a much lower policy; and though the plan was vigorously resisted by Onslow, Jekyll, and their party as worthy only of past and persecuting times, and calculated to make those enemies who were not yet so, the bill was passed by two hundred and seventeen against one hundred and sixty-eight. The direct consequence was to produce a frightful amount of perjury. "I saw a great deal of it," says Onslow, the future speaker, "and it was a strange as well as a ridiculous sight to see people crowding at the quarter sessions to give a testimony of their allegiance to a government, and cursing it at the same time for giving them the trouble of so doing, and for the fright which they were put to by it; and I am satisfied more real disaffection to the king and his family arose from it than from anything which happened in that time."

Some till the Jacobites consulted the pretender how they should act on this occasion; but he seems to have ventured on no explicit advice, and the bulk of both Jacobites and nonjurors hastened to swear, as the least of two evils. They still retained all their own views and feelings, only the more confirmed by the necessity of perjuring themselves on their behalf.

The year 1723 was introduced by the labours of the secret committee busy in sifting the evidences of the plot, and on the 1st of March the report of the commons, drawn up by Pulteney, the chairman of the committee, was introduced and read. Besides making the treason of Atterbury sufficiently clear, a number of other peers had been named in the depositions — the lords Scarsdale, Strafford, Craven, Gower, Bathurst, Bingley, and Cowper. These, and especially Cowper, indignantly repelled the insinuation of disloyalty. Cowper professed his unbounded astonishment at such an aspersion on him, who on so many occasions had given such undoubted proofs of his attachment to the protestant succession. Yet it must be borne in mind that lord Cowper had for some time been acting strongly in opposition to the whig government, and lord Mahon states that he found, amongst the Stuart papers, letters of solicitation addressed to him both by lord Mar and the pretender himself, whilst no replies to these letters promptly and positively declining any adhesion to their views, have been found. It is probable that Cowper, able and clear-headed man as he was, had allowed himself in the hour of his discontent to be tampered with by the enemy, though he might not even have most distantly dreamed of becoming their partisan. Whatever was the state of the case, it ceased, so far as he was concerned, to be of consequence, for he died on the 10th of October. Undoubtedly Cowper was a great lawyer and able statesman, though there would appear something hard in his nature. He was a man eloquent and accomplished rather than of noble and refined feeling; yet amongst the corruption of the times, he stood an object of high distinction and respect for his services.

Layer, the Templar, was convicted, executed at Tyburn, and his head fixed on Temple Bar. Plunket and Kelly were proceeded against by a bill of pains and penalties, and condemned to imprisonment at pleasure, and confiscation of their property. A bill was also brought into the commons by Mr. Younge, afterwards Sir William, to banish Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, without confiscation, and to make it felony to correspond with him without the king's license, adding also that the king should not have power to pardon him without consent of parliament. The bishop, who was well skilled in all parliamentary forms, on receiving this bill, wrote immediately to the speaker of the house, requesting permission to have the assistance of Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Wynne as his counsel, and Mr. Morice as his solicitor, and that they might have free access to him in prison. This being granted, he then applied to the lords, stating that as, by a standing order of the house of January 20th, 1673, no lord might appear by counsel before the commons, he was at a loss how to act, and humbly requested their advice. The lords at once gave him permission to be heard in the commons either by counsel, or in any other manner as best suited him. These ready compliances probably defeated the creation of a grievance, which the cunning bishop was endeavouring to establish; for on the very day on which he was expected to make his defence, he informed the commons that he had concluded to give them no trouble, but to confine his defence to the house of which he had the honour of being a member.

The bill, therefore, passed the commons as a matter of course, without a division, and on the 6th of May the bishop was called to the bar of the lords. The evidence against him was gone through, and that in his defence was then produced. Amongst these was Pope, the poet, who, more accustomed to express himself in his study, cut as poor a figure in the witness-box as he made a bold and assailant one in his own chair. He could only stammer out a few words, and these most remarkable for their blunders. The sum of his evidence was to give Atterbury a good character, describing him as so pleasant and amiable a man in social hours, that he could not conceive him as a political plotter; all of which amounted just to nothing, for the most truculent revolutionists have often been very agreeable fellows in society.

Erasmus Lewis, an old associate and correspondent of Swift and Harley, came forward to prove from his official experience how easily handwriting may be counterfeited, and how delusive such evidence might prove. Still more important than the defence set up by Lewis was that of three witnesses, who appeared to neutralise the depositions of Neynoe taken before his escape and death. One of these, a Mr. Skeene, swore that, having asked Neynoe whether there was in reality a plot, he had replied, "Yes, there were two: one of Mr. Walpole against some great men, and another of his own, which was only to get some eighteen or twenty thousand pounds out of Walpole." Though these witnesses were far from respectable, one of them having been convicted, whipped, and pilloried at Dublin for a treasonable pamphlet, yet Walpole himself deemed it necessary to come forward and contradict them. Atterbury seized on this opportunity to perplex and confound the minister by cross-questioning him; but he did not succeed. Walpole stood the encounter with cool firmness and cleverness of reply. "It was," says Onslow, "a greater trial of wits than scarce ever happened between such combatants—the one fighting for his reputation, the other for his acquittal."

Whatever was the private consciousness of Walpole on the occasion, that of Atterbury could be none of the most assuring. He stood there as a dignitary of the church, who had sworn allegiance to the monarch under whom he lived, and yet had undoubtedly been for many years a most industrious plotter against him. He had lived in long and habitual disregard of his own oath, and in endeavours to bring in a family as hostile to the church itself as to the reigning dynasty. His defence, which he made on the 11th of May, was laboured and eloquent, but the worst of it was that it was one string of falsities. He pretended that the treason attributed to him was perfectly out of the question; that it was unnatural and absurd, because he could have no motive to commit it. "What could tempt me," he asked, "thus to step out of my way? Was it ambition, and a desire of climbing into a higher station in the church? . . . Was money my aim?" He went on to show that one was impossible, the other he despised. "Was it any dislike of the established church?" This, too, he answered in the negative. But whilst he paraded the causes which did not move him, he passed over the real ones which did. That he had done all that was charged on him he very well knew, and the house was perfectly satisfied of this in the evidence, and, therefore, the bill was passed by eighty-three votes against forty-three, and it received the royal assent on the 27th of the month.

Atterbury, who could scarcely expect to escape, received the announcement of his condemnation with apparent composure. His friends were admitted to see him before his departure, and he took an affectionate leave of them. To Pope he presented a Bible, who professed to believe that by such a gift he might have cause to remember the bishop of Rochester in the next world as well as this. The next day, the 18th of June, Atterbury was put on board a man-of-war, and conducted to Calais. As he landed there, he was told that Bolingbroke had received the king's pardon, and was just quitting Calais for England; and the bishop said, with a smile, "Then I am exchanged." If there had wanted any proof of Atterbury's complicity with the pretender, he immediately gave it by throwing himself zealously into his service, and acting as his confidential agent, first at Brussels, and afterwards at Paris; still, however, representing to the public at home that he was living in poverty, bearing his wrongs with resignation, and finding consolation in the sacred pleasures of religion and philosophy.

The pardon of Bolingbroke now granted had been long solicited and under negotiation. Having thrown up the service of the pretender in disgust, it was not in the nature of this proud and restless man to remain long in inaction. He soon began to renew his attempts to recover his standing in England. He made the most solemn professions of attachment to the new dynasty, of repentance of his folly in supporting the claims of the worthless and ungrateful pretender. He declared that he would serve George, the Hanoverian dynasty, and his country, with zeal and affection; that he would never do anything by halves, and would never betray a secret or a friend. Lord Stair was at length instructed to treat with him, and Bolingbroke then wrote a private letter to Sir William Wyndham, exposing the weakness of the pretender's cause, the little chance of his ever succeeding, and advising him to turn his thoughts elsewhere. This letter he sent unsealed to the postmaster-general, to be laid before the government, and forwarded or not to Sir William, as they thought proper. This was a scheme which was very characteristic of the selfish policy of Bolingbroke, who in serving himself endangered others. The stratagem, however, succeeded. The letter was duly forwarded by the government to Sir William; and, as lord Stair represented that there was no man capable of doing so much injury to the Jacobite cause, the ministers listened to his entreaties. But Bolingbroke did not trust to mere earnest and straightforward applications. He had made a large sum of money in the Mississippi speculations, and he took the more effectual means of bribing the duchess of Kendal, the king's mistress. The animosity of the whig party was a serious bar to his return. Walpole, in 1719, had, in speaking of Oxford, said, "His rival in guilt and power even now presumes to expect an act of the legislature to indemnify him, and qualify his villany." Before his gold in the palm of the German mistress, however, all this virtuous sentiment evaporated, and now Walpole himself consented to his return, and his pardon passed the great seal in May of this year.

This act, however, merely gave him the right to come back and live in security in England. Bolingbroke's ambition could only be satisfied by the restoration of his estates and honours, and the German mistress was again well bribed. Unfortunately for him, when he arrived in England, the king had sailed for Hanover, attended by Townshend and Carteret, and his great patroness, the duchess of Kendal. Bolingbroke wrote letters of thanks to the king, the duchess, and Townshend. He set himself to work, meantime, to obtain an accession of his tory friends, if possible, to the ministerial party. Lord Harcourt had already veered round of himself, and with such success, that he had lately been created a viscount and appointed one of the lords justices at the king's departure. He had been, therefore, able to promote Bolingbroke's pardon, and it has been represented as an act of gratitude in Bolingbroke to endeavour to bring him still more into ministerial favour. The truth is that Bolingbroke was labouring with all his might for his own purpose, the restoration of his rank and estates, and the more of his friends that were in the ministerial party the better for that end. He waited, therefore, on Walpole; and not only endeavoured to raise Harcourt in his good opinion, but represented that Wyndham, who was at the head of the tory party in the house of commons, the lords Bathurst and Gower, were now beginning to be disgusted with the opposition, and might, by a little kind and judicious management, be brought to heartily support the measures of

Walpole and Townshend. Many things, however, had to be weighed before such advances could be made. Walpole had to consider whether they would become real friends or concealed enemies still, and whether, by receiving them into favour, through the services of Bolingbroke, he might not give too much handle to the presumption of that ambitious man. Walpole knew that Bolingbroke was seeking to regain the whole of his lost advantages; and he probably knew, too, that it was not the intention of the court readily to concede them. He therefore received the proposals of Bolingbroke with coldness, and represented to him that as his restoration depended on a whig parliament, he ought to be careful how he renewed his intimacy with tories, and that the king's ministers could not hazard the royal affairs by proposing this restoration rashly. Walpole has been blamed for his rejecting an accession of strength from a junction with the tories, but it is more than doubtful whether such accession at this period would have been strength, especially as it implied the return to active political life of the aspiring and unprincipled Bolingbroke.

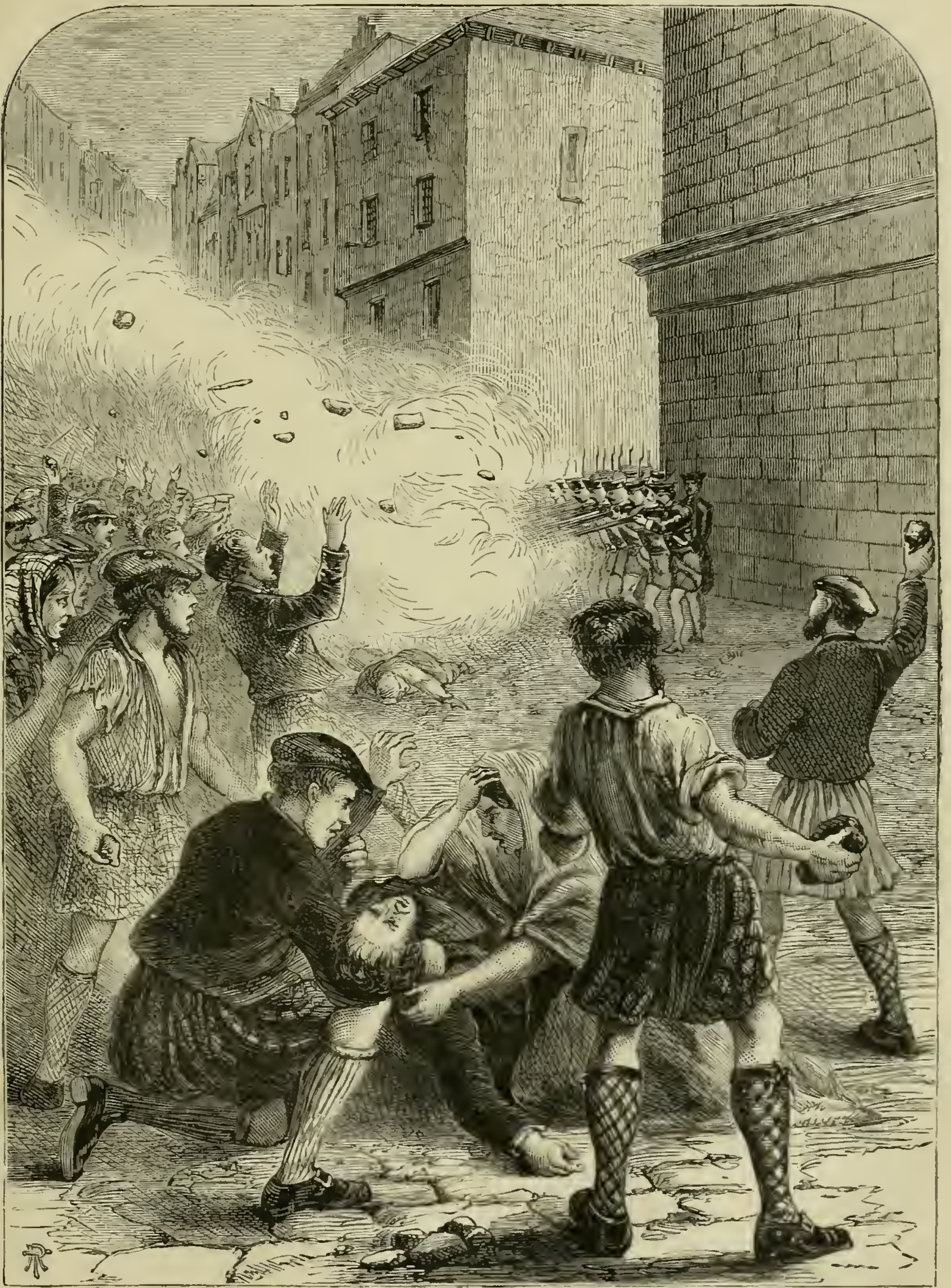
Disappointed in the result of this attempt, and the king prolonging his sojourn on the continent by a visit to his son-in-law, the king of Prussia, Bolingbroke returned to the continent, and went to Aix-la-Chapelle, whence he wrote soliciting permission to proceed to Hanover. This request was declined, thus showing that Walpole had acted in perfect concert with the court. Mortified at this repulse, Bolingbroke returned to Paris, where a field of action had opened in which he was well calculated to figure.

The restless Englishman, much more like a Frenchman in temperament and character than a native of England, had married Madame de Villette, a niece of Louis XIV.'s last mistress, Madame de Maintenon, a lady rich and well trained in all the court life of Paris. By this means Bolingbroke was brought into close connection with that court. The notorious cardinal Dubois had died in August, and in less than four months died also the duke of Orleans, the regent. Louis XV. being nominally of age, no other regent was appointed, but the duke of Bourbon, a man of much better character but of less ability than the regent Orleans, was prime minister. He was greatly under the influence of his bold and ambitious mistress, Madame de Prie, and Bolingbroke, who was high in favour of both minister and mistress, flattered himself that, with the aid of his courtier wife, he could govern both them and France.

Bolingbroke was well aware that a violent strife for power was going on in the English cabinet. Lord Carteret, the new secretary of state, and afterwards earl Granville, was labouring hard to undermine both Walpole and Townshend. He was a very accomplished man and a great linguist, familiar with nearly all the continental languages, including German, which, strangely enough, the English courtiers neglected, though they had a German monarch on the throne who could not speak English. German then was regarded as a language rude and even vulgar; a tongue, as Voltaire afterwards said, only fit for horses. But Carteret, by being master of it, could converse freely with the king, whilst Walpole, ignorant, too, of French, could only hold communication with him in Latin, which, from the wide difference betwixt the English and foreign pronunciation of it, could not have been a very favourable medium. Carteret had ingratiated himself so much with the king by conversing in German, and flattering George's German tastes and politics, that he had succeeded to the influence which Stanhope had formerly possessed. He had also secured the same influence in the court of Paris. He had, by that means, confirmed the appointment of Sir Luke Schaub at that court, and thus kept open the most favourable communication with the abbé Dubois. The courts of England and France continued during Dubois' life in close connection, and through the influence of George and his ministers, Dubois obtained first the archbishop's mitre, and then the cardinal's hat.

The struggle for ascendancy proceeding, Walpole and his party secured the interest of the duchess of Kendal, who always took care to side with that which she thought the strongest. Carteret and his party, on the other hand, secured the interest of the other mistress, the countess of Darlington, and her sister, Madame de Platen. Whilst affairs were in this position, the two secretaries of state, Townshend and Carteret, accompanied the king to Hanover. There came upon the *tapis* the question of a marriage betwixt the count St. Florentin, the son of La Vrillière, the secretary of state for France, and a daughter of Madame Platen. Madame Platen, however, demanded that La Vrillière should be made a duke, so that in due course of time her daughter would be a duchess. George I. warmly seconded this demand; and, had Bolingbroke used his influence, there was little doubt that it would have been accomplished. But the French nobility raised a huge outcry against this honour being conferred on the family of La Vrillière, which they deemed too obscure for such a dignity. Bolingbroke, however, was seeking his own objects through the other mistress, the duchess of Kendal; and, notwithstanding the repulse which he had received from Walpole, he still calculated that his power would prevail, and he therefore smothered his personal vexation, and remained on the side of the duchess of Kendal and Walpole, leaving Carteret and his allies, the Platens, to fight their own battle.

In the midst of these cabals died the regent, and Townshend, acting with Walpole, sent over Walpole's brother Horace to watch their interests at Paris. Carteret, on the other hand, ordered Sir Luke Schaub to make every exertion for the grant of the dukedom. On the arrival of Horace Walpole, Bolingbroke, obeying the impulses of the courtier and not of the man, immediately waited on him, and placed all his influence at the French court at his service; but Walpole, who had an invincible repugnance to Bolingbroke, whilst he availed himself of the advantages offered by Bolingbroke, still kept him at a great and stately distance. Undeterred by this conduct, Bolingbroke, however, swallowed his mortification, and continued to keep his eye and his hope on the Walpole ministry. Unassisted by Bolingbroke, the dukedom could not be obtained, but George reconciled Madame Platen to the match by giving her daughter a portion of ten thousand pounds. Horace Walpole, at the same time, succeeded in getting Schaub recalled, and himself installed in his office of ambassador at Paris—a decided victory over Carteret; indeed, so decided, that Carteret was removed from the secretaryship to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. His



SOLDIERS FIRING ON THE RIOTERS DURING THE INSURRECTION AT GLASGOW.

post of secretary was transferred to the duke of Newcastle, and Townshend and Walpole remained in undisputed ascendancy.

The domestic serenity of the realm was, however, greatly disturbed at this moment by dean Swift, who seized on an occasion at once to avenge himself on the whig ministry for the defeat and punishment of his party, and especially of his great friends and patrons, Oxford and Bolingbroke. Swift, deprived of all hopes of a mitre, had for ten years been living in what, to his ambitious mind, appeared a state of exile and obscurity, in the deanery of St. Patrick, at Dublin. He hated Ireland and the Irish, and all the more so because, though born of English parents, he had the accident to be born in that country, and was, accordingly, claimed by the Irish as a countryman. Always overflowing with spleen, and reckless on whom he poured it out, he had long been in a state of superlative acerbity, from the forced banishment in which he regarded himself as living in an odious country. The opportunity which now presented of relieving himself of his pent-up bile, would not have been perceived except by a man of quick fancy and unprincipled temper. It was simply this:

There had long been a great deficiency of copper coin in Ireland. Probably this coinage had never been fully restored since James II. exhausted it in payment of his forces, and endeavoured to supply its place by halfpence minted from old pans and kettles. The deficiency was so great that manufacturers and shopkeepers were compelled to pay their workmen and give change to their customers in bits of cardboard bearing their seal and signature. The government undertook to remove this pressing want of so useful a medium, and they set about it in an honest and honourable manner as it regarded the quality of the coin. Tenders were issued, and various offers received for the coining of farthings and halfpence to the value of a hundred and eight thousand pounds. The proposal of Mr. William Wood, an iron and copper founder, of Wolverhampton, was accepted; but the quality of the coin, both as to weight and fineness, was determined by the advice of Sir Isaac Newton, then master of the Mint, and Wood was bound under heavy penalties to furnish it according to this stipulation. Every means were used by the ministers and the solicitor and attorney-general to insure the supply of a much better copper coinage than Ireland had ever possessed before.

There were some circumstances, however, which came out that created considerable suspicion and displeasure in Ireland. Wood had given a bribe to the king's mistress, the duchess of Kendal, to procure him the contract, and the government had ordered the coinage without paying the Irish privy council and lord-lieutenant the compliment of consulting them on this occasion. Swift saw these errors, and seized on them for his own purposes. He did not stop to inquire whether, after all, the proposed coinage would not, under any circumstances, be much better than the present distressing scarcity of copper money, and whether the farthings and halfpence might not turn out as good, though they were contracted for. It was enough for him that there was a cause of discontent which he could fan into a flame against the English government. He threw all his spiteful soul into it. The public mind was inflamed by the industrious circulation of representations that the English were going to enrich a stranger at the expense of the whole of Ireland, and that a universal robbery was about to be committed on the nation by means of a base and worthless coin. The irritation grew; the Irish parliament met full of resentment, and both houses passed addresses to the king, declaring that Wood had not kept to the terms of the patent; that even if he had, the loss to the country by the coinage would be a hundred and fifty per cent.! that now it would be still more monstrous. The lord lieutenant, the duke of Grafton, was a man wholly incompetent to direct such a crisis; "a fair-weather pilot," as Walpole called him, "who knew not what he had to do when first the storm arose;" and the lord chancellor, Allan Broderick, viscount Middleton, was an enemy both to Grafton and Walpole, and secretly fomented, by his son, his secretary, and other connections and dependents, the discontent. Walpole received the addresses to present to the king, and he did not hesitate to declare that the assertion, that the copper coinage would cause a loss to the nation of a hundred and fifty per cent., was equally monstrous and untrue. He showed that it was an excellent coin, and of a due value.

Still, by Walpole's advice, a mild answer was returned by the king to the addresses. It declared the king's concern at the idea entertained by his Irish subjects of the inferior character of the coinage; and that, to ascertain whether it really deserved the suspicion, a strict inquiry should be instituted. Accordingly, a committee of the privy council was appointed to make a strict scrutiny into the matter, and Sir Isaac Newton was ordered to assay the new coin with all care. He returned for answer as the result of his assay, that the coins in goodness and fineness, so far from falling short, even exceeded the conditions of the contract; that although, on account of the difference of exchange betwixt the two countries, it was necessary to make the Irish halfpence rather less in weight, yet that this difference was more than made up in fineness, which was superior to that of the English.

This report would have been enough to allay all irritation, but it did not in the least deter Swift. He continued his onslaught on the coin, the patentee, and the English government with only the greater virulence and audacity; he attacked Wood and his halfpence in poetry and prose; he launched forth ballads and lampoons of the most popular and at the same time unscrupulous character; he represented Ireland as about to be plundered and ruined by a system of the most impudent robbery:—

> The halfpence are coming, the nation's undoing,
> There's an end of your ploughing, and baking, and brewing,
> In that you must all go to rack and to ruin!

On an ignorant and most excitable people, the effect of this style of address was amazing, and he followed it up by a series of letters called "The Drapier's Letters." This draper represented himself as a poor but independent-spirited man—who did not mean to be ruined without a good, hearty outcry; "a poor, ignorant shopkeeper, utterly unskilled in law." In language admirably adapted to such a character, he uttered the most reckless falsehoods, quite sure that his hot-blooded readers would never give themselves the trouble to inquire into the truth of his allegations. He told them that the patent was iniquitous; that wicked as its conditions were, they had been still more wickedly violated by the patentee, whom he degraded from an iron-founder into a hardware-man and tinker; his copper was brass, himself was a wood-louse. No terms were too violent or too scurrilous for his use. "If," said he, "Mr. Wood's project should take place, it would ruin even our beggars. Do you think I will sell you a yard of tenpenny stuff for twenty of Mr. Wood's halfpence? no, not under two hundred, at least. Neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in the lump."

When the government published the result of the examination at the Mint, he boldly treated it as a farce. When it declared that no one should be compelled to take this money unless he liked, that the government's object was not compulsion but accommodation, he more than insinuated that this was all pretence, that government and its officers would find means of compelling its acceptance in payment. Government, to remove the clamour, reduced the amount to be issued from a hundred and eight thousand pounds to forty thousand pounds, and proposed that no more than fivepence-halfpenny should be a legal tender at one payment. No matter; the unscrupulous dean raised an alarm lest the king should agree to take his Irish taxes in this copper so as to bring it into circulation. Now the taxes amounted to four hundred thousand pounds, and only forty thousand pounds worth of copper was to be minted; so that the folly of such a suggestion as forty thousand pounds paying ten times that amount was too palpable to escape any but the most frantic factionists. It escaped the Irish, and they raved against this design as if it had been the most possible thing in the world.

Swift was very soon known to be the author of "The Drapier's Letters," and was hailed as the public deliverer. In the letters he had called on the public to issue a declaration binding themselves not to take Wood's money; and many persons of station and property did so, and called on their tenants also to refuse it. The new lord lieutenant, Carteret, landed amid this tempest. The fury and tumult were indescribable. All parties, catholics and protestants, whigs, tories, Orangemen, and rapparees, were equally frantic. The merchants to whom the coin had been assigned would not receive it, and publicly announced that they had nothing to do with it. The shopkeepers refused it; the very hawkers and link-boys rejected it, declaring that such wretched stuff would neither procure them news, ale, tobacco, nor brandy. Wood's effigy was dragged through the streets of Dublin, and then burned.

Carteret offered a reward of three hundred pounds for the discovery of the author of "The Drapier's Letters;" but Swift impudently presented himself at Carteret's *levée*, though the viceroy could have no manner of doubt that he was the author, and demanded of Carteret the meaning of the poor printer of these letters, Harding, being arrested in default of the discovery of the author. He declared that the poor man had only printed a few papers designed for the good of his country. As Carteret had no legal proof of Swift's authorship, he could not charge him with it. He therefore eluded the query by a quotation from Virgil, and Swift returned in triumph, having thus bearded the king's representative in his audacity, as well as thrown the nation into a riot, causing it to refuse one of the most real advantages, and hailing the originator of the mischief as the most noble-minded of patriots.

The upshot was, that the government was compelled to withdraw the copper coinage, leaving the deluded country at its wit's end for a common circulating medium. Wood was to a trifling degree indemnified, by a pension of three thousand pounds for twelve years, for his enormous loss, and Swift, to whom the whole affair had only been a scheme for winning popularity at the expense of the poor patentee and the government, was raised to the summit of unbounded favour. To the day of his death he continued to be regarded as the saviour of Ireland, though he on his part continued to treat the country and the people with unabated contempt and insult. His portrait was engraved, placed on signs, woven on handkerchiefs, and struck on medals. Wherever he appeared he was followed by crowds of hurrahing admirers, whom he must have only laughed at for their folly. His health was quaffed at every banquet, and even his worst sneers at Ireland were taken in good part. The delusion, it is said, has not even yet died out of that country, but its various parties agreeing in nothing else, continue to unite in admiration of the halfpenny patriotism of Swift.

The tumult in Ireland was succeeded by one in Scotland. The people of that country, though they were, by the provisions of the act of union, to bear their proportion of the malt tax, had always rejected compliance, and in 1713 had issued a violent resolution against it. They had never yet complied with the law, and Walpole, seeing the sturdy nature of the opposition, was willing to give up the point quietly. But during the parliamentary session of this year, Mr. Brodrick proposed that a duty of sixpence on every barrel of ale should be paid in lieu of it. Walpole was reluctant to go into the question, but the house was bent on it, and he therefore complied so far as to consent to a duty of threepence per barrel, or half the amount. Walpole is said to have been in the habit of allowing the Scotch members six guineas weekly during the sitting of parliament for the payment of their expenses; but when they now waited upon him for their *douceur*, he told them they must use their influence with their constituents for the payment of this beer duty, or they must in future "tie up their stockings with their own garters."

But the Scots were not thus to be coerced. There was a general commotion against the demand throughout the country, and this at Glasgow broke out into open riot. The mob cried "Down with Walpole!" and "Up with Seaforth!" They sacked the house of Mr. Campbell, of Shawfield, member for the city, who had voted for the obnoxious tax. General Wade, the commander of the forces in Scotland, sent captain Bushell, with two companies of foot, to quell the disturbance, but the soldiers were pelted with stones and hooted by the rabble, and Bushell ordered his men to fire on them. Nine were killed, and many more wounded; but the mob, only the more enraged, fell upon the soldiers, drove them out of the town, and compelled them to take refuge in Dumbarton castle. Wade then sent superior forces, seized some of the rioters, apprehended the magistrates, and sent them prisoners to Edinburgh. On being brought before the lords justiciary, however, on a charge of timidly or treacherously conniving at the riots, they were declared innocent and set at liberty. On the contrary, Bushell was brought to trial on a charge of murder for firing on the people, and was convicted. The government rescued him only by a pardon, and afterwards rewarded him by promotion in the service.

Walpole suspected that the duke of Roxburgh, who was secretary of state for Scotland, and who was a partisan of Carteret's, had secretly encouraged these commotions, as he adroitly affected to believe, in order to get rid of the office of secretary for Scotland altogether. He therefore obtained the dismissal of Roxburgh, abolished the office, and sent down the earl of Isla, the brother of the duke of Argyll, and a zealous adherent of his own, to pacify the country. Isla behaved with equal prudence and firmness. He found the powerful combination of brewers assaying to make a stand against and then attempting to make terms with him. But he let them know that nothing but unconditional surrender to the laws would be accepted, and they at length held a meeting, where the chairman put the question, "To brew, or not to brew?" The members were to vote *seriatim;* but neither the man on his right nor the one on his left would venture to begin. In the long pause that ensued, one Gray declared that he thought there was nothing for them but to return to their trades; that he would not be bound by the majority, but would vote independently, and he voted to brew. Some of the company proposed to hold out till their brethren were set at liberty; but Gray had set the ball in movement; more voted to brew, the meeting broke up, and that night a number of breweries were set to work, and the next day, at noon, above forty brew-houses were in full action in Edinburgh, and ten in Leith. Lord Isla was greatly complimented by Walpole for his skilful settlement of the question, adding, "and now we have once got Ireland and Scotland quiet, we will take care to keep them so."

Parliament met on the 12th of November. The king in his speech congratulated the country on its prosperous condition. At the same time, he was in reality very anxious regarding continental politics, and especially in consequence of the news of an alliance betwixt Russia and Sweden He was anxious to keep up the amount of the army, and it was accordingly continued in the same force for another year. In fact, Walpole had so far inaugurated that system of parliamentary corruption which was afterwards perfected, that he could readily carry any such measures.

One of the first acts of the parliament was to punish the peculations and abuses of the lord chancellor, Parker, earl of Macclesfield. The court of chancery, in all ages a sink of corruption, was at this time in its worst condition. The offices of masters were regularly sold, and the masters as regularly took care to indemnify themselves by all manner of peculation. The estates of widows and orphans and the money of suitors were unscrupulously plundered. There was a loud outcry against these legal robberies, and especially against the lord chancellor, for his not only tolerating but partaking in them. He endeavoured to escape the storm of public indignation by resigning in January, but this did not avail him. He was impeached by Sir George Oxenden in the commons, and tried in the lords, and fined thirty thousand pounds. A motion for disabling him from ever again sitting in parliament or holding any office was lost only by a very few votes. The king struck his name out of the list of privy counsellors, and Sir Peter King was made chancellor in his stead, with the title of baron.

The next matter of much importance was a bill to restore Bolingbroke to his honours and estates. Early in this year an attempt to deprive his wife of fifty thousand pounds invested in the English funds brought her over to London. She had invested this sum as Madame de Villette, but Sir Matthew Decker now represented to the government that this lady was married to lord Bolingbroke, and that, consequently, this money was a forfeit to the crown. Lord Townshend, however, was so much disgusted by this dishonest reasoning that he opposed the idea of confiscating the stock. Lady Bolingbroke came over to protect her property, and having secured it, next adroitly made use of her presence at court to endeavour to obtain the reversal of her husband's attainder. She did not succeed in making a favourable impression on the king, who said she talked too much, and without respect; but she found a more facile channel of success through the ever-bribable duchess of Kendal. A present of fourteen thousand pounds smoothened things wonderfully at court; and Walpole, though abhorring the very idea of seeing Bolingbroke once more in parliament, was compelled to give way. A bill was brought into the commons to put him in possession of his forfeited estates, but without removing the attainder. There was a violent opposition even to this favour both by the stanch whigs and the Jacobites, who never could forgive Bolingbroke's desertion of the pretender's cause. The bill passed by a majority of two hundred and thirty-one to one hundred and thirteen, and was afterwards accepted by the lords, though not without a strong protest by five peers. Methuen, the comptroller of the household, spoke very determinedly against the bill. He declared that Bolingbroke's crimes were of so deep a dye as not to admit of any atonement, especially his traitorous attempt, when minister of queen Anne, to defeat the protestant succession, and thus ruin the foundation of our present and future happiness.

Bolingbroke came over and took possession of his property; but he never forgave those who had opposed him, and especially Walpole, notwithstanding his having seconded the bill. "Here I am," he wrote to Swift, "two-thirds restored—my person safe, and my estate, with all other property I have acquired or may acquire, secured to me; but the attainder is kept carefully and prudently in force, lest so corrupt a member should come again into the house of lords, and his bad leaven should sour that sweet, untainted mass."

Besides Methuen, lord William Powlet, Onslow—afterwards speaker—the duke of Wharton, and others, took a prominent part in opposition to the bill. Bolingbroke, concealing his resentment, made a fresh attempt to gain the good will of Walpole, in the hope of obtaining through him the reversal of his attainder, but in this he failed. Walpole invited him to dine with him at Chelsea, but it appeared to Bolingbroke rather to show him his power and prosperity than for any other reason; and Horace Walpole, the celebrated son of the minister, says in his "Reminiscences," that "whether tortured at witnessing Walpole's serene frankness and felicity, or suffocated with indignation and confusion at being forced to be obliged to one whom he hated and envied, the first morsel he put into his mouth was near choking him, and he was reduced to rise from table and leave the room for some minutes." He was never seen there again.

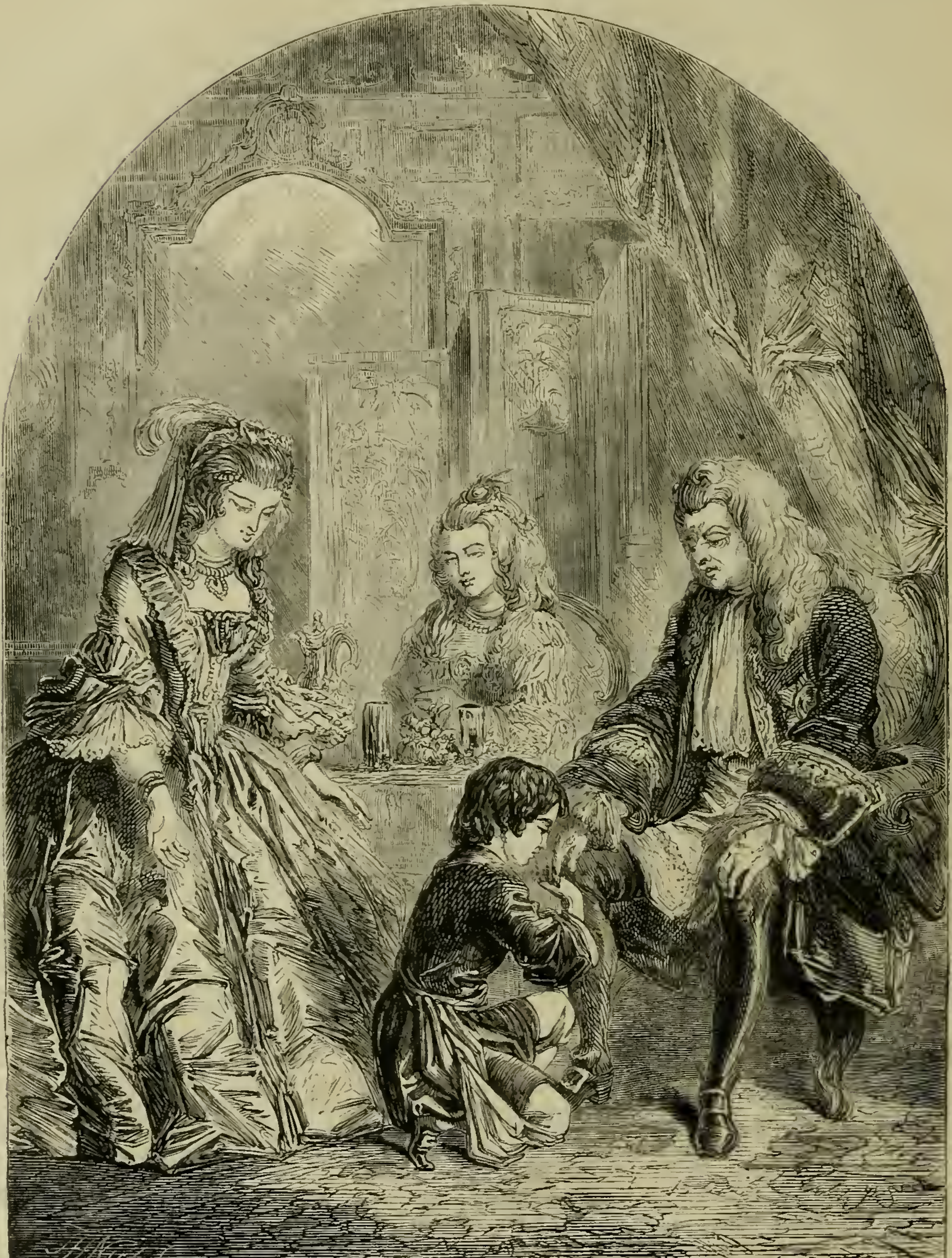
In his chagrin, Bolingbroke endeavoured to create a new species of opposition in parliament. He retained his influence with the duchess of Kendal, and cultivated that of the ultra tories. Still more, he soon discovered that William Pulteney, the most eloquent man in the house, had grown disgusted with Walpole, who could never bear any man of pre-eminent ability near the throne except himself. Pulteney had been one of the steadiest friends of the late queen's government, and of the protestant succession. Under George he had been made secretary at war. He had adhered to Walpole when he was sent to the Tower for corruption, and in the great schism of 1717. Yet Walpole had carefully excluded him from any high post in the cabinet, and had endeavoured to veil his jealousy of him by offering to procure him a peerage, by which he would have removed him from the active sphere of the house of commons. Pulteney saw the object, and rejected the specious favour. Instead of conferring on Pulteney some office worthy of his talents, Walpole then put him into that of cofferer of the household. In the state of indignation which this paltry appointment raised in him Bolingbroke found him, and soon induced him to put himself at the head of a large body of oppositionists, under the title of "Patriots." In this character he made some smart attacks on Walpole and his heavy drafts on the civil list for his friends, for which he was dismissed, and joined Bolingbroke in a bold attempt to write down the minister. Betwixt them the celebrated paper "The Craftsman" was planned and established, and they became the bitterest and most persevering assailants of Walpole.

The session continuing into 1725, did not close without an attempt to curb the free action of the common council of London. A bill was brought in and carried, giving a veto to the lord mayor and aldermen on the proceedings of the council. It was intended to punish and restrain the opposition of the council to government measures, not unfrequently shown; but it raised such an outcry that it lay dormant for fourteen years.

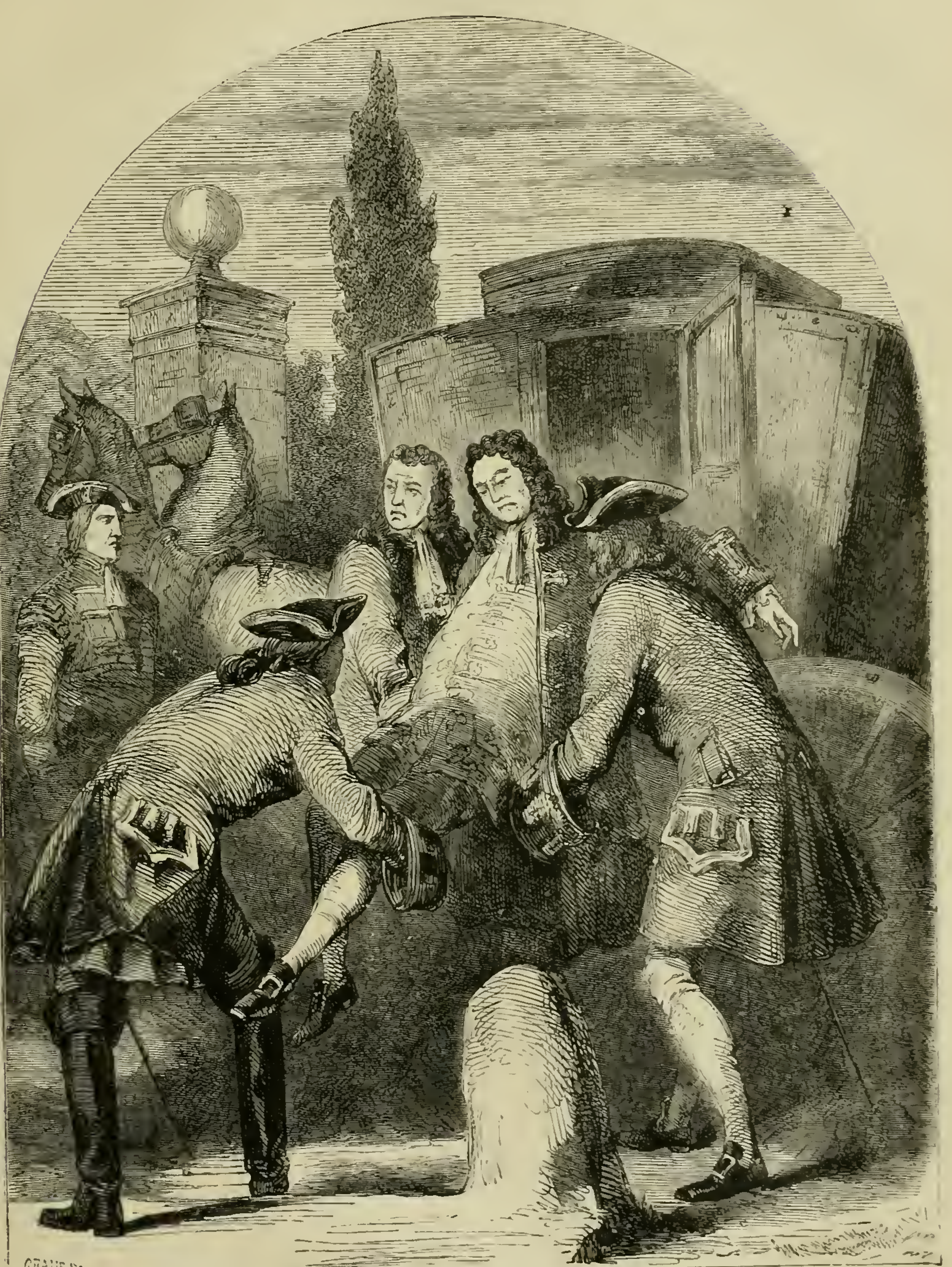
Soon after the close of the session in June, the king proceeded to Hanover, accompanied, as usual, by Townshend and the duchess of Kendal. The state of his foreign relations demanded the utmost attention, and very soon underwent the most extraordinary changes. In the early part of the preceding year the sickly king of Spain had resolved to imitate the emperor Charles V., and retire from the throne. He announced to his council his intention of abdicating in favour of his son, Don Louis. He declared that his son was of age, married, and capable of governing justly and wisely; whilst for himself, the twenty-three years of wars, infirmities, and troubles had convinced him of the vanity of this life, and of the desirableness of cultivating in quiet the service of God and the preparations for a future life, in which seclusion his queen had cordially agreed to bear him company. The act of abdication was accordingly prepared, and, on the 15th of January, Don Louis accepted the crown, expressing his astonishment at his royal father's self-denial, and praying God that, after treading awhile in his steps, he might also arrive at the same conviction of the vain greatness of the world.

The whole was well got up, and the act of abdication provided that in case of the death of the new king Louis, the other sons of Philip should succeed in their order. But it was more than suspected that Philip, so far from abandoning the vanities of earthly thrones, was only looking the more earnestly towards that of France. Louis XV. of France was in very critical health, and in case of his death Philip still hoped to ascend the throne. But the union of the kingdoms of France and Spain under one crown was a circumstance which Europe was not likely to tolerate, and therefore Philip, by divesting himself of the diadem of Spain, hoped to get rid of that objection. At the same time, his abdication was little more than in appearance. He and his queen had retired to the country palace of St. Ildefonso, whence they continued to direct affairs pretty much as they had done at Madrid. Philip's prime minister, Grimaldo, was still at the head of affairs, and still prosecuted with the same ardour the favourite scheme of the old queen to secure a considerable part of Italy for her son Don Carlos. Don Louis, the new king, was only seventeen years of age, and was married to the third daughter of the duke of Orleans, regent of France. The new queen was said to be of a dissolute character, and to be disliked by her husband to such a degree that he meant to divorce her. His death prevented this, and on his death Philip again ascended the throne, having in the meantime become doubtful of ever reaching that of France, Louis XV. having recovered his health. He might have children, and the only reason why he might not have legitimate issue soon, was that he was affianced to the infanta, Mary Ann, Philip's daughter, then a mere child. Should he not have children, the young duke of Orleans, the son of the late regent, would succeed him. To prevent this contingency, the duke of Bourbon, now at the head of affairs, who had a violent hatred of Orleans, prevailed on Louis to dismiss the infanta, and choose as queen some princess of mature age. He turned his eye for this purpose on the princess Anne of England, but George declined the alliance, because the queen of France was bound to become catholic. The princess Mary of Leczinska was next fixed upon, daughter of the exiled Stanislaus of Poland, and the duke of Bourbon then sent back to Spain the infanta.

This insult roused the fiery blood of Spain. The king and queen were excited to paroxysms of rage, and the queen said in her wrath to the French envoy, "All the Bourbons are a race of devils!" but suddenly recollecting that her husband was of that house, she turned to him and said, "except your majesty." They declared that they would never forgive the insult till the duke of Bourbon came to their court and implored pardon on his knees. They told Mr. William Stanhope that, in future, they would put confidence in no prince except his master, nor admit any one else to mediate for them in their negotiations. But George refused to break with France on their account, and ventured to remind Philip that he himself stood greatly in need of the alliance with France. Blinded, however, by their wounded pride, the king and queen of



HORACE WALPOLE'S FIRST INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE I.



KING GEORGE ATTACKED BY A FIT OF APOPLEXY.

Spain now turned their anger against England. They recalled their plenipotentiaries from the congress of Cambray, which was still sitting, and professed their readiness to abandon all their hostility to the emperor of Germany, to concede all that they had so long demanded from him, on condition that he entered into a close alliance with him against France and England. They sent off back to France the widow of the late Don Louis, and also Mademoiselle Beaujolais, another daughter of the late regent Orleans, who had been contracted to Don Carlos.

The emperor of Germany was delighted at the Spanish offer. He had always felt himself aggrieved by the conditions of the quadruple alliance. He was afraid of France, and hated George of England for his German policy. He had, moreover, embroiled himself with both England and Holland, by establishing at Ostend an East India Company, which was declared to be in violation of the treaty of Westphalia, and was, at all events, regarded with particular jealousy by both England and Holland. This being the case, Ripperda, the envoy of Spain, a Dutch adventurer, who had been the tool of Alberoni, completed with ease a treaty with the emperor at Vienna, which was signed on the 30th of April, 1725.

By this treaty almost everything was given up which had kept Spain and Austria in war and conflict for many years, and by themselves and their allies had steeped Europe in blood. The king of Spain agreed to sanction the Ostend Company, to yield the long-contested point regarding the exclusive mastership of the Golden Fleece. He surrendered the right to garrison with Spanish troops the fortresses of Tuscany. He acknowledged the emperor's right to Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, and Netherlands, and guaranteed what was termed the Pragmatic Sanction, that is, the succession of the hereditary states of Austria in the female line. This was a concession of immense importance to the emperor, who had only daughters, and whose claim to the Flemish and Italian dominions might thus have been contested by Philip on the emperor's death. Thus, before the emotions of a family quarrel, fell at once all the mighty questions which had rent and desolated Europe for a quarter of a century! Both the sovereigns engaged to afford mutual support should either be attacked. Charles agreed to bring into the field twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, Philip twenty thousand troops and fifteen ships of war.

The world looked on in astonishment: diplomatists in dread of more secret and momentous compacts, and that not without cause. In the heat of this hastily formed alliance, it was proposed to marry the young archduchess, the heiress of the Austrian states, to one of the infants of Spain—a contract, if carried out, which would probably have overthrown all that had been done at such cost of life and wealth for the establishment of the balance of power. This dangerous project was frustrated by other events, but serious engagements were entered into for compelling England to surrender Gibraltar and Minorca to Spain, and for placing the pretender on the throne of Great Britain. The new allies sought to strengthen themselves by a coalition with Russia. Peter, the czar, was dead, but the czarina, Catherine, who possessed his throne, displayed a spirit nearly as masculine, and carried out all his plans with a high hand. She had married her daughter to the duke of Holstein, whose duchy of Schleswick, George's ally, the king of Denmark, had formally reft from him. She declared herself ready to assert her son-in-law's rights, and thus implicate the king of Hanover in the defence of Denmark, provided she was supplied with money. Large sums were accordingly shipped from Spain to Petersburg, and still larger to Vienna; to the latter capital, it is said, not less than one million three hundred thousand pistoles in fourteen months.

But during these transactions France and England had not been idle.

A new alliance had been signed at Hanover betwixt England, France, and Prussia, to which soon after were added Denmark and Holland. The real objects of this treaty were to counterbalance that betwixt Spain, Austria, and Russia, to compel the dissolution of the Ostend Company, and to prevent the menaced assistance to the pretender. This was the celebrated treaty of Hanover, which was regarded from such opposite points by the English and the Germans. In England it was long and vehemently charged on the government as a treaty made entirely for the defence and benefit of Hanover. Its very name, lord Chatham said, declared its nature, and lord Chesterfield remarks, "Thus rode Hanover triumphant on the shoulders of England!" On the other hand, the Hanoverians were as loudly declaring that it was a treaty for defending England at the expense of their country. There was about as much truth and falsehood in one statement as the other. That it was to defend England was palpable enough when Spain was haughtily demanding the surrender of Gibraltar, and Spain and Austria were avowing their intention of supporting the pretender. Yet in all this Hanover had no concern. There was no demand on her for these objects. On the other hand, the treaty was meant to defend the frontiers of Hanover from the aggressions of Russia, and in such a crisis England would probably have had to furnish aid. Still Hanover had no cause to complain, and England had as much promise of assistance from the allies as fairly counterbalanced any probable demands upon her from Hanover.

These important affairs detained the king abroad till the middle of winter, and it was not till New Year's day of 1726 that he embarked for Harwich. The weather at sea became very tempestuous, the king's yacht was separated from her convoy, and it was not till he had been tossing about a couple of days that he landed at Rye, on the coast of Sussex. The weather on land was, if possible, worse than at sea; and the snow was so deep that he did not reach St. James's till the 9th of January.

The confederacy of Spain, Austria, and Sweden against England, greatly encouraged the pretender and his party. His agents were active in almost every coast in Europe, under the able direction of Atterbury. Mar had continued as weak and vacillating in James's affairs on the continent as he had shown himself in Scotland. Falling into the hands of the English in 1719, through the intervention of the Swiss government, by whom he was arrested at Geneva, he had made great submission to the king, and was let off with a small pension out of his Scotch estates. He then pretended to become true to the cause of George, but in reality remained true to neither side, yet professing adhesion to both. Finally, he lost the confidence of the pretender, who dismissed him.

About this time Allan Cameron was sent into the Highlands to ascertain the disposition of the clans towards a new rising. He was assured that the zeal of the Jacobites had not cooled, but that no rising was to be expected unless a strong army was sent into England from abroad. But James's own conduct was, as usual, doing him more harm than all his friends could do him good. He had transferred his favour from Mar to colonel John Hay, brother of lord Kinnoul, whom he created earl of Inverness, and James Murray, son of lord Stormont, and brother-in-law of Hay. Murray was made governor of the prince and earl of Dunbar. These two men now ruled everything at the court of the pretender, and excited the greatest dissatisfaction by their arrogant and selfish conduct; and to make matters still worse, James quarrelled with his wife, the princess Clementina Sobieski. She complained of the insolence with which she was treated by Inverness and his wife, a proud, vain woman; and James, with the weakness of his race for favourites, would listen to no complaints against them. Clementina, by the advice of Alberoni, who was now her adviser, quitted the palace, and retired to the Convent of St. Cecilia, at Rome. The complaints of the princess excited the resentment of the emperor and the king of Spain against the pretender. The emperor was related to Sobieski, and the queen of Spain resented in the treatment of the nominal queen of England the injury done to one of her own rank and sex. This was a fatal state of affairs for James, for it was from these two royal houses that he had expected his support against that of Hanover. He endeavoured to mystify his English partisans on the subject, but in vain, for Lockhart of Carnwath, one of his stanchest and most penetrating adherents, plainly told him by letter that his conduct to the queen excited the utmost indignation amongst the English Jacobites, and warned him solemnly to remodel his behaviour towards her; that they held the queen in the highest estimation, and that nothing would induce them to think otherwise.

Two new allies which James acquired at this time did him little service. These were lord North and the duke of Wharton. They went over to the continent, and not only openly avowed themselves as friends of the pretender, but renounced protestantism and embraced popery. Lord North, however, found himself so little trusted at the pretender's court, notwithstanding his apostasy, that he went to Spain, entered its service, and there continued till his death, in 1734. Wharton also arrived at Madrid in April of the present year. Wharton had been very active in the pretender's service before changing his religion, and now he was sent as ambassador to Spain, to vindicate the conduct of James towards his wife, and to assist Ormonde in urging on an expedition for England. There was not much to boast of, however, in the acquisition of such a partisan as Wharton. He was a confirmed drunkard, seldom had his pipe out of his mouth, and was so great a braggart and talker, that there was not much safety in intrusting him with secrets of importance. He intruded himself with singular lack of delicacy on Mr. Keene, the British consul at Madrid, boasting that he was the pretender's prime minister, and that neither Sir Robert Walpole nor king George should have six months' ease so long as he had the honour of holding that employment. An order was delivered to Wharton, under the privy seal of England, commanding him, on his allegiance, to return forthwith on pain of outlawry in case of disobedience, but he treated the order with contempt.

At Madrid Wharton fell in with a congenial spirit. This was Ripperda, the renegade Dutchman, now created a duke and made prime minister of Spain. He had lately returned from a mission to Vienna, and was as full of foolish boastings as Wharton himself. He told the officers of the garrison at Barcelona on landing, that the emperor would bring one hundred and fifty thousand men into the field; that prince Eugene had engaged for as many more within six months of the commencement of a war; that in that case France would be pillaged on all sides, the king of Prussia, whom he was pleased to call the grand grenadier, would be chased from his country in a single campaign, and king George out of both Hanover by the emperor, and Great Britain by the pretender: that so long as he was in authority there should never be peace betwixt France and Spain. Yet to Mr. Stanhope he declared, that though he had talked both in Vienna and Spain in favour of the pretender, he was, nevertheless, as sincerely attached to the interests of his Britannic majesty as one of his own subjects; that he would prove that on the first opportunity, and that he only talked as he did to please their catholic majesties, and avoid being suspected for a traitor, and falling into the hands of the inquisition, which he knew kept a sharp eye on him as a recent convert.

Stanhope, of course, did not credit a single word of this prating gasconade, but informed his government that Spain was making active preparations for war; that the fortifications of Cadiz were being increased, artillery, tents, and magazines were preparing, and that the squadron was under orders to put to sea.

The folly of Ripperda, however, had ruined his credit with his own sovereigns and the nation even more than with foreign powers. His swaggering and inflated language, in which he imagined that he was enacting Alberoni, had destroyed all faith in him. At one of his *levées* he boasted that he had six very good friends, God, the Holy Virgin, the emperor and empress, the king and queen of Spain. It was well that he omitted the people, for they detested him. His fellow ministers and every class of the community despised him. But his final blow came from his own false representations to each other of the preparations for war made by Austria and Spain. Count Konigseck was most indignant when he discovered the miserable resources of the Spanish monarchy in comparison of the pompous descriptions made of them by Ripperda at Vienna, and the Spanish court was equally disappointed by a discovery of the real military status of Austria. He was suddenly and ignominiously dismissed on the 14th of May, and he had the meanness on his fall to seek refuge in the house of the British minister, and there consented to reveal the secrets of the state which he had sworn to preserve, and which to that moment he had been serving. He now assured Stanhope that the mutual design of Austria and Spain was nothing less than the utter extirpation of protestantism, and that the king of Spain had declared that for that object he would willingly sell his last shirt.

All the time that this contemptible man was making these revelations, which no doubt were as much exaggerated as his former ones, he presented the most singular contrast to his former haughty pomposity. He was now all creeping humility, and continually burst into tears.

It was not likely that the Spanish government would allow the fallen minister, especially having discovered the falseness of his nature, to remain long in the house of the English ambassador. They sent to demand him of Stanhope, but he refused to give him up, and warned them to beware how they violated in his person the rights of an ambassador and the law of nations. After some further expostulation, however, an *alcalde de corte*, accompanied by an armed force, came and took him away. Stanhope protested against the act, and sent home Mr. Keene, the consul, with a report of it, and of Ripperda's revelations. Ripperda himself was commited close prisoner to the castle of Segovia.

A revolution of a similar character took place in France within a month of the fall of Ripperda in Spain. The duke of Bourbon had exhibited a gross incapacity for governing France under the young king. He was wholly in the hands of Madame de Prie and her creature, Paris Duverney. At the same time he displayed the most unconquerable jealousy of the proximity of any abler mind. Such a mind, however, was and had long been on the spot, and silently preparing the way for its ascendancy. Bishop—afterwards cardinal—Fleury had, under the regency, been the preceptor to the young monarch, and had by his virtues and amiability excited a powerful attachment towards him in the mind of his pupil. Louis XIV. had made him bishop of Frejus; but Fleury, conscious of his diplomatic powers, received the gift as a sentence of exile, and once signed a jocose letter to cardinal Quirini, "Fleury, bishop of Frejus, by divine indignation." Still, he had conscientiously discharged his duties there, and had won such a general admiration and regard by his wise and benevolent conduct, as pointed him out to the dying monarch as the most fitting preceptor to his grandson and successor. During the regency Fleury conducted himself with such tact and sagacity as to draw no envious observation of his talents from the regent or Dubois. Such was the ascendancy which he had during this time acquired over the mind of his pupil, that when Bourbon came into power, he would always insist that Fleury, too, attended at the conferences. This excited the jealousy of Bourbon and his clique, and he managed to draw over the young queen to his party, and through her made a request to the king that Fleury might be excused attending at the business conferences. Fleury, made aware of this cabal, raised no opposition, but knowing well his influence, addressed a letter to the king in the mildest terms, expressing his desire to occasion no inconvenience, and withdrew to his country seat at Issy. The effect was precisely what Fleury had anticipated. The king was thrown into the greatest concern at his retirement, and commanded Bourbon himself to invite him back to court, which the mortified minister did with many feigned expressions of friendship and wonder at his sudden withdrawal. But this did not last long. Bourbon again commenced his cabals against him, and this time Fleury turned upon him, and, by a candid declaration of the true state of the case to Louis XV., he procured the instant dismissal of Bourbon, and his banishment to Chantilly.

Here then commenced the celebrated and peaceful administration of Fleury, so well described in the words of Voltaire:—"If ever there was any one happy on earth, it was Fleury. He was considered one of the most amiable and social men till seventy-three, and at that usual age of retirement came to be respected as one of the wisest. From 1726 to 1742 everything throve in his hands; and, till almost a nonogenarian, his mind continued clear, discerning, and fit for business."

During the whole of Fleury's administration he continued the same simple, unostentatious life. There were those who deemed him even penurious from his inexpensive mode of existence; but the same avoidance of extravagance was exerted by him for the state as well as in his own affairs. He disliked war as much as French ministers in general have been fond of it; and it has been well observed that the monuments of national glory which he left were not of brass or marble, but of general prosperity and popular happiness. If he did not possess the highest class of genius, he made a wise and beneficent use of his talents; and lady Mary Wortley Montagu, travelling in France thirteen years after, bore this testimony to the changes which he had produced:—"France is so much improved that it would not be known to be the same country that we passed through twenty years ago. Everything I see speaks in praise of cardinal Fleury. The roads are all mended, and such good care taken against robbers, that you may cross the country with your purse in your hand. The French are more changed than their roads. Instead of pale, yellow faces wrapped up in blankets, as we saw them, the villages are all filled with fresh-coloured, lusty peasants, in good clothes and clean linen. It is incredible what an air of plenty and content is over the whole country."

The English ambassador, Horace Walpole, brother of the minister, a man, according to his nephew, the celebrated lord Orford, who "knew something of everything but how to hold his tongue, or how to apply his knowledge," and who was "a dead weight" to his brother's ministry rather than a help, at first despised Fleury as a mighty bigot, and not very able in foreign affairs; but he soon came to see that he was a man that would direct by his influence the affairs of France, and he made assiduous court to him. He made a most effectual hit in securing the good will of Fleury, for a man who had the reputation of being a dead weight, by hastening to visit Fleury, at the time he was under a passing cloud, at Issy. The future cardinal felt the act as a proof of disinterested respect rather than a deep stroke of policy, as it probably was, and ever after was a firm adherent of the Walpole administration. Thus Fleury's accession to power only strengthened the English alliance with France. As for Spain, notwithstanding the fall of Ripperda, Philip continued the same course of policy—clinging firmly to the emperor, and employing Palm, the envoy of the emperor in

London, through bribery to the duchess of Kendal and the king's Hanoverian ministers, Bothmar, and the rest, who were averse to the treaty of Hanover, as in their estimation too exclusively calculated for English interests. They even produced a strong feeling of this kind in the mind of George, and they managed to detach the king of Prussia from the English alliance. On the other hand, Sweden was won over, by English gold and diplomacy, from Russian interests. The Dutch, also, with their usual slowness, came into the Hanover treaty. Several English fleets were at sea during the summer, watching the different points of possible attack. One under admiral Wager sailed to the Baltic to overawe the Russians, which it did effectually. Admiral Jennings, with another squadron, having on board some land troops, scoured the coasts of Spain, kept the Spaniards in constant alarm, and returned home safe before winter. A third fleet, under admiral Hosier, was not so fortunate. He was ordered to sail to the West Indies, and the shores of the Spanish main, to obstruct or capture the galleons; but he was attacked off Porto Bello by the yellow fever, and lost a great number of his men.

Parliament met on the 17th of January, 1727. The royal speech breathed a decidedly warlike tone. The king informed parliament that he had received information, on which he could rely, that a secret article of the treaty betwixt Spain and the emperor bound those parties to place the pretender on the throne of Great Britain, and that the surrender of Gibraltar and Port Mahon were the price to be paid for this service. He asked whether the public would not regard with indignation the imposition of a popish pretender on the nation at such a cost. He added that the king of Spain had ordered his ambassador to quit the kingdom, leaving behind him a formal demand for the surrender of the above-named places. There was a great ferment in the house. The "patriots," Wyndham, Pulteney, Shippen, and the rest, ridiculed the imagined dangers. Mr. Hungerford asked whether the pretender was going to embark on the floating island of "Gulliver," as he knew no other means that he had of crossing the sea. Sir Thomas Hanmer boldly attributed the only dangers to complications in which we were involved by our connection with Hanover. Yet it was resolved to raise the army to twenty-six thousand men, being an increase of eight thousand, and to vote twenty thousand seamen.

Palm, the emperor's envoy, wrote to his imperial master, advising him to disavow any such secret agreement in the treaty at Vienna, and thus allay the excitement in England. But Charles, who owed his throne to the victories of Marlborough, and whose claims on Spain had been prosecuted by this country at serious cost of men and money, performed this disavowal with as much arrogance as stupidity. He was not contented to say that the king of England was mistaken, but he declared that his speech was false. This gross insult to the head of the nation roused the indignation of all parties, even of the opposition, and Wyndham, Pulteney, and Shippen denounced it as loudly as any, and supported a motion of Walpole, declaring it an insolent affront. Palm was ordered to quit the kingdom immediately.

With Spain the prospect of war became every day more imminent. Stanhope quitted that country, and the Spanish government ordered the seizure of the "Prince Frederick," a ship belonging to the South Sea Company. Twenty thousand men were assembled and sent against Gibraltar under the command of Spain's best general, the marquis de Villadarius. Villadarius defended Ceuta in 1698, Cadiz in 1702, and besieged Gibraltar, in conjunction with marshal Tessé, in 1704. Convinced by the failure of that attempt that no success could attend any attack on that fortress unless accompanied by a fleet at sea, he demanded such an adjunct. Philip, unfortunately, had no fleet which could hope to repel an English one coming to the relief of the place, and he persisted in ordering Villadarius to proceed without it. That prudent general, declaring that such proceeding could only be attended by defeat and the sacrifice of the lives of many brave men in vain, chose, therefore, rather to resign all his employments and retire to an honest poverty with a good conscience and with an untarnished reputation.

His place was filled up, but not supplied, by the Conde de las Torres, who had formerly fled nimbly before the earl of Peterborough, but who now boasted that in six weeks he would plant the standard of Spain on the rock of Gibraltar, and drive the heretics into the sea. The "heretics," however, had taken care to strengthen the garrison, raising it to six thousand men, throwing in abundance of provisions from Tangier and Tetuan; and the governor, the earl of Portmore, though nearly eighty years of age, defended the place with the spirit of a man in his prime. All attempts on the great fortress were as useless as former ones had been. The English regarded the attack with even an air of indifference, whilst their guns, sickness, and desertion were fast reducing the besiegers. In four months the investing army, being reduced to half its number, drew off with the empty but destructive result which Villadarius had predicted.

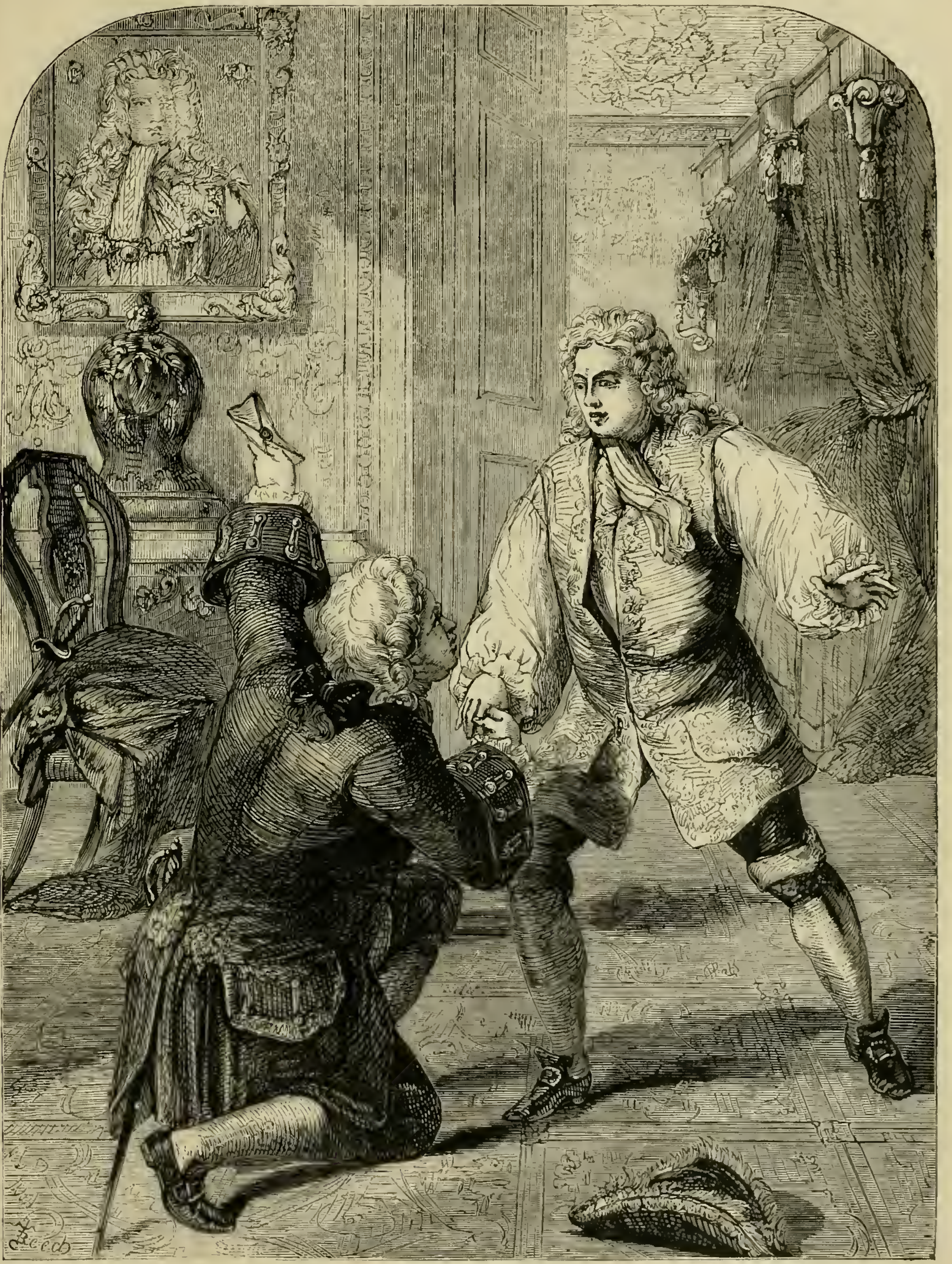
This and other events at length convinced the stupid and ungrateful emperor that the war was hopeless. Russia had as good as deserted him; Prussia, so lately won over, was again wavering; Sweden and Holland had joined the allies; and Spain, so far from helping her, could not drive the enemy from a corner of its own territory. He therefore listened to terms of peace which were offered by the allies through the pacific medium of Fleury, and the preliminaries were signed at Paris by the Austrian ambassador on the 31st of May with England, France, and Holland. The emperor agreed to suspend for seven years the charter of the Ostend Company; to confirm all treaties previous to 1725; and to refer any other objects of dispute to a general congress. Several articles were introduced regarding Spain. The English consented to withdraw the fleet of admiral Hosier from blockading Porto Bello, so that the galleons could return home; that the siege of Gibraltar should be discontinued, and the "Prince Frederick" be restored. These articles were signed by the Spanish ambassador at Paris, but Philip himself never ratified them, and England and Spain continued in a dubious state of neither peace nor war.

Whilst Walpole was thus labouring to secure the peace of Europe, Bolingbroke was as industriously at work to undermine him. He had cultivated his intimacy with the duchess of Kendal still more diligently, and by liberal bribes, and more liberal promises if he succeeded in once more regaining power, he had brought her to exert her influence with the king in his favour. This most sordid and rapacious of mistresses, who looked on England only as a country to be managed for her benefit, ventured at length to put into the king's hand a memorial drawn up for her by Bolingbroke, demonstrating that the country must be absolutely ruined if Walpole continued in office. The stratagem was too palpable. Whilst she talked only, her suggestions might pass for her own, but the style of the document must have at once caused the king's suspicion of its true source. He put the paper into Walpole's hand. Walpole, after interrogating the two Turks, who were always in attendance on the king, and on their denying all knowledge of the means by which the missive reached the royal person, went directly to the duchess and charged her with the fact. She did not deny it. Walpole advised the king to admit Bolingbroke to the audience which he solicited in the memorial, trusting that the king's dislike of him would prevail in the interview. The result appeared to be of that kind; nevertheless, Walpole was far from being secure in his own mind. He knew that the mistress would be continually returning to the charge in favour of her friend and paymaster, though she enjoyed a pension from government of seven thousand five hundred pounds: and he even contemplated retiring with a peerage, but was dissuaded from this by the princess of Wales and the duke of Devonshire. On the other hand, Bolingbroke was in the highest expectation of his speedy restoration not only to rank but to office.

The deaths of monarchs, however, were peculiarly fatal to this ambitious man; that of queen Anne had precipitated him from power, and rescued his country from the ruin he prepared for it; that of George now came as opportunely to prevent the national calamity of his ministry. George set out for Hanover on the 3rd of June, o.s., accompanied, as usual, by Townshend and the duchess of Kendal. Just before his departure the youthful Horace Walpole saw him for the first and last time. When the king was come down to supper, lady Walsingham took Walpole into the duchess' ante-room, where George and his favourite were alone. Walpole knelt and kissed the king's hand. The king appeared in his usual health. In his usual impatience of reaching his beloved Hanover, he had out-travelled his minister and the mistress, and reached Delden on the 9th late at night. The next morning he proceeded again so early as four o'clock, and was pressing onward, when in the forenoon he was seized with a fit of apoplexy in his coach, and on arriving at Ippenburen he was observed to be quite comatose—his eyes fixed, his hands motionless, and his tongue hanging from his mouth His attendants wished to remain at Ippenburen to procure medical assistance; but this seemed to rouse him, and he managed to articulate, "Osnabruck! Osnabruck!" The only chance for his life, if there was any, depended on instant surgical aid; they went in obedience to his command, and on arriving at Osnabruck he was found quite dead. He was there conducted to the palace of his brother, the prince bishop, and let blood, but to no purpose. Messengers were dispatched to bring up the minister and the mistress from the rear. Finding the king dead on his arrival, Townshend immediately returned to England with the news, and the duchess, after tearing her hair, beating her breast, and otherwise bewailing the loss of so valuable a friend, directed her course to Brunswick. She afterwards, however, returned to England, giving the country of her fortune the preference to that of her birth, and continued to reside there, chiefly at Kendal House, near Isleworth. She died in 1743, leaving her enormous wealth to her German relatives. This wealth would have still more augmented but for the interference of George II. The king had made a will, in which he is said to have left much property to the duchess and to her reputed niece, but supposed daughter, lady Walsingham. This lady, originally Fraülen Schulemberg, but created by George I. countess of Walsingham, bore a strong resemblance to the king, and was generally considered his daughter. One copy of the king's will he had confided to Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, the other to the duke of Brunswick. At the first council at which George II. presided, the archbishop presented to him this will, expecting that he would open and read it; but to the consternation of the primate, he immediately put it in his pocket, and left the room without a word. The will was never heard of again, for neither the primate nor the other councillors dared to ask about it, or even to request that it should be registered. Horace Walpole says it was reported to contain a legacy of forty thousand pounds to the duchess, a handsome bequest to her daughter, and to the queen of Prussia. The duke of Brunswick, who had the other will (some accounts mention two other wills in the hands of German princes), was quieted by a subsidy. Lord Chesterfield, who married lady Walsingham, determined to bring her demand to open trial, but was satisfied by twenty thousand pounds. The king of Prussia repeatedly demanded with much roughness, but less success, the legacy to his queen. The duchess of Suffolk, one of the mistresses of George II., from whom Walpole drew his information, said that George II. excused himself by saying his father had burnt two wills made in his favour. They were probably the two wills of the duke and duchess of Zell, his maternal grandparents, or one of them might be that of his mother, the princess Sophia of Zell.

That unfortunate princess was unknown to the English public. She was said to be divorced before George came to the English throne, and therefore was politically dead to England. Dead as she was to England, she was alive to her own sorrows, having been confined in the solitary castle of Ahlen, on the river Aller, for nearly thirty-two years, and died only on the 13th of November, 1726, seven months before her husband, the king of England

The story of this unfortunate princess constituted a melancholy episode in the life of George of Hanover, and presents features of cruelty and injustice in him which must falsify the praises for uprightness and benevolence which some historians have heaped upon him. The princess Sophia of Zell was married to George when she was young, accomplished, and beautiful; but she had the misfortune to excite the envy of the mistress of the old elector, her husband's father, who, whilst the prince himself was absent with the army, contrived and accomplished her destruction. Count Philip Christopher Konigsmark, the brother of count Charles John Konigsmark, who had some years before murdered Mr. Thynne in the Haymarket in London—was



GEORGE II. RECEIVING FROM WALPOLE INTELLIGENCE OF HIS FATHER'S DEATH.

on a visit to the court of Hanover, where he was much distinguished by the beauty of his person, and as the member of an eminent family in Sweden. He paid marked attention to the young princess, which was more than the prince himself was wont to do, having already, like all his race, one or two ugly mistresses. The old elector ordered him to quit the kingdom, but it would appear that one of the mistresses did not mean to let him escape thus. The countess of Platen, using the princess's name, but without her knowledge, summoned Königsmark at a late hour of the night to the princess's apartment, under pretence of the princess bidding him adieu. When the princess saw him, she was incensed at his intrusion; but the malicious mistress had contrived to bring the old elector to witness his exit from the chamber, who immediately ordered him to be assassinated. The body was buried under the floor of the princess's dressing-room, where it was discovered during some alterations made in the palace by George II. "The discovery," says Horace Walpole, "was hushed up. George II. intrusted the secret to his wife, queen Caroline, who told it to my father; but the king was too tender of the honour of his mother to utter it to his mistress; nor did lady Suffolk ever hear of it till I informed her of it several years afterwards." The spot is still shown where the murder was committed.

The princess herself was placed in confinement on a charge of infidelity, and soon after George, her husband, is said to have obtained from the consistory a sentence of divorce from her. Of the reality of this, however, there appear to be no proofs. All that is known is, that she was separated from her husband and shut up in a solitary castle. If the divorce had really taken place, there could be no plea for this severe and perpetual confinement. But George kept her continually in his power; and whilst he was scandalising the morals of England by his train of mistresses, and lavishing its wealth and honours on them, he was keeping his wife a miserable captive for more than thirty years for the alleged crime of being not a hundredth part as unfaithful to him as he was to her—a crime of which on all occasions most solemn, to the day of her death, she protested her innocence. During her imprisonment she used to receive the sacrament every week, and constantly on that occasion reiterated her innocence in the sight of God. Such hardihood in a woman who was truly guilty, through thirty years of solitary imprisonment, it is impossible to conceive. But nothing moved the cold and sullen heart of Hanoverian George. On one occasion, when the French army approached her dungeon, he sent her home to her father and mother, the duke and duchess of Zell, who received her with transport, and prayed that they might still have the keeping of her. She had the happiness of remaining there a year, but on the removal of the French, George, inexorable to the entreaties of her parents, remanded her to her dungeon, and kept her there till she died.

Horace Walpole doubts both the crime of the princess and the divorce; yet the duchess of Kendal gave out that she herself was privately married to the king, and by her assiduous attendance at Lutheran chapels several times on every Sunday sought to impress the public with an idea of her being a legalised wife. "After the death of George I.," adds Walpole, "many persons of credit at Hanover expressed their belief that the imputation cast upon the princess was false and unjust. It was also reported that her husband, having once made some proposals for a reconciliation, Sophia Dorothea gave this noble answer:—'If what I am accused of be true, I am unworthy of his bed; and if the accusation be false, he is unworthy of me. I will not accept his offer.'"

Lockhart of Carnwath relates an extraordinary story, which was widely circulated in Germany regarding the cause of the king's death:—"The circumstances of king George's death are terrible, and worth the knowledge of all our friends. They are kept concealed as much as possible, even in Germany, so, probably, will be a secret both in England and France. What was told me lately by a person of superior rank and great esteem in these parts I had heard imperfectly before from a lady of quality. It seems, when the late electress was dangerously ill of her last sickness, she delivered to a faithful friend a letter to her husband, upon promise that it should be given into his own hands. It contained a protestation of her innocence, a reproach for her hard usage and unjust treatment, and concluded with a summons or citation to her husband to appear within the year and day at the divine tribunal, and there to answer for the long and many injuries she had received from him. As this letter could not with safety to the bearer be delivered in England or Hanover, it was given to him in his coach on the road. He opened it immediately, supposing it to come from Hanover. He was so struck at its unexpected contents, and his fatal citation, that his convulsions and apoplexy came fast on him. After being blooded his mouth turned awry, and they then proposed to drive off to a nearer place than Osnaburg, but he signed twice or thrice with his hand to go on, and that was the only mark of sense he showed. This is no secret among the catholics in Germany, but the protestants hush it up as much as they can."

George I. died on Sunday, the 11th of June, in his sixty-eighth year. As sovereigns go, he may be said to have been respectable; as a man, by no means so. He chose able ministers, and adapted himself to a limited monarchy far better than any of the Stuarts had done, Mary and Anne excepted. But he did not so entirely, however, refrain from breaking through constitutional restraints, as has been represented. He quickly annulled the act of parliament which made it requisite for the monarch to obtain the sanction of the legislature before quitting the kingdom, and under him the triennial term of parliament was again extended to seven years. George deserves great praise, too, for clemency. The mild treatment of the rebels of 1715 contrasts finely with the butcheries of 1745. He was regarded as a mild, good-natured man, and he had considerable claims to these qualities; but they were not incompatible with much cruelty and great want of natural affection. The same man who spared rebels did not spare his own wife. His treatment of her shows what merciless obduracy can live in the same bosom which can tolerate, if it does not originate, political mercy. His hatred and jealousy of his own son, and his desire to cut off his Hanoverian dominions and limit his prerogative in England, demonstrate a nature rather selfish than generous, and destitute of real warmth of heart. The evil example which he set by shutting up a wife who protested to the last day of her existence, in the very act of receiving the holy sacrament, her innocence, and who was credited by all those who had the best means of knowing, whilst he allowed his fat and lean German mistresses to flaunt before the English public, to plunder his people, and corrupt his administration, did much towards degrading public morals. They were not the merits of George I., but the necessity of maintaining the protestant succession, which made this dull, heavy, cold-hearted foreigner tolerable to the English people.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE II

Accession of George II.—A New Parliament called—Onslow elected Speaker—Frederick, Prince of Wales, comes from Hanover—East India Company's Charter prolonged—A Bill passed, ordering all Pleadings and Processes of Law to be in English—Duke of Wharton dies—Pragmatic Sanction ratified—Stanislaus and Augustus both elected Kings of Poland—Spaniards conquer Sicily—Duke of Berwick killed before Philipsburg—Prince of Wales marries Augusta of Saxe Gotha—Don Carlos acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily—Riot in Edinburgh, and Captain Porteus hanged by the Mob—Prince of Wales and his Family dismissed from St. James's Palace—Queen Caroline dies—Princess of Orange comes to England, but is sent back to Holland—War with Spain proclaimed—Admiral Vernon captures Porto Bello—King of Prussia dies, and is succeeded by Frederick the Great—Emperor Charles VI. dies—Anne, Czarina of Russia, dies, and is succeeded by Elizabeth—Empress Maria Theresa succeeds to Charles VI.—The King of Prussia invades Austria—Anson's Store-ship, the "Wager," wrecked at Cape Horn—The King announces to Parliament his determination to support Maria Theresa—Battle of Molwitz—King of Prussia takes Brieg—George concludes a Year's Neutrality with him—Carthagena and Cuba unsuccessfully attacked by the English—King of Prussia takes Prague, Breslau, &c.—The Empress summons the Hungarian Nobles at Presburg, and they declare in her Favour; but the King of Bavaria is crowned King of Bohemia, and elected Emperor by the title of Charles VII.

GEORGE II. was born in 1683, and was, consequently, in his forty-fourth year when he ascended the throne. In 1705 he married the princess Caroline Wilhelmina, of Anspach, who was born in the same year as himself, by whom he had now four children—Frederick, prince of Wales, born in 1707, and William, duke of Cumberland, born in 1721.

George had, if either, a narrower intellect than his father, but could speak English fluently, though with a foreign accent—a great advantage over his predecessor. He was small of stature, and subject to fits of violent passion, neither of which qualities were conducive to royal dignity. Nor did the qualities of his mind supply any advantages calculated to remedy these defects. He was possessed of courage, which he had proved at the battle of Oudenarde, and did again at Dettingen; and he was praised for justice, which his first act, the suppression of his father's will, did not by any means demonstrate. In filial virtue we have seen that he was totally deficient, and this want was exhibited towards himself in his son, the prince of Wales, who scandalised the nation on his arrival by the same hostility to his father as George had exhibited towards George I. Perhaps it was a love of order and etiquette rather than justice which distintinguished the present monarch. For his sort of military precision and love of soldiers he was nicknamed "the little captain" by the Jacobites. But the vilest trait of his disposition was his avarice, which was the more odious in a monarch who had everything liberally provided for him by the nation. He was said to have had his purse continually in his hands, not for the purpose of benevolent distribution, but for the mere love of his coin; and one of his bed-chamber women, to whom he was making love, after seeing him count over his money many times, exclaimed, "Sir, I can bear it no longer; if you count your money once more, I will leave the room." He admitted, says lord Chesterfield, that he was much more affected by little things than great ones—the certain mark of a little mind; he therefore troubled himself very little about religion, but took it as he found it, without doubt, objection, or inquiry. He hated and despised all literature and intellectual pursuit, arts and sciences, and the professors of them; and was such a mere mechanical plodder, that lord Hervey observes that "he seems to think having done a thing to-day an unanswerable reason for doing it to-morrow." Like his father, he had his mistresses; but they were some of them English and good-looking; and his best merits were that he was a good man of business, and contented to leave alone the liberties of the nation so long as he could enjoy his mistresses, his money, and his trips to Hanover.

As for the queen, she was a far superior person. She had been well brought up on the second marriage of her mother after the death of her father, by the queen of Prussia, Sophia Charlotte, the sister of George I. She had been handsome till she grew corpulent and suffered from the small-pox; and still she was much admired for her very impressive countenance, her fine voice, penetrating eye, and the grace and sweetness of her manner. She was still more admired for the striking contrast which she presented to her husband in her love of literature and literary men, extending her interest and inquiries into philosophy, theology, and metaphysics. Those who are inclined to ridicule her pretence to such knowledge admit that she was equally distinguished by prudence and good sense. She combined in her manners royal dignity and unassuming grace, and was more popular with the nation than any one of the Hanover family had ever yet been. "Her *levées*," says archdeacon Coxe, "were a strange picture of the motley character and manners of a queen and a learned woman. She received company whilst she was at her toilet; prayers, and sometimes a sermon were read; learned men and divines were intermixed with courtiers and ladies of the household; the conversation turned on metaphysical subjects, blended with repartees, sallies of mirth, and the tittle-tattle of a drawing-room." Lord Mahon adds that "on the table, perhaps, lay heaped together the newest ode by Stephen Duck upon her beauty, her last letter from Leibnitz upon Free Will, and the most high-wrought panegyric of Dr. Clarke on her 'inimitable sweetness of temper,' 'impartial love of truth,' and 'very particular and uncommon degree of knowledge, even on matters of the most abstract speculation.'" She delighted to engage theologians in discussing knotty points of doctrine, and in perplexing them with questions on the various articles of faith in different churches, and corresponded with them on these subjects through her bed-chamber woman, Mrs. Clayton, afterwards lady Sundon.

In fact, allowing for the tendency of men to satires a woman's taste in such things, Caroline seems to have desired to introduce a more elevated and intellectual tone into the English court; to make it more what it had been under the Tudors in this respect, and what it has never succeeded in being under the Hanoverian dynasty, even down to our own time. But the best proofs of queen Caroline's superiority were shown in her pure, moral character, which was free from the slightest stain, and in her quick discernment and substantial promotion of the most able men in the church. Through her means were elevated to the episcopal bench such men as Hare, Sherlock, and Butler, and that such unprincipled and heartless men as Swift were kept from desecrating it. Through her, too, as long as she lived, the king was influenced to the discharge of his duties as a king, though she managed her power with such tact, that she seemed never to dictate or presume. She inspired the king, and he acted, believing himself to be directed by his own wisdom. Towards his foibles she was more than "a little kind." She not only tolerated his principal mistress, Mrs. Howard, afterwards countess of Suffolk, in the palace, but used banteringly to call her "sister Howard," and employed her at her toilet, and otherwise about her person.

The wits in the opposition, Swift, Gay, Pope, Arbuthnot, Bolingbroke, Peterborough, and others, imagining, as is commonly the case, that the mistress would have more power than the wife, paid all their court to lady Suffolk, and found out their blunder too late. Walpole, a deeper reader of human nature, from the first saw the truth, and herein showed himself a far profounder diplomatist than Bolingbroke. Such were the moral and intellectual elements prevailing in the court of George II. at its opening.

For a moment, however, Walpole appeared about to fall from his altitude, and the Jacobite faction was in ecstasies. The dispatch of Townshend announcing the king's death in Germany arrived in London on the 14th of June, and was soon followed by himself. Walpole instantly hastened to the palace of Richmond, where the prince of Wales resided, and was told that the prince was taking his usual afternoon *siesta*. He desired that he might be awoke, in consequence of important intelligence. George, suddenly aroused, rushed forth half dressed to learn the urgent business, when Walpole knelt down and kissed his hand, informing him of his father's decease, and that he was king. George was at first incredulous, but Walpole produced Townshend's dispatch, and inquired whom his majesty would be pleased to appoint to draw up the necessary declaration to the privy council, trusting that it would be himself. To his consternation and chagrin, the king said abruptly, "Compton;" and Walpole withdrew in deep vexation, imagining his own reign was at an end.

He waited on Sir Spencer Compton with the royal command. This gentleman, who was the second surviving son of the earl of Northampton, had long been, with lord Scarborough, the prince's chief favourite. Compton had conducted himself very well in the speaker's chair, where certain parliamentary knowledge and tact are needed rather than great abilities; but he felt himself totally unfit to wield the difficult affairs of a nation. He was confounded at the proposal to draw up the declaration to the privy council, and begged Walpole to do it for him. Walpole instantly recovered his spirits. He saw that such a man could never be his rival, and he advised his colleagues, if they went out of office, not to engage in any violent opposition, as they would soon be wanted again. He knew, too, that he had the queen in his favour, who was too clear-headed not to see that Walpole was alone the man for the time. He had also perceived her talent, her sound judgment, and the influence she was sure to acquire; and he had, accordingly, cultivated her goodwill. To complete his favour with her, he offered to procure her a jointure from parliament of one hundred thousand pounds a year, whilst the impolitic Compton had only proposed sixty thousand pounds. The queen did not oppose the king's attempt to change the ministry, but she impressed him with the danger of disturbing an already powerful and prosperous cabinet; and she made him aware of the fact that Compton had been compelled to get Walpole to draw up the declaration. Besides the liberal jointure which he promised, she added that he intended to add one hundred and thirty thousand pounds to the civil list. Horace Walpole, arriving from Paris, threw his whole weight into the scale, representing difficulties which must beset foreign negotiations in new hands. These combined circumstances told strongly on George; but the finish was put to Compton's government by his feeling overwhelmed by his own incompetence, and resigning the charge. The king had, therefore, nothing for it but to re-appoint the old ministry again. Some slight modifications took place. Lord Berkeley, who had joined the opposition of Carteret and Roxburgh, was replaced by lord Torrington, and Compton received the title of lord Wilmington, the order of the garter, and the presidency of the council.

The opposition was confounded. It had begun to triumph in the fall of Walpole, and his son relates that when the throng of nobility and gentry crowded to kiss the royal hands and congratulate them on their accession, his mother, lady Walpole, the wife of the supposed fallen minister, made her appearance, she was treated with the utmost rudeness. The crowd of titled vulgar sturdily held her back by their scornful looks and elbows, so that she could not approach nearer than the third or fourth ring. The queen, however, instantly descried her, and exclaimed aloud, "There, I am sure, I see a friend!" The effect was instantaneous, and the lady herself observed, "I might have walked over their heads if I had pleased." The servile crew perceived they had made a blunder. Parliament, in accordance with the act of settlement, ought to have met the day after the announcement of the death of the late king, which would have been June 15th, but it was prorogued to the 27th.

The king, in his speech, made the usual avowal of regret for the death of a father whom he had never respected when alive, and the equally matter of course ones—that he would maintain the constitution and the civil and religious rights of his subjects. The address of condolence and congratulation was moved by Sir Paul Methuen and seconded by Walpole, and carried unanimously. These formalities settled, Walpole proposed that though the revenue of the civil list was found to produce one hundred and thirty thousand pounds more than the seven hundred thousand pounds allowed to the late king, the whole should be settled on his majesty for life. Not a man except Shippen raised a word of opposition. That stanch Jacobite declared that the civil list of queen Anne had amounted only to five hundred thousand pounds, and that the same sum had been twice voted during the late king's reign; that the highest sum granted to George I. was seven hundred thousand pounds, and it had been hoped that considerable retrenchments would be made, especially in the items of journeys to Hanover. No voice, however, was raised to support him, and the whole eight hundred and thirty thousand pounds were voted, as well as the one hundred thousand pounds for the queen's jointure, without remonstrance.

The course of events on the succession of George II. was a great blow to the cause of the pretender. Instead of any trouble, as they hoped, they found the spirit of loyalty towards the new dynasty greatly on the increase. The pretender was at Bologna when he heard of the king's death. The dispute with his wife had continued, and he had resisted many representations from his friends, of the impolicy of their keeping before the world their disunions on account of the titular earl of Inverness. Matters had lately, however, been somewhat accommodated. He had agreed, though with every sign of reluctance, to dismiss Inverness, and Clementina, thus mollified, had quitted her convent and agreed to set out to join her husband. Both she and the pretender were on the way to meet, when the news of the death of George I. reached them. The pretender turned quickly and hastened towards Lorraine. He dispatched letters from Nancy to Atterbury in Paris, to lord Orrery in London, and sent Allan Cameron, one of his most trusty servants, to confer with Lockhart of Carnwath, at Liege. James, spite of the little prospect of aid from abroad, or preparation at home in his favour, was eager to repair to the Highlands and make another essay. This foolish design was encouraged by Inverness, but both Lockhart and Clephane declared that the attempt would be sheer madness, and the answers from Atterbury and from London were as decisively against it. They declared that no attempt without a powerful army and general aid from abroad would be of any use.

Whilst suffering this disappointment, the pretender was not allowed even to remain quiet on the continent. The English court demanded that he should be ordered to quit Lorraine, and the duke dared not disobey the injunction of France on that head. By the advice of Atterbury, he retired to Avignon; but he was not permitted to continue even there. France obtained his removal, and the next spring he returned to Rome and joined his wife, where they continued to live for some years in apparent harmony. Those who saw Clementina during that period, describe her as of graceful and kindly manners, and equally distinguished for her quiet good sense and benevolence. Inverness, though still greatly regarded by the pretender, was kept at a distance, in compliance with her wishes. He generally lived at Avignon, but the earl of Dunbar, James's other favourite, retained his influence in their little court.

In England the Hanoverian dynasty and the Walpole ministry made rapid strides in popularity, and carried all before them. The new parliament met in January, 1728, and Walpole's party had in the house four hundred and twenty-seven members, all stanch in his support. Sir Spencer Compton being raised to the peerage, Mr. Arthur Onslow was elected speaker, and continued to exercise that office with unexampled *éclat* for three-and-thirty years. So strong was the party in power, that several measures were carried which at other times would raise much discontent. It was proposed by Horace Walpole that two hundred and thirty thousand pounds should be voted for maintaining twelve thousand Hesseans in the king's service. For this shameless proposal there was no possible excuse in the aspect of affairs either at home or abroad, which all tended to peace. It was palpable that the object was to guard Hanover and not to serve England; yet the proposal passed by two hundred and eighty votes against only eighty-four! The duke of Brunswick was by treaty to be paid twenty-five thousand pounds a year for four years, for the maintenance of five thousand more troops.

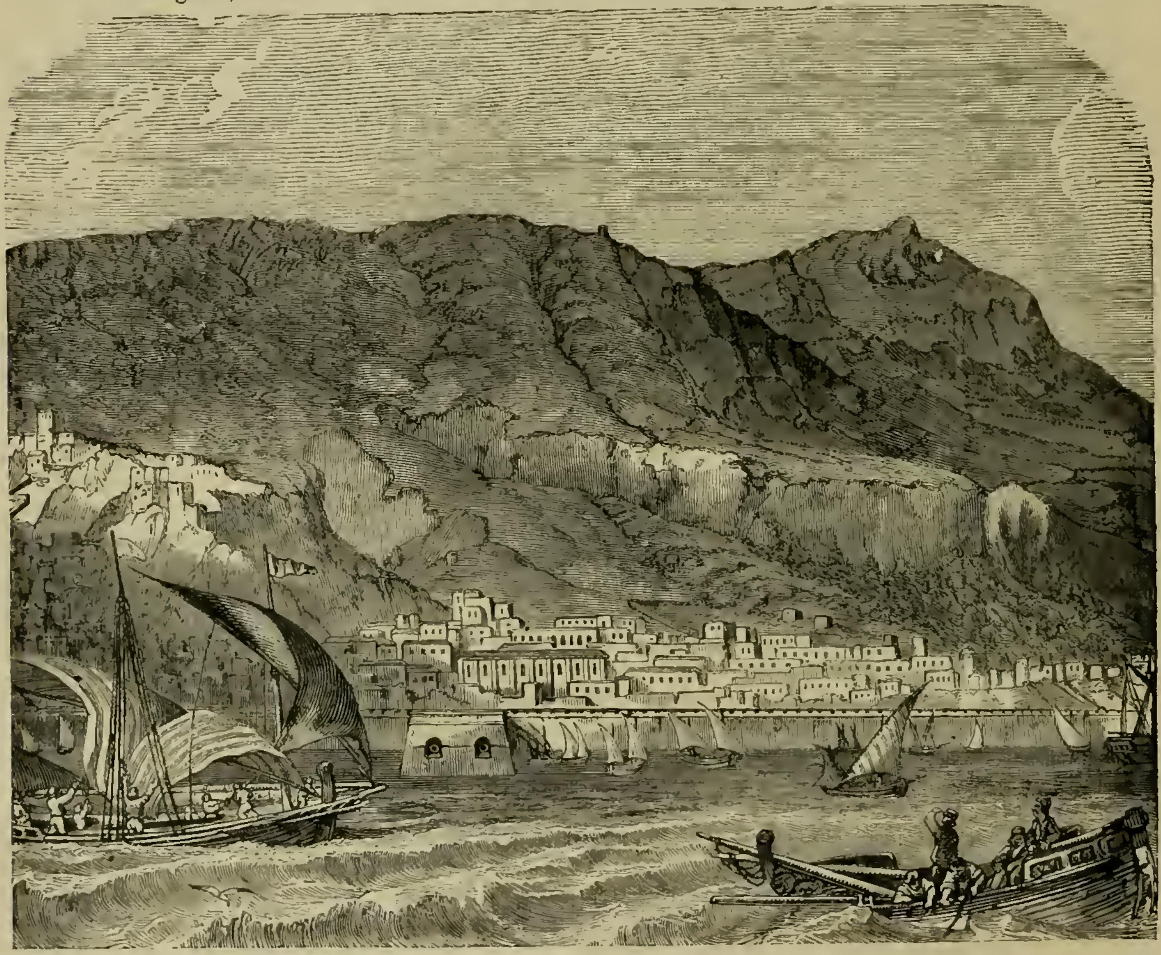
These things did not pass without remark by the opposition. Pulteney and Bolingbroke discussed them with much vigour and acrimony in the "Craftsman." It was asserted in the house that the public burthens had increased instead of diminished since 1716; but Walpole contended that there had been a reduction of the debts to the amount of two million five hundred thousand pounds; and his statement was supported by a large majority, and it was laid before the king. The opposition then demanded an explanation of the expenditure of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for secret service money. Pulteney asserted that this money had been spent in such a manner to foster corruption that ministers dare not bring it to the light. It was well understood that Walpole had used the greater part of it in buying up that triumphant majority which enabled him to carry the most obnoxious measures. The king had made a great merit, on coming to the throne, of dismissing the shoals of Germans which followed his father; yet here had parliament voted, by overwhelming majorities, the employment of no fewer than seventeen thousand Germans as soldiers. The demands of the opposition were so vehement, and the abuse was so glaring, that even Walpole was embarrassed how to get rid of the question. He could only recur to the old plea, that the money had been spent on services highly advantageous to the state, but which could not properly be made public. Suddenly events lifted him out of his difficulty. News arrived that the king of Spain, who declined to ratify the preliminaries of peace entered into at Vienna, on hearing of the death of George I., hoping for a revolution, had now given way, and had issued what was called the act of Pardo, ratifying the preliminaries, and referring all remaining difficulties to be settled at a congress to be held at Soissons.

Walpole read the dispatch to the house, and announced that now he could tell them without any difficulty how the money had been spent—it was to procure this peace. Such was the manner in which Walpole carried his measures by the most daring audacity and the force of his huge majority. The excuse was accepted with a clamour of approbation. The question was instantly called for and carried without a division. The ministerial party continued increasing, and the son of the triumphant minister remarked that "a good majority, like a good sum of money, soon makes itself bigger."

At the congress which commenced in June, William Stanhope, Horace Walpole, and Poyntz appeared on behalf of England. At Paris lord Waldegrave supplied the place of Horace Walpole; and at the Hague the earl of Chesterfield ably managed the national interests. But the congress made little progress; there was a frequent exchange of memorials and counter-memorials, but no accomplishment of real business. The only things which became apparent were that France and Spain were every day becoming more reconciled, and that the league betwixt Spain and the emperor was as fast dissolving.

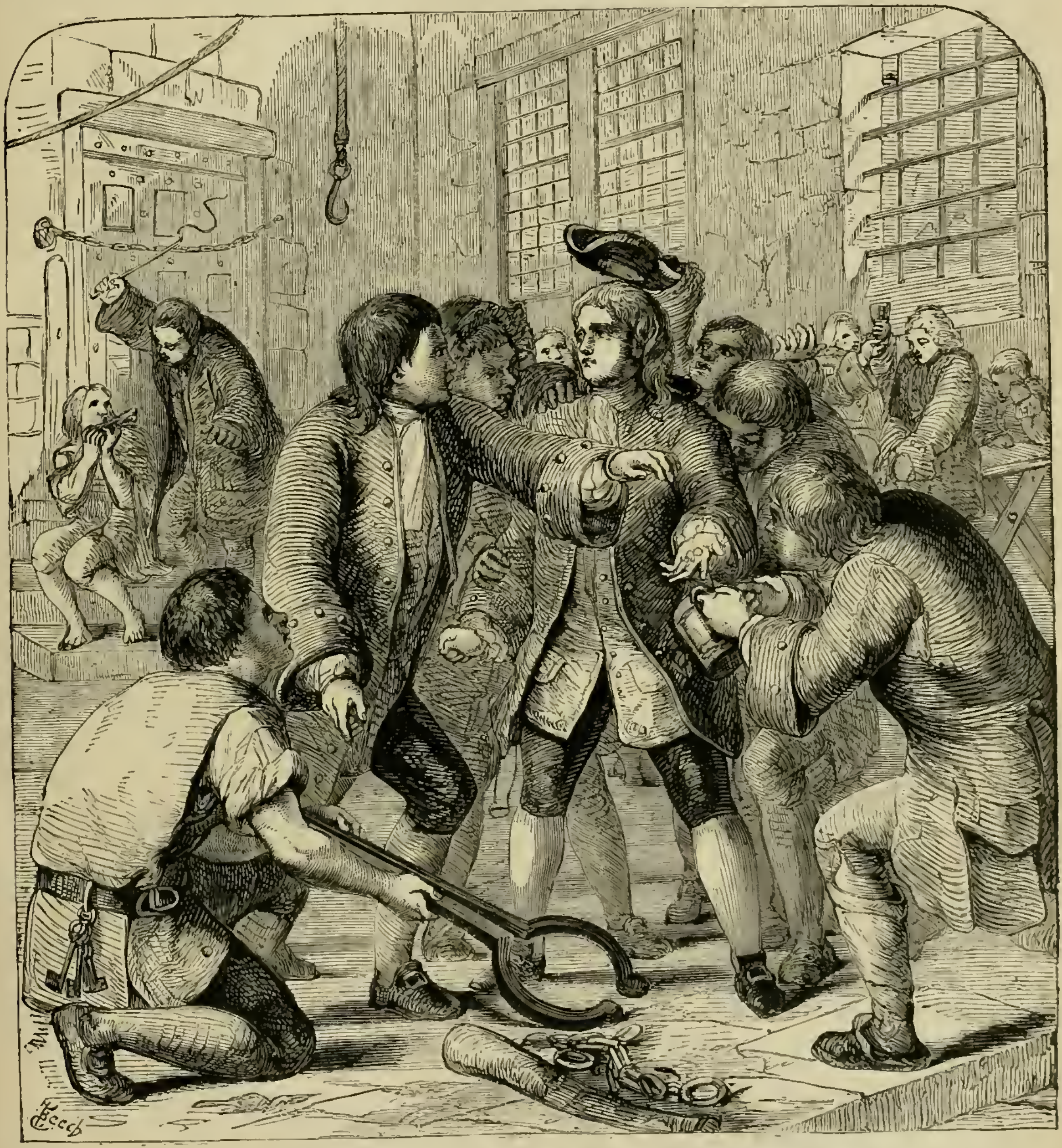
The opening of the year 1729 was distinguished by the arrival of Frederick prince of Wales from Hanover. During the reign of George I. this young man had never been allowed to visit England, and there were now great rejoicings on his advent. He was a youth of popular manners, and great hopes were built upon him. But to his father his coming must have been anything but agreeable, for he commenced a system of opposition to the paternal authority precisely like what his father had practised towards his father, George I. He was now just twenty-one years of age.

The only measure of any importance in parliament during this session of a domestic nature was the barefaced voting by a large majority the grant of one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds to make up a pretended deficiency in the civil list. Walpole is said to have done all in his power to dissuade the king from this disgraceful measure, for no such deficiency existed, but George wanted the money. The reluctance with which Walpole conducted this affair through parliament was rendered the more galling by the determined opposition to it in the house of lords; and when it was forced upon it, as if it were a transaction to be buried in the deepest oblivion, the house would allow no report of its proceedings. In fact, no report of the peers' proceedings during this or the previous session remains. To make the matter the more scandalous—for it showed that the court was very conscious of its dishonest character—a vague clause was introduced into the act stipulating for the repayment of the sum at his majesty's death. It was never likely to be repaid at all; but even the semblance of a hope of repayment was postponed beyond his majesty's time.



GIBRALTAR.

The great difficulties of the government at this time were the settlement of the questions with Spain of the right to cut logwood in the bay of Campechy, and the retention of Gibraltar. The Spaniards had frequently resisted the cutting of logwood in the bay of Campechy by the English; and in 1717 the marquis of Monteleone had presented a memorial against it, but the board of trade contended that the practice was of old standing, and amounted to a right. This representation was now laid before the house of commons, and was backed by many petitions from the merchants of London and other places, complaining of the interruptions to their trade to the South American and West Indian colonies, which had been carried on by connivance rather than by actual permission of Spain. There was a great fermentation in the public mind on these subjects, and the minister was accused of tamely submitting to national injuries. The nation seemed ready to rush into a war with Spain, and perhaps all the more so, that the king in his opening speech had observed that "an actual war was preferable to such a doubtful peace, but that the exchange was very easy to be made at any time."


RECEPTION OF A DEBTOR IN THE FLEET PRISON IN THE DAYS OF GEORGE II.

The point, however, which excited the most indignation was that regarding Gibraltar. There was a strong feeling in the public mind that the government was willing to give up this fortress to Spain. The Spanish government was extremely urgent on the subject, declaring that there could be no peace, no truce with England, until it was surrendered. It was recollected by the English public that Stanhope had actually offered to give it up, and it was not known whether any equivalent except the signing of the Quadruple Alliance had been demanded. When Stanhope had sounded the house of lords upon the subject, such a resentment was occasioned by the proposal, that he wrote to Sir Luke Schaub in

Paris, saying that the only hope of Spain ever obtaining Gibraltar was by dropping all mention of it for the present. The French government had eagerly snatched at the proposal, for it would have greatly liked to see England deprived of that important fortress, and had held it out to Spain as an incentive to peace. Stanhope, in order to induce the French government to desist from this mischievous course, had made an express journey to Paris. But Spain had continued to be so pressing on the subject, that the king had been induced, by the consent of the lords-justices, to write a letter to Madrid, offering to give up Gibraltar for an equivalent, and by consent of his parliament. The king and queen of Spain would hear of no equivalent, nor of the consent of parliament; and George wrote a second letter, considerably modified. Spain considered this letter as an unconditional offer of surrender, and demanded its fulfilment. When Townshend came into office after the deaths of Stanhope and Craggs, the contest on this point still went on. The house of lords now demanded that the king's letter should be laid before them, which, after some reluctance, was done; and the opposition moved, "That effectual care be taken in any treaty that the king of Spain do renounce all claims to Gibraltar and Minorca in plain and strong terms." The ministers, however, carried a more moderate resolution—"That the house relies on his majesty for preserving his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca." A similar discussion with a similar result took place in the commons. The government saw plainly that nothing would induce the English public to relinquish this important station.

No sooner, therefore, had the parliament closed and the king had set out to Hanover, than ministers sent off William Stanhope to Madrid to exert all his powers of persuasion to procure a treaty of peace without any mention of Gibraltar. On arriving at Madrid he found that the court had removed to Seville, in Andalusia. This had been done by the influence of the queen, in order to draw Philip from the council of Castile, which was doing all it could to prevail on him again to abdicate. Stanhope followed the court to Seville, and laboured with such effect that he obtained the signing of a treaty of defensive alliance betwixt England, Spain, and France, to which Holland afterwards acceded. By this treaty Spain revoked all the privileges granted to Austria by the treaties of Vienna, and re-established the English trade with her American colonies on its former footing, restored all captures, and made compensation for losses. The Assiento was confirmed to the South Sea Company. Commissioners were appointed to settle all claims of Spaniards for ships taken in 1718, and to settle the limits of the American trade. The succession of Don Carlos to Parma and Tuscany was recognised, with the right to garrison the ports of Leghorn, Porto Ferraja, Parma, and Placentia, with six thousand Spanish troops. Not a word was said of Gibraltar—a silence amounting to a renunciation of its demand by Spain; and that Philip regarded it as such was evidenced by his beginning to construct the strong lines of San Roque, and thus to cut off all communication with the obnoxious fortress by land. Though the king gave up all hope of ever recovering Gibraltar, the people of Spain still clung to the idea, and for half a century continued to cherish hopes of its realisation. Mr. Keene, the English consul, was instructed to remonstrate against the construction of the lines of San Roque, or the Campo, which ran right across the sandy isthmus connecting the rock with Andalusian mainland; but he received for answer that the king would rather let himself be cut to pieces than desist, though the whole universe should fall on him; and that the English might as well pretend to Cadiz as to the spot where the line is. Nearly a century after this the English procured the destruction of these lines by a clever *ruse*. When the French in the great Napoleon war were advancing on San Roque, the people ran to seek protection under the guns of Gibraltar; but the governor told them he could spare no artillery to protect the lines; that the French would seize and occupy them, and, therefore, it would be better to blow them up. The Spaniards consented, and not only the garrison, but nearly every inhabitant of Gibraltar, hastened to assist in this unexpected destruction of the fortifications which had so long shut them in from the mainland. There soon remained nothing of all these formidable defences but heaps of stones, which, owing to the tremendous batteries since erected to command them, are never likely to be again placed one upon the other.

William Stanhope was rewarded for his accomplishment of this treaty with the title of lord Harrington, and was soon after made secretary of state. But whilst the English were delighted by the completion of the treaty, the emperor was enraged by it, and his mortification was doubled by the fact that, when he sought to raise four hundred thousand pounds by a loan in London to supply the want of his Spanish subsidies, the ministry brought in and rapidly passed a bill prohibiting loans to foreign powers, except by a licence from the king under the privy seal. The opposition raised a loud outcry, calling it "a bill of terrors," an eternal yoke on our fellow-subjects, and a magnificent boon to the Dutch. But Walpole very justly answered, "Shall British merchants be permitted to lend their money against the British nation? Shall they arm an enemy with strength, and assist him with supplies?"

In the midst of this prosperous career, the two brothers-in-law, the ministers, began to differ in their views, and lord Townshend was soon driven, by the overbearing conduct of Walpole, to resign. Lady Townshend, the sister of Walpole, and even queen Caroline, exerted their influence for some time to put an end to these feuds; but lady Townshend soon died, and the queen, finding the breach inevitable, took the side of Walpole as the most indispensable servant of the crown. There were serious topics on which Townshend and Walpole differed, both domestic and foreign. Townshend did not approve of the length to which matters were carried against the emperor, and he was weary of the timid temper of the duke of Newcastle, and strongly urged his dismissal, and the employment of lord Chesterfield in his place; but a pension bill brought the quarrel to a crisis. The object of the bill, which was warmly supported by the whole opposition, was to prevent any man holding a pension, or who had any office held in trust for him, sitting in parliament. The king privately styled it "a villanous bill, which ought to be torn to pieces in every particular." Both Walpole and Townshend were of the same opinion; but Townshend was for openly opposing it, Walpole for letting it pass the commons, and be thrown out in the lords. This was the course which Walpole continued to pursue regarding this bill, for it was again and again brought forward during his whole administration. He sought to throw the odium of rejecting it from the commons to the lords. Townshend, to whom the odium of rejecting was thus carried in the lords, protested against this disingenuous conduct on the part of Walpole, and assured him that the *ruse* would soon be fully observed, and bring more unpopularity on him in the end than a manly, open opposition—which it did.

The temper of Townshend was warm, though his nature was upright; and in this mood, a discussion taking place on foreign affairs at the house of colonel Selwyn, the dispute became so warm, that Walpole declared that he did not believe what Townshend was saying. The indignant Townshend seized Walpole by the collar, and they both grasped their swords. Mrs. Selwyn shrieked for assistance, and the incensed relatives were parted; but they never could be reconciled, and, after making another effort to obtain the dismissal of Newcastle, and to maintain his own position against the overbearing Walpole, he resigned on the 16th of May. Townshend retired to Rainham, and passed the remainder of his life in rural pursuits. He might have done his rival infinite mischief by joining the ranks of the opposition, but he was too conscientious for that. Chesterfield, when he afterwards joined the opposition, went to Rainham to induce Townshend to come up and use his influence in an important debate in the peers, but he tried in vain. Townshend held much the same opinions as Walpole, and he would not, to mortify an ungenerous rival, sacrifice a single principle. One of the greatest benefits which he conferred on this country he conferred on his retirement—that of introducing the turnip from Germany.

On the retirement of Townshend, Walpole reigned supreme and without a rival in the cabinet. Henry Pelham was made secretary-at-war; Compton, earl of Wilmington, privy seal. He left foreign affairs chiefly to Stanhope, now lord Harrington, and to the duke of Newcastle, impressing on them by all means to avoid quarrels with foreign powers, and maintain the blessings of peace. With all the faults of Walpole, this was the praise of his political system, which system, on the meeting of parliament in the spring of 1731, was violently attacked by Wyndham and Pulteney, on the plea that we were making ruinous treaties, and sacrificing British interests, in order to benefit Hanover, the eternal millstone round the neck of England. Pulteney and Bolingbroke carried the same attack into the pages of the "Craftsman," but they failed to move Walpole, or to shake his power.

The cause of the pretender sunk in proportion to the peace throughout Europe and the prosperity at home. From 1728 to 1740 it was at a very low ebb, and lost the few marked men who had moved in it. Three of the chief leaders died about this time—Mar, Wharton, and Atterbury. Mar died at Aix-la-Chapelle in May, 1732, having outlived the respect of all parties, and perhaps most so of his own. Wharton continued his vicious life in Italy, France, and Spain, sometimes pretending that he had deserted the Jacobite cause, and entreating for restoration. When refused, he again joined the pretender's party openly, ran through the remains of his fortune, and died in most miserable circumstances at Poblet, in Catalonia, in the monastery there. He put on the monastic habit a short time before his death, according to the practice of penitents, and the monks said that he became a sincere convert to the doctrines of holy church. He finished his infamous career on the 31st of May, 1731, and was buried in the convent church, where a plain slab in a remote aisle marks the resting-place of the last, and, though much to say, possibly the worst of the Whartons.

Atterbury, as the pretender's prospects declined, retired to Montpellier, in the south of France, but was induced by James to return and take the management of his affairs in Paris, which he did, and continued in that unsatisfactory office till his death in February, 1732, in the seventieth year of his age. His body was brought over to England to be buried in Westminster Abbey, but was not allowed to pass without the coffin being opened and searched for secret papers. So low was the Jacobite interest now fallen, that Sir Robert Walpole said that, if ever the Stuarts came again, it must be through the lowest people, for the chiefs were all dead or discouraged.

Such was the peace abroad and the prosperity of the country at this time, that there occur few events worthy of record. Of those which took place in 1731, the most remarkable was an act abolishing the use of Latin in all proceedings of the courts of justice, and the next the renewal of the charter of the East India Company. If the country was peaceful and prosperous, however, it was neither free from corruption nor from the need of extensive reform. The very system of Walpole which produced such a show of prosperity, that an old Scotch secretary of state asked the minister what he had done to make the Almighty so much his friend, was built on the most wholesale bribery and corruption. It was, in fact, a purchased domestic peace. In social life the example of the government produced the like dishonesty. There was a fearful *exposé* of the proceedings of a charitable corporation for lending small sums of money to the industrious poor at legal interest; and Sir Robert Sutton, the late ambassador at Paris, was found so deeply implicated in the frauds and extortions practised on those they were employed to benefit, that he was expelled from the house.

There was also an inquiry into the state of the public prisons of London, which opened up a most amazing scene of horrors. It was found to be a common practice of the warders to connive at the escape of rich prisoners for a sufficient bribe, and inflicting the most oppressive cruelties on those who were too poor to pay heavy fees. One captain M'Phaedris, the report of a committee of the house of commons states, having refused to pay some exorbitant fees, had irons put upon his legs which were too little, so that, in putting them on, his legs had like to have been broken. He was dragged away to the dungeon, where he lay without a bed, loaded with irons so close riveted that they kept him in continual torture, and mortified his legs. The wretched prisoner became lame and nearly blind from this atrocious usage, and having petitioned the judges to hear his case, they found it fully borne out, and reprimanded the gaoler, but declared that they could not give the prisoner any relief, because it was not in term time!

Another report details more general horrors:—"The committee saw in the women's sick wards many miserable objects without beds, on the floor, perishing with extreme want, and in the men's sick ward yet much worse. On giving food to these poor wretches, though it was done with the utmost caution—they being allowed at first the smallest quantities, and that of liquid nourishment—one died. The vessels of his stomach were so disordered and contracted for want of use, that they were totally incapable of performing their office, and the unhappy creature perished about the time of digestion. Upon his body a coroner's inquest sate, —a thing which, though required by law to be always done, hath, for many years, been scandalously omitted in this gaol —and the jury found that he died of want. Those who were not so far gone, on proper nourishment being given them, recovered, so that not above nine have died since the 25th of March last, the day the committee first met there, though before, a day seldom passed without a death; and, upon the advancing of the spring, not less than eight or ten usually died every twenty-four hours."

It was high time for a Howard to commence his researches into such regions.

The year 1732 was distinguished by little of importance. The opposition, led on by Pulteney, attacked the treaty of Vienna, by which the Pragmatic Sanction had been approved of, and which, they contended, might lead us into a continental war some day, or into a breach of the public faith, of which, they asserted, this ministry had perpetrated too many already. They assailed the standing army, but were answered that there was yet a pretender, and many men capable of plotting and caballing against the crown. The king was so incensed at Pulteney for his strictures on the army, that he struck his name out of the list of privy councillors, and ordered that all commissions of the peace which he held in different counties should be revoked. Amongst the most adulatory supporters of the government was lord Harvey, the "lord Fanny" of Pope. This lord Harvey was a young man of ability, but of such a miserable constitution that he was obliged to live only on asses' milk and biscuits. Once a week he indulged himself in an apple, and he took an emetic daily. He contended that the writers who attacked government ought to be put down by force, and in his own person he attempted to put this in practice; for Pulteney being suspected by him of having written a scarifying article on him in the "Craftsman," he challenged him, and both combatants were wounded. Plumer very justly contended that scribblers ought to be left to other scribblers.

On the 1st of June the king prorogued parliament, and soon after set out for Hanover, leaving the queen regent as before. During his residence in Germany the decree of the Pragmatic Sanction was ratified by the Diet, thus enabling the princess Maria Theresa to succeed to the throne of Austria. This celebrated queen, and afterwards empress, was about to be married to the duke of Lorraine, who in the preceding year had made a visit to England, and had been greatly struck by the wealth and prosperity of the country, and the kind and courteous spirit of the people. During George's sojourn in Germany this summer, he took under his protection a considerable number of the protestants of the archbishopric of Saltzburg, who, spite of the treaty of Westphalia, which guaranteed liberty of conscience to all Germany, were suffering a severe persecution. Numbers of these poor people were allowed to cross over to England, where they were supported by a grant of parliament, and sent off principally to the American colony of Georgia, founded by the benevolent general Oglethorpe.

The parliament session of 1733 opened with loud complaints that Spain had not yet made compensation for the depredations committed on our merchants during the last war, and the king was compelled to admit that the meeting of the commissioners of the two powers had been delayed, and that no satisfactory result was yet arrived at. Spain, having got the main question of peace or war settled with England and France, showed no disposition to make restitution of even seizures made before proclamation of war. She contended that the greater part of the British merchants who had suffered loss had been concerned in a smuggling trade with her colonies, and that nearly all trade to those colonies, except the supply of negroes under the Assiento, was smuggling. There was a loud demand upon Walpole to insist on plain terms for throwing open the trade to the Spanish main, and for satisfaction for past damages. But Walpole knew that such a course rendered a war hazardous. The usual trade to the Spanish colonies had been conceded in the preliminaries, but Spain did not practically allow it, and Walpole was by no means inclined to create fresh differences with that proud, poor, and unmanageable nation.

Ministers were even, in the present state of peace, at their wits' end for means of paying the ordinary demands upon them, and Walpole was about introducing measures which of themselves raised a turmoil in the public mind. The pension bill and the standing army evoked much heat of opposition, but the measures which excited the most sensation were the open breach of faith regarding the sinking fund, and a bill for extending the excise over fresh articles.

The sinking fund was established in 1717 by Stanhope and Walpole himself. During the reign of George I. that fund had been held sacred, but in this reign and since 1727, there had been several stealthy invasions of it. These having been tolerated, Walpole had become bold by impunity, and now he proposed to take half a million from it for the current expenses of the year. The opposition raised a loud and just outcry at this breach of public faith, and Sir John Barnard, member for London, who had been brought up as a member of the Society of Friends, and was regarded at once as one of the most upright men and best financiers of the age, declared that not only ought this fund never to be touched for any other than its legitimate purpose, but that those who did invade it must expect the curses of posterity; that it was a poor, short-sighted expedient to ease ourselves by loading our posterity.

Pulteney had a fine opportunity of lashing Walpole, and exclaimed, "The right honourable gentleman had once the vanity to call himself the father of the sinking fund; but if Solomon's judgment was right, he who is thus for splitting and dividing the child, can never be deemed to be the real father." Walpole, however, had a powerful argument for the landed members, and informed them that if he were not allowed to borrow from the sinking fund, he must lay on a land tax of two shillings in the pound; and at that announcement all ideas of the dishonesty of robbing the fund set apart for justice towards posterity vanished, and the bill was carried by a majority of one hundred and ten. This convenient door being once set open, the sinking fund became common ministerial prey, and sank into a farce and a delusion. The very next year one million two hundred thousand pounds, being the produce of the fund, was swooped up, and in 1735 and 1736 ministers could not even wait for its coming in, but mortgaged it and took it by anticipation; and thus continued the fate of the so-called sinking fund down to our time, when some efforts have been made to restore its legitimate action, but with little sensible effect. Walpole, at that time, justified his robbery by asserting that the public debt was a public blessing, and a grand guarantee for the protestant succession; that it was well known that if the pretender came in he would wipe out the debt, the bulk of which had been accumulated in opposing him, and therefore it was folly to reduce this security. The pretender was accordingly drawn in the allegory of Addison as a young man with a sword in one hand and a sponge in the other; and the fundholders fostered this notion by submitting in 1717 to a reduction of interest. Better, they thought, one per cent. less than the abolition of so convenient a market for speculating and jobbing.

But Walpole had another scheme for increasing the revenue, which was an extension of the excise. The excise duties were first levied under the commonwealth, and, as we have shown, were restored at the restoration and made a permanent property of the crown, in return for the exemption of the landed gentry from the feudal dues which they owed to the state by original tenure for the very possession of their demesnes. At the time of the bargain betwixt the aristocracy and Charles II., these duties amounted only to two hundred and ninety-four thousand nine hundred and fifty pounds; but in William's reign they rose to nearly one million annually, and in queen Anne's to nearly two millions. They had now reached three millions two hundred thousand pounds annually. It was whilst the public were feeling the gradual increase of this item of taxation very sensibly, that they were alarmed by the news, which the opposition sounded abroad with all diligence, that ministers were about immediately to bring fresh articles under the operation of this tax, which was levied on articles of popular consumption. At the very moment that the house of commons was discussing the question of the sinking fund Pulteney exclaimed, "But, sir, there is another thing, a very terrible affair impending! A monstrous project! Yea, more monstrous than has ever yet been represented! It is such a project as has struck terror into the minds of most gentlemen within this house, and of all men without doors! I mean, sir, that monstrous thing, the excise!—that plan of arbitrary power which is expected to be laid before this house in the present session!"

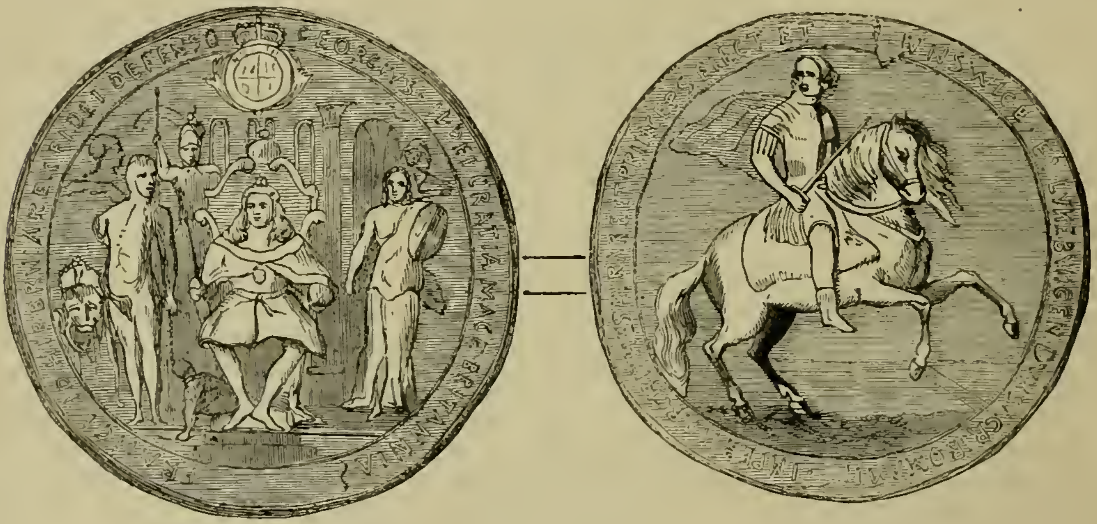
Mr. Pelham, on the part of the ministry, advised the house to wait till the plan was disclosed, and not to enter into debates about what they knew nothing. But the alarm was given, and it flew through the country with lightning rapidity. "A general excise is coming!" was the cry. "A tax on all articles of consumption; a burthen to grind the country to powder; a plot to overthrow the constitution and establish in its place a baleful tyranny." The opposition had now got a most popular subject of attack on the ministry, and it prosecuted it vigorously. The "Craftsman" thundered incessantly on the subject, and the oppressive manner in which this tax had been collected, and the wide range of articles, used chiefly by the poor, on which it might be rapidly extended, fully justified the alarm. We may draw a lively idea of the feeling of even the most educated at that time against the excise laws, from the definition of excise given by Dr. Johnson in the first edition of his "Dictionary" in 1755:—"A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid."

It was not, therefore, a vain alarm which was raised by the opposition. The response to its tocsin cry was the best evidence of the dislike to this tax, and the distrust of its limitation which pervaded the whole community. There were petitions sent up from many towns and many constitutional bodies, including the city and merchants of London, against any extension of the excise laws, in any form, and on any pretence whatever."

Sir Robert Walpole was not a man, with his huge standing majority, to be readily frightened from his purpose. On the 14th of March, 1733, he brought forward his project in a speech in which he put forth all his ability, and that under a well-maintained air of moderation. He took advantage of the alarm that the tax was to be general, and certainly with an effective skill, by representing the falsity of that declaration, and the very slight and limited nature of his real proposal. Adverting to what he called the common slander of his having intended to propose a general excise, he said—"I do most unequivocally assert that no such scheme ever entered my head, or, for what I know, the head of any man I am acquainted with. My thoughts have been confined solely to the duties on wine and tobacco; and it was the frequent advices I had of the shameful frauds committed in these two branches that turned my attention to a remedy for this growing evil. I shall for the present confine myself to the tobacco trade."

He then detailed the various frauds on the revenue in tobacco, which he stated were of such extent and frequence, that the gross average produce of the tax was seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, but the nett average only a hundred and sixty thousand pounds. The remedy which he proposed was to transfer this revenue from the customs to the excise. That the same might afterwards be applied to wine, a system of warehousing for re-exportation or placing in bond was proposed, which, he said, "would tend to make London a free port, and, by consequence, the market of the world." He held out the expectation that the success of this plan would render unnecessary the land tax, and thus enable the government entirely to dispense with that. "And this," exclaimed Walpole, "is the scheme which has been represented in so dreadful and terrible a light—this the monster, the many-headed monster, which was to devour the people, and commit such ravages over the whole nation."

But all this art, this affected simplicity, did not deceive the public. If the alarm which had been raised had warned the minister to show only the nose of the monster, the public saw that the whole monster was there. Though he dealt now only with tobacco, he did not conceal the fact that he had his eye also on wine; and let the people only submit easily, and that eye would very speedily have ranged over a score of other articles, all equally of popular and not of aristocratic consumption. At this very moment they heard him appealing to his landed majority on the merits of his system, which was to relieve them at the expense of the people. There was to be no land tax, but a tobacco tax, and, if that succeeded, a wine tax, and so on; it might soon descend to meat, bread, and even vegetables. Of the utter want of principle in Walpole they had at the same moment a glaring proof in his invasion of the sinking fund. And, as to all those improvements in the system, might they not be as readily introduced into the customs as into the excise? Why not the same searching inquiry into the frauds of the custom-house, and proper securities taken? Why remove tobacco and then wine from the customs to the excise? The people's own common sense gave the answer—Because the practice of levying an excise on articles of daily consumption might be extended by artful and successive movements over the whole host of consumable articles.



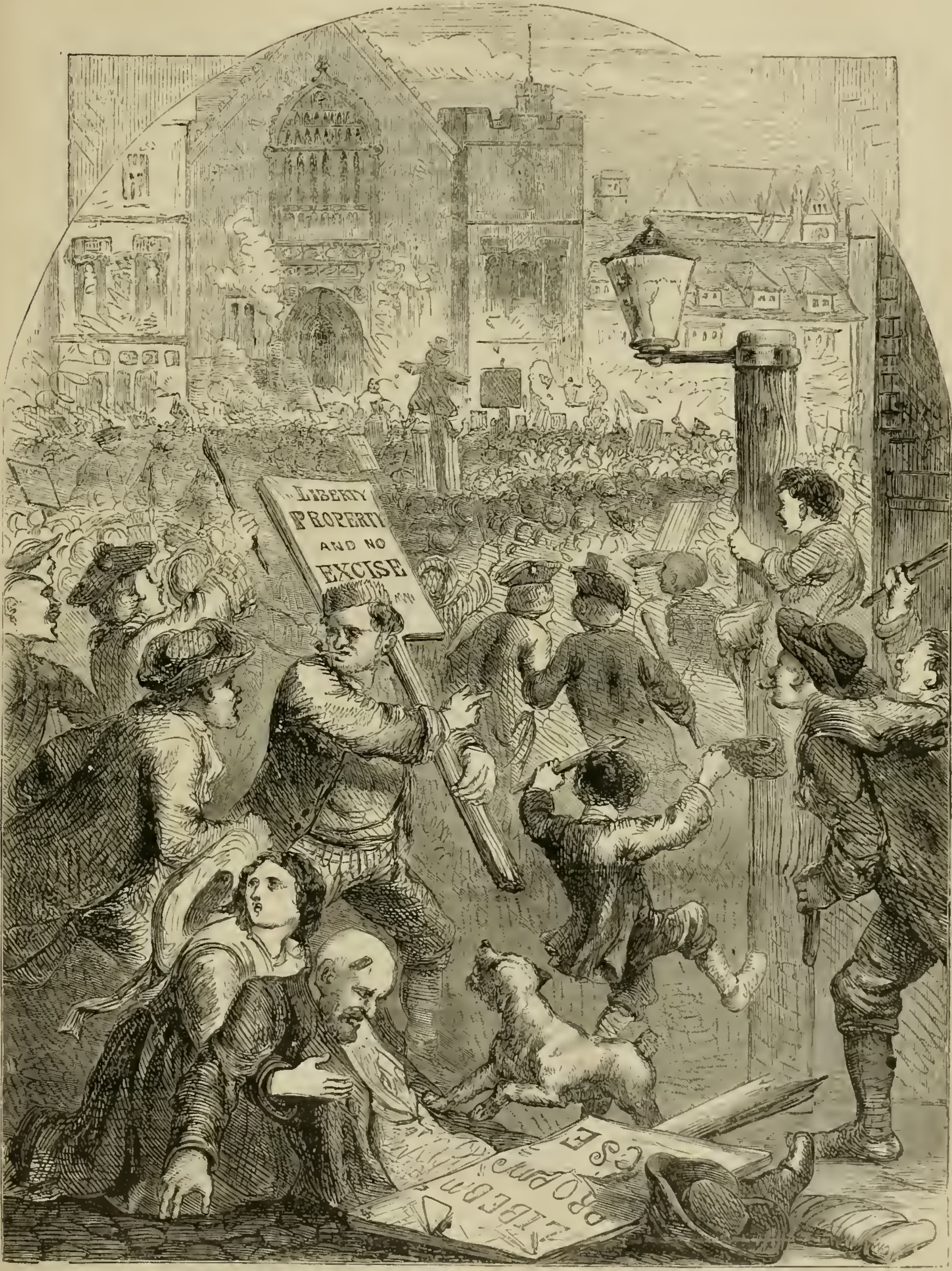
GREAT SEAL OF GEORGE II.

The people saw deeper than those historians who have represented this scheme as so reasonable, and the popular outcry as so unreasonable. Walpole ridiculed the notion which had gone abroad, that the revenue officers would be increased into quite a standing army, and would endanger the common liberty by their being empowered to enter private dwellings to search for concealed excisable articles. He said the increase would only be a hundred and twenty-six persons, and that the customs now possessed more searching power than he proposed to give to the excise. But these excisable articles might be deposited in warehouses adjoining dwelling-houses, by which the danger of fraud would be much increased over the custom-house, which stood alone, and on the river banks; and in such cases searching of private houses would be rendered much more inconvenient. It was contended, too, that it was a benefit to the merchant to convert the duty from one on importation to one on consumption, and that it did not affect the people at all, because the fraudulent trader sold the article to them at the price of duty paid. But it was clear that if the bonding system had been adopted as a general system, allowing merchants to pay the duty or excise at the moment only when it was taken from the government warehouses for sale, a customs duty must be, as proved by the regulations of our own time, as good to him as an excise duty.

Wyndham declared that in all countries excises of every kind were looked on as badges of slavery; but Walpole asked triumphantly in reply, whether brewers or maltsters were reckoned slaves? Whether they were not just as free in elections to elect or be elected as any other persons? But Wyndham rose into higher denunciation. He drew awful pictures of corruption, extortion, and tyranny which would inevitably attend such a system as this tended to inaugurate. He recalled the memories of Dudley and Empson, and asked what was their fate? Popular enough in their own master's time, they found his successor more just, and he took off their heads. At this moment Frederick, prince of Wales, was sitting under the gallery, and the allusion told with immense effect.

Walpole was ably supported by Sir Philip Yorke, the attorney-general, whose abilities as a lawyer and a debatist had for some time been rapidly rising into note. Sir Joseph Jekyll, the master of the rolls, who was more noted for his eccentricities of dress and manner than for eloquence, and who was described by Pope as a man "who never changed his principles or wig," declared that he had come to the house quite undetermined how to vote, but that the arguments of Walpole had quite decided him in favour of the measure.

Whilst the debate was proceeding, great crowds gathered


LIBERTY
PROPERTY
AND NO
EXCISE

RIOTOUS ASSEMBLY OUTSIDE THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE ON THE INTRODUCTION OF THE EXCISE SCHEME.

round the house, and became even more numerous and more agitated. Walpole, irritated by the persuasion that these throngs were collected by the arts of the opposition, threw out a remark which he afterwards deeply repented. He said gentlemen might call themselves what they liked, but he knew whom the law called Sturdy Beggars. This phrase, carried out of doors, highly incensed the crowd, who considered that it was meant to cast contempt on the people at large. At two o'clock in the morning, and after thirteen hours' debate, on division there appeared two hundred and sixty-six for the measure, and two hundred and five against. The great increase of the minority struck Walpole with surprise and alarm; and the treatment which he received from the throng at the door was equally menacing. As he endeavoured to reach his carriage, the exasperated people seized him by the cloak, and he would probably have paid dear for his phrase of the "sturdy beggars," had he not been rescued by Pelham and some other friends. The words, however, were not forgotten, but long afterwards were flung in his teeth.

When the resolutions of the committee were reported two days afterwards, the debate was renewed with all its vehemence, and Pulteney unveiled another view of the case, which had much real truth and warning in it. "It is well known," he said, "that every one of the public officers have already so many boroughs or corporations which they look on as their properties. There are some boroughs which are called treasury boroughs; there are others which may be called admiralty boroughs; in short, it may be said that nearly all the towns upon the sea-coast are already seized upon, and in a manner taken prisoners by the officers of the crown. In most of them they have so great an influence that none can be chosen members of parliament but such as they are pleased to recommend. But, as the customs are confined to our sea-ports, as they cannot travel far from the coast, therefore this scheme seems to be contrived in order to extend the laws of excise, and thereby to extend the influence of the crown over all the inland towns and corporations of England."

Spite of these representations, however, the resolutions were confirmed by the same majority as before. Other debates succeeded on the second reading of the bill, but the majority on these gradually sank from sixty to sixteen. During all this time petitions continued to pour in from towns all over the country, and one from the common council of London, prepared by alderman Barber, a violent Jacobite, who had been Swift and Bolingbroke's printer, and was now lord mayor. Pamphlets issued rapidly from the press, and one of them made allusion to a parallel case with Walpole's "sturdy beggars," namely, that cardinal Granvelle, endeavouring to establish this inquisition in the Netherlands, gave the name of Gueux, or Sturdy Beggars, to his opponents, the prince of Orange and counts Egmont and Horn, who, however, drove out the cardinal and the oppressive government altogether.

As the storm grew instead of abated, the queen demanded of lord Scarborough what he thought of it, and he replied, "The bill must be relinquished. I will answer for my regiment against the pretender, but not against the opposers of the excise." "Then," said the queen, "we must drop it." Sir Robert summoned his majority, and requested their opinion, and they proposed to go on, observing that all taxes were obnoxious, and that it would not do to be daunted by a mob. But Walpole felt that he must yield. He declared that he was not disposed to enforce it at the point of the bayonet, and on the 11th of April, on the order of the day for the second reading, he moved that the measure should be postponed for two months. Thus the whole affair dropped. The usually triumphant minister found himself defeated by popular opinion. The opposition were hardly satisfied to allow this obnoxious bill thus to slip quietly away; but out of doors there was rejoicing enough to satisfy them. The towns throughout the kingdom celebrated the public triumph by illuminations, bonfires, and general rejoicings. In London the Monument was illuminated, the effigies of Walpole were burnt in many places, and amid all sorts of insults; and cockades were mounted, with the words "Liberty, Property, and no Excise!" As the popular effervescence subsided, the current of public feeling was turned into a new channel by the announcement that the princess royal, Anne, was espoused to the young prince of Orange. Before the next session arrived, the excitement seemed so wholly forgotten, that there were rumours of a renewal of the attempt. But Walpole observed that he was not so mad as ever again to meddle with anything that looked like an excise, though he still thought it would have benefited the nation.

The depth of Walpole's mortification, however, was shown by the vengeance he took on those who had opposed him. This fell with peculiar weight on lord Chesterfield. Chesterfield had acquired a great reputation by his able management of affairs at the Hague. Since his return he had become lord steward of the household, and a frequent and much admired debatist in the house. But Chesterfield was too ambitious himself to stoop patiently to the domineering temper of Walpole. He was said to have thrown out some keen sarcasms at Walpole's excise bill, and his three brothers in the commons voted against it. Only two days after the abandonment of the bill, as Chesterfield was ascending the staircase at St. James's, he was stopped by an attendant, and summoned home to surrender the white staff. The same punishment was dealt out to a number of noblemen who acted in concert with him. Lord Clinton, a lord of the bedchamber, the earl of Burlington, captain of the band of pensioners, were dismissed, as well as the duke of Montrose, and the earls of Marchmont and Stair from offices held in Scotland. The duke of Bolton and lord Cobham were, by a most unjustifiable stretch of authority, deprived of their regiments. On the other hand, Sir Philip Yorke, the attorney-general, and Charles Talbot, solicitor-general, were raised to the peerage by the titles of baron Hardwicke and baron Talbot. Hardwicke was promoted to the dignity of lord chief justice, and Talbot to that of lord chancellor. These measures, however, perhaps more embittered and strengthened the opposition than they benefited the minister.

The commons voted eighty thousand pounds as a marriage portion to the princess royal, and the nuptials were celebrated in the French chapel at St. James's on the 14th of February of the following year.

England this year was the witness of war raging in different parts of Europe without having any concern in it—

a rare circumstance. Augustus II., king of Poland and elector of Saxony, whom Charles XII. had pursued with such bitter enmity, died in February, and Augustus, his son, found himself opposed by Stanislaus Leczinski, who had been driven from the throne of Poland by the Swedish king. His daughter during his exile had married Louis XV. of France, and that country determined to support the father of their queen in his original right. Stanislaus, however, was ready to claim Poland before the French were prepared to give him substantial military aid. Stanislaus hastened from France to Poland, presented himself before the Poles at Warsaw, and was received with enthusiasm. The majority of the nobles who had the right of voting for their elective sovereign gave him their suffrages, and so far as the choice of the nation could decide the question, Stanislaus was once more king. But Austria and Russia determined to support Augustus, and Stanislaus was soon compelled to fly before these Russian armies, and shut himself up in Dantzic. There he was besieged by the Muscovites, the Saxons, and the section of Poles who had adhered to Augustus. Augustus himself assisted in the siege, and Stanislaus and his party made a stout defence. A place is still shown on the fortifications of Dantzic which is called the grave of the Russians, no less than six thousand of them being said to have fallen in an assault there. Stanislaus was ultimately, however, driven from the city, and Augustus was once more proclaimed king by the Russians. The war still continued, but greatly to the disadvantage of Stanislaus. The emperor of Austria, though he had allowed the czarina, Anne, to carry on the campaign against Stanislaus, was still active in assisting and encouraging Augustus, and the French determined to punish him for this interference with the rights of their *protegé*. Fleury, though as pacific in his disposition as Walpole, now roused himself, and finding the Spaniards ready to join against the emperor for purposes of their own, war was prepared on a considerable scale in the south as well as in the north.

It had long been the grand object of the ambition of the queen of Spain to obtain the dukedom of Parma for her son, Don Carlos. This had been accomplished two years ago. On the death of the late duke, he had been sent there under a convoy of English ships; and though the duchess-dowager declared herself *enciente*, and thus delayed his accession for some months, she at last confessed that she was not really so, and Don Carlos was installed in the dukedom. But this did not now satisfy his mother. She looked out for a royal crown for him, and the Two Sicilies, carelessly held by Austria, presented themselves as too tempting. As soon as the French intimated a wish to join Spain against the emperor Charles, the queen of Spain wrote to her son, then only about seventeen—"The Two Sicilies, being created an independent kingdom, shall be thine; go, then, and conquer. The finest crown of Italy awaits thee!"

But before undertaking this enterprise, the French and Spaniards endeavoured to obtain the co-operation of the king of Sardinia. Charles of Austria was also soliciting him, but France and Spain outbid Austria; Sardinia joined them, and their united army suddenly burst into the Milanese, and soon overran the whole of Austrian Lombardy. Austria found itself at the moment almost deserted. Russia had secured its object in Poland, and withdrew; Denmark could afford little aid; Holland dreaded to move; and Walpole in England was steadfastly bent on peace.

Under such circumstances, the year 1734 opened with very sinister auguries for Austria. At the battle of La Crocetta, near Parma, the Austrians lost several thousand men, together with their count Mercy. The Spanish forces were nominally commanded by Don Carlos himself, who was a young man of agreeable manners, and of some ability; but the real direction of the forces lay with count Montemar. In March an army of French, Spaniards, and Italians, assembled at Perugia, and marched with Don Carlos to the conquest of Naples. They had sent proclamations before them that Don Carlos was coming to free them from the oppressions of the Germans, and that the inquisition should never be imposed upon them. The Austrians were but few in number, and ill prepared to resist. The pope, who did not like to see them on both sides of him, encouraged Don Carlos secretly, and a strong Spanish squadron following the coast, the united army marched deliberately forward, meeting with little resistance till it entered Naples. The imperial viceroy assembled about eight thousand men in Apulia, but fled before twelve thousand Spaniards, and left the command of his forces to prince Belmonte, who was defeated at Bitonto on the 25th of May, on the shores of the Adriatic, and then nearly all the towns and castles of Apulia surrendered to the Spaniards. Capua and Gaeta yielded after a siege, and Sicily was regained with far less bloodshed than it had cost to lose it before to the English fleet and Austrian army. Don Carlos was crowned king of the Two Sicilies under the title of Charles III.; and with this same title, on the death of his brother in 1759, he succeeded to the throne of Spain.

On the Rhine the emperor was not much more successful. There the celebrated prince Eugene commanded, but he was opposed by a far superior French army, under the brave and experienced duke of Berwick. The siege of Philipsburg was undertaken by the French in such numbers as made it impossible for him to cope with them, and it was going on when Berwick was killed by a cannon-ball. This distinguished son of James II. of England was sixty-four at the time of his death. He had long abandoned the cause of the pretender, his brother, who had the folly to allow himself to be made suspicious of him by his followers. Berwick in 1727 had even talked of going over to England and paying his respects to George I. He had conducted all the commands entrusted to him by Louis XIV. with the greatest ability and success, and had won from his countrymen the decisive battle of Almanza. He left behind him an illustrious name, though his fortunes had condemned him to exile, and to fight the battles of strangers.

Berwick was succeeded by the marquis d'Asfeld, who had served under him in Spain, and who was alike distinguished for his courage and his cruelty. He compelled Philipsburg to surrender, but the genius of Eugene checked much further progress, and the campaign in that quarter ended without any other event of note. Eugene himself there closed his renowned career, dying peaceably about two years afterwards in Vienna, where his tomb still attracts strangers in the cathedral of St. Stephan.

Whilst these events had been passing abroad, a sharp parliamentary campaign had been conducted at home. The opposition talked loudly of the lamentable and calamitous situation of England, because she was wise enough to keep out of the war. Their motions were all guided by the secret hand of Bolingbroke, whose restless and rancorous mind could not brook that partial obscurity to which he was doomed by the immovable spirit of Walpole. Instead of shining in the front of the house of peers as a brilliant orator, or holding the proud position of England's minister, he was obliged to shed his rancour through his quill in the pages of the "Craftsman," or in pamphlets, and to envenom the minds of the chief oppositionists, and arm them with specious oratory against his detested rival. Happy for England was it that it was saved from the misguidance of the showy but by no means profound sophist, who had once done his utmost to surrender her to the worst men and the worst principles that ever cursed its soil. Even the corruption of Walpole was infinitely preferable to the atheistic heartlessness of Bolingbroke.

Directed by Bolingbroke, the opposition revived the clamour about the excise, and turned the public resentment against Walpole for the dismissal of the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their regiments. They made a motion in the commons for a measure to prevent officers not above the rank of colonels being removed unless by a court-martial, or by address of either house of parliament. They dared not, however, press the motion to a division, though it was strongly advocated by Pulteney. They introduced through the young duke of Marlborough a bill for the same purpose into the lords, but could not carry it; the duke of Argyll remarking on the duke of Bolton's inexperience, that it was true two lords had been removed, but only one soldier.

But the grand attack was on the septennial act. This was a delicate subject for the whigs in opposition, for they, and Pulteney especially, had, in 1716, supported this act with many specious arguments. Bolingbroke, however, urged them on to the assault, and Pulteney was not ashamed on this occasion to unsay all that he had said before, but with evident embarrassment and little effect. The whigs to serve their own purposes had abandoned the triennial act, their own constitutional work, and all they had to say now in favour of such a measure had lost its value.

The attack on the Septennial Act was introduced by Mr. Bromley, son of the secretary of state under queen Anne, with a motion for its repeal, seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn. It was a trying time for the whigs, who, many of them, kept a wise silence. But Wyndham led the way again with amazing eloquence, and discharged a philippic against Walpole of such ruthless and scathing vigour, as must have annihilated a less adamantine man. He described him, hypothetically, as the most eminently accomplished of political scoundrels. The attack and the reply of these two combatants deserve notice, for they contain a large and a free transcript of the qualities of Walpole and of Bolingbroke:—

"Let us suppose," said Wyndham, "a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour; of no great family, and but of a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making, lost to all sense of shame and reputation, ignorant of his country's true interest, pursuing no aim but that of aggrandising himself and his favourites; in foreign affairs trusting none but those who, from the nature of their education, cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negotiations; let us suppose the true interest of the nation by such means neglected, or misunderstood, her honour tarnished, her importance lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered; and all these circumstances overlooked, lest his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of immense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought at the expense of public treasure. In such a parliament suppose attempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress which has been entailed upon it by his administration. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest by distributing among them those posts and places which ought never to be bestowed upon any but for the good of the public. Let him plume himself upon his scandalous victory because he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of ancient families, over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all. With such a minister and such a parliament, let us suppose a case which I hope will never happen—a prince upon the throne, uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true interests of his people; weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such a case will never occur; but, as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised, by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws; the existence of such a prince or such a minister we cannot prevent by act of parliament; but the existence of such a parliament I think we may prevent, as it is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief, while the septennial law remains in force, than if it were repealed; therefore, I am heartily for its being repealed."

By those who have considered the extent to which Walpole carried the system of corrupting the representatives of the people, and thus ruling at his own will, and not by the sanction of the public opinion and feeling, this severe portrait of him can scarcely be considered as exaggerated. Walpole, no doubt, felt it deeply, but feeling, too, whence the attack really came, from the armoury of Bolingbroke, he passed Wyndham lightly over, and emptied the burning vial of his indignation on the concealed foe, in a not less vigorous and graphic strain. Bolingbroke richly deserved the infliction. "When gentlemen," said Walpole, "talk of ministers abandoned to all sense of virtue and honour, other gentlemen may, I am sure, with equal justice, and, I think, more justly, speak of anti-ministers and mock patriots, who never had either virtue or honour, but in the whole course of their opposition are actuated only by motives of envy and of resentment against those who have disappointed them in their views, or may not, perhaps, have complied with all their desires. But now, sir, let me, too, suppose—and the house being cleared, I am sure that no one that hears me can come within the description of the person I am to suppose—in this, or in some other unfortunate country, an anti-minister who thinks himself a person of so great and extensive parts, and of so many eminent qualifications, that he looks upon himself as the only person in the kingdom capable of conducting the public affairs of the nation, and therefore christening every other gentleman who has the honour to be employed in the administration by the name of blunderer. Suppose this fine gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his party some persons really of fine parts, of ancient families, and of great fortunes, and others of desperate views, arising from disappointment and malicious hearts; all these gentlemen, with respect to their political behaviour, moved by him, and him solely; all they say, either in private or public, being only a repetition of the words he has put into their mouths, and a spitting out of that venom which he has infused into them: and yet we may suppose this leader not really liked by any even of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of mankind. We will suppose this anti-minister to be in a country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an effect of too much goodness and mercy, and yet endeavouring, with all his might and with all his art, to destroy the fountain from whence that mercy flowed. In that country suppose him continually contracting friendships and familiarities with the ambassadors of those princes who at the time happen to be most at enmity with his own; and if at any time it should so happen to be for the interest of any of those foreign ministers to have a secret divulged to them, which might be highly prejudicial to his native country, as well as to all its friends; suppose this foreign minister applying to him, and he answering, 'I will get it for you; tell me what you want, and I will endeavour to procure it for you.' Upon this he puts a speech or two in the mouths of some of his creatures or some of his new converts; what he wants is moved for in parliament; and when so reasonable a request as this is refused, suppose him and his creatures and tools, by his advice, spreading the alarm over the whole nation, and crying out, 'Gentlemen, our country is at present involved in many dangerous difficulties, all which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked minister and a corrupt majority refused us the proper materials; and upon this scandalous victory this minister became so insolent as to plume himself in defiances. Let us further suppose this anti-minister to have travelled, and at every court where he was, thinking himself the greatest minister, and making it his trade to betray the secrets of every court where he had before been; void of all faith or honour, and betraying every master he ever served. I could carry my suppositions a great deal farther, and I may say I mean no person now in being; but if we can suppose such a one, can there be a greater disgrace to human nature than such as this?"

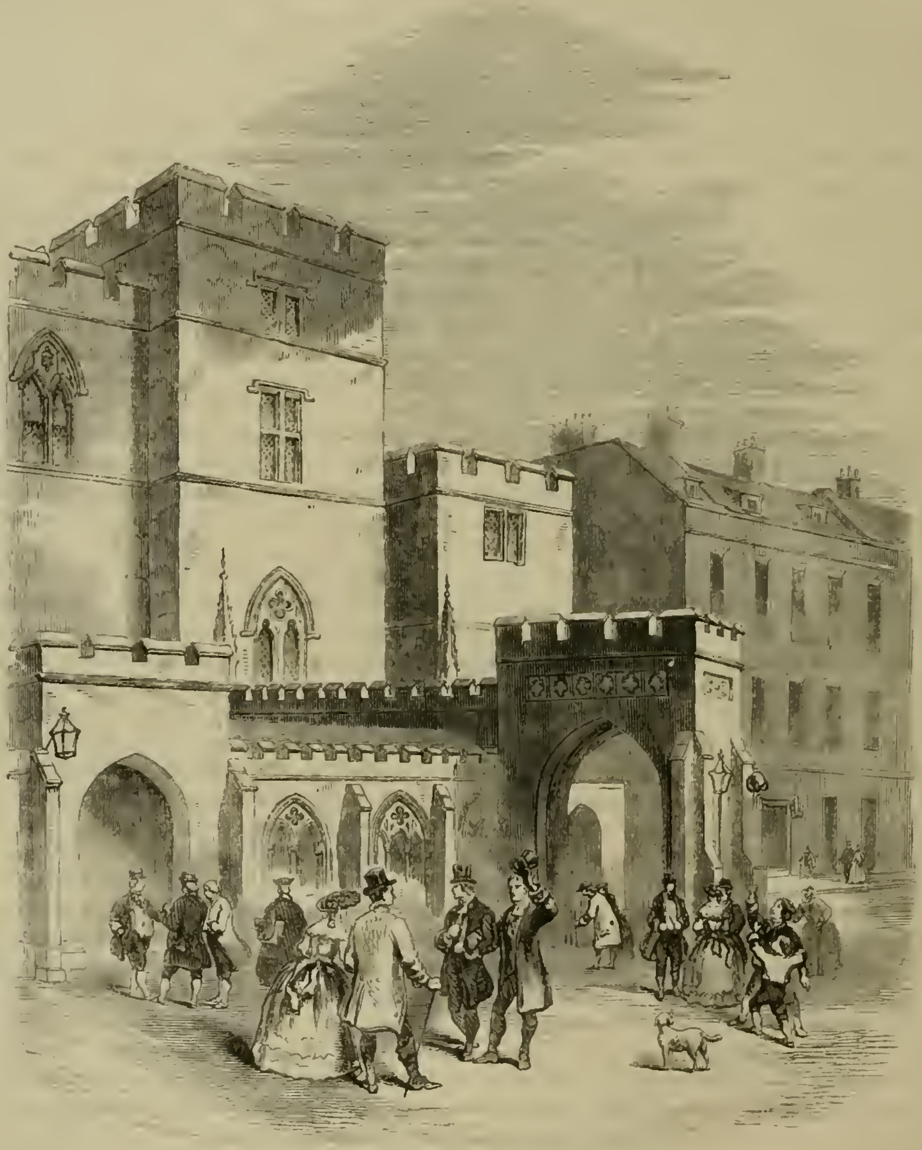
. If Bolingbroke had really supplied Wyndham with his charge of suppositions, the rebound must have made him wish that he had lain still. The reply of Walpole was terrible because it was true, and held up the traitor diplomatist in the colours which, black as they were, all the world acknowledged to be correct. In the remainder of Walpole's speech, he used all the stock arguments in advocacy of septennial in preference to triennial parliaments, which, stripped of their sophistry, amounted merely to the fact, that in that parliament the people had too much power, and ministers too little over the members of parliament, the very reasons which are the unanswerable ones for that term of parliament. The opposition replied that under the septennial act, which was itself a violation of the rights of the people, the riot act had been introduced, by which any ignorant justice of peace could, by simply reading a proclamation, then order any number of honest and innocent people to be shot; that under it the notorious South Sea Act had been passed, and the excise law nearly so. But this time Sir Robert's majority stood by him, and the continuance of the Septennial Act was determined by two hundred and forty-seven votes to one hundred and eighty-four.

On the 16th of April parliament was dissolved, and the elections were conducted with immense party heat. Each side did all in its power, by fair means and foul, to increase its adherents. Sir Robert used the persuasives for which he became so famous, that he boasted every man had his own price; and if we are to believe the journals of the day, the opposition were not at all behind him, as far as their ability went. They made ample use, too, of the Septennial Act, the Riot Act, the excise scheme, and the unrecompensed commercial claims on Spain. They declared the neutrality preserved under such circumstances disgraceful to the country, though they would have been the first to have denounced ministers had they gone to war. They gained several seats, but when the parliament met in January, it was soon discovered that though less, the majority was as steady as ever, and the opposition having tried their strength against it for a few times, became greatly depressed for a time. Bolingbroke, who till now had still cherished a hope of getting once more into the house of peers again, lost all hope. The speech of Walpole had sunk deep into his soul; it had damaged him essentially all over the country, and other circumstances completed his despair. He saw no prospect of shaking the power of Walpole, and lady Suffolk having retired into private life, cut off his last expectations of any favour at court.

There were not wanting symptoms that the withering philippic of Walpole had injured him with his own coadjutors. Still more damaging was the publication at this time of some of his correspondence with the secretary of the pretender, after his abrupt dismissal from James's service. These were calculated to make his further stay in England not only unpleasant, but dangerous. Pulteney advised him to withdraw for the good of his party, and Bolingbroke himself, in a letter a few years later, confessed that there were some in opposition who thought his name, and much more his presence in England, did them mischief. He therefore quitted the country, and settled himself at Chanteloup, in Lorraine. There were, moreover, symptoms of a disposition on the part of Pulteney to become reconciled to the Walpoles. Unusual civilities passed in the house betwixt Sir Robert and him.

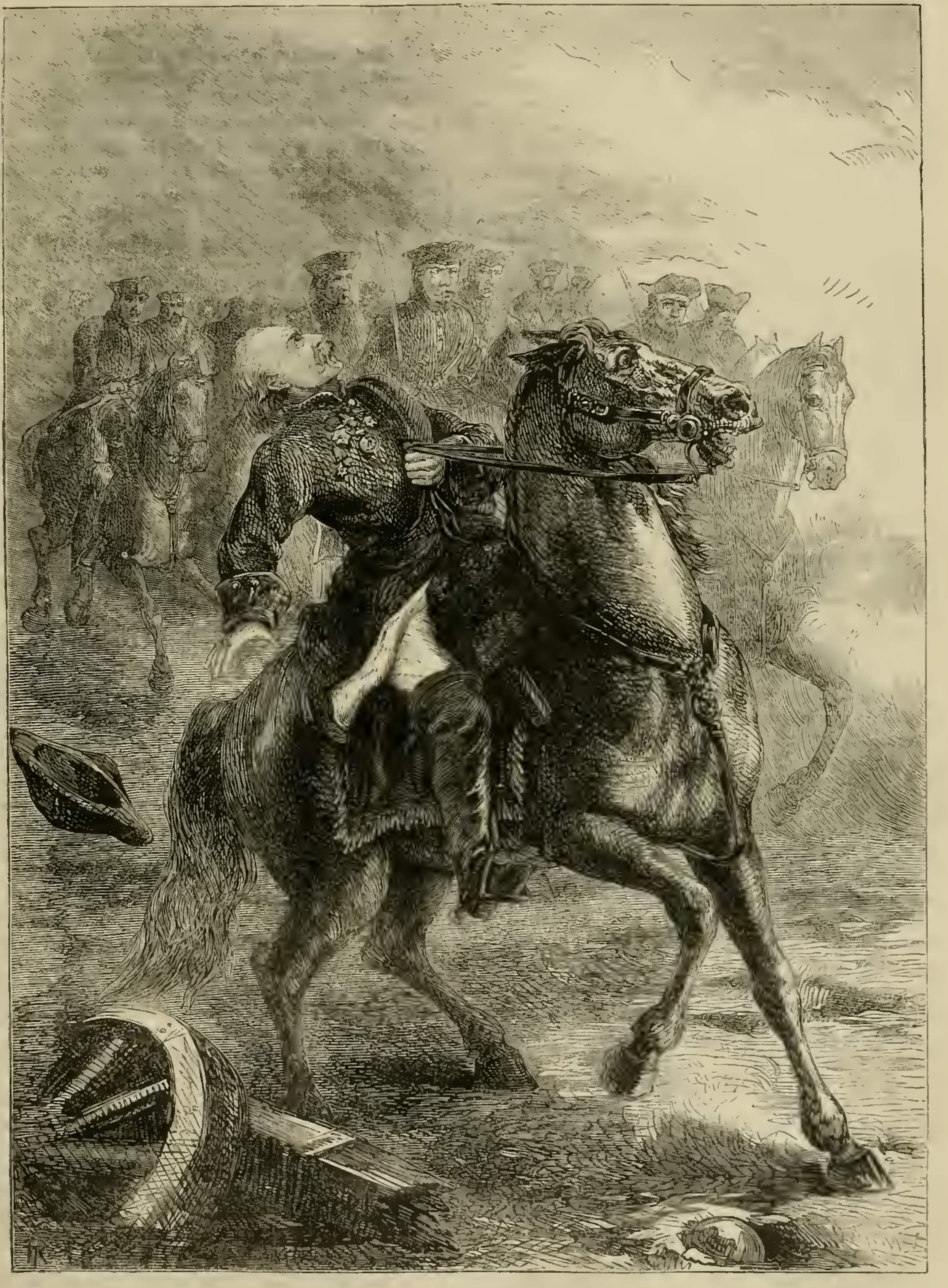
He was, soon after the house rose, visited by Horace Walpole while on a journey at the Hague; but the momentary display of conciliation ceased, and the next session hostilities were renewed as fiercely as ever.

Whilst these affairs had been taking place in England, the emperor had been finding himself less and less able to contend against France and Spain. He had in vain exerted himself to engage the Dutch and English in his quarrel. He called upon them as bound by the faith of treaties; he represented the balance of power for which both Holland and England had made such sacrifices, as more in danger than ever; but none of these pleas moving Walpole or the Dutch, he threatened to withdraw his troops from the Netherlands, and make over that country to France. The Netherlands had always been a European difficulty—a temptation to France, and, therefore, a bugbear to England, Holland, and Germany. So early as the days of Marlborough it had been deliberated whether it were not possible to unite it with Holland into one independent state, and thus form a bulwark against the encroachments of France. But Marlborough saw too clearly the antagonistic elements of Dutch and Belgian natures. He declared that not only the towns, but the country people of the Netherlands hated the Dutch; and so modern times have found it, when the project, afterwards again broached by lord Chesterfield, was tried by the allies, and failed.



ENTRANCE TO THE OLD HOUSE OF LORDS.

The threat of the emperor did not move Walpole; he knew too well that it was but a threat. The emperor, therefore, turned his attention to overthrow, if possible, the unmanageable Walpole ministry. He was aware that the



DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BERWICK.

king and a certain portion of his cabinet, at the head of which was lord Harrington, were willing to help him, if Walpole would consent to it. He therefore sent over to London the abbé Strickland to work out this notable project. This abbe was a man without character or principle, who had been engaged in various matters, but none very creditable. He had been sent as a spy by the pretender against the English government, and by the English government against the pretender. He had managed to secure for himself the bishopric of Namur, and was aspiring to a cardinal's hat. In England, however, his mission was not likely to succeed. None but foreigners profoundly ignorant of English politics would have dreamed of such an attempt. He managed to have a conference with Harrington, and was introduced to the king and queen; but Walpole was speedily aware of his real objects, and had him sent without delay out of the country. The queen wrote to the empress, assuring her that they had been deceived by false reports, and that the king would on no account engage in war.

The emperor was now compelled to come to terms. A treaty was to be entered into under the mediation of the maritime powers. As Fleury and Walpole, too, were bent on peace, they submitted to all the delays and punctilios of the diplomatists, and finally were rewarded by a peace being concluded betwixt the different parties on these terms:—Don Carlos was to retain Naples and Sicily, but he was to resign the possession of Parma and the reversion of Tuscany; Augustus was to remain king of Poland, and Stanislaus was to receive as an equivalent the duchy of Lorraine, which, after his decease, was to devolve to the crown of France. This was an aim which France had had in view for ages, but which neither the genius of Richelieu nor of Mazarin could accomplish. It was rendered comparatively easy now, as the young duke of Lorraine was about to marry the empress's only child, the princess Maria Theresa, and thus to succeed through her to the empire. Yet the duke ceded his patrimonial territory with extreme regret, and not till he had received in return the grand duchy of Tuscany, and a pension from France. The regnant grand duke of Tuscany, the last of the Medicis, was on the verge of death, and his decease took place in less than two years, when the duke of Lorraine was put in possession. France and Sardinia gave their guarantee to the Pragmatic Sanction, and Sardinia obtained, in consequence, Novara, Tortona, and some adjoining districts. England appears to have looked on with strange apathy at this aggrandisement of France by the acquisition of Lorraine, but it was impossible to prevent it, except by a great war, and Walpole was not disposed for even a little one.

Escaped from this entanglement, Europe found herself involved in another. The government at Madrid threw the servants of the Portuguese minister there into prison, on the charge of having rescued a criminal from justice. The Portuguese ambassador appealed to the ambassadors of the other powers, and they all took up the quarrel on the ground that their common privileges were violated by the incarceration of the Portuguese *attachés*. The contention grew very hot. The ambassadors memorialised the Spanish government in decided terms, but the government would not give way. There appeared every prospect of the quarrel growing into one betwixt the different nations. The court of Lisbon, therefore, sent over to London Don Antonio D'Alzevedo to claim the assistance of its ally, king George. The king of Portugal had a clear right to demand the protection of England, and there could be no refusing it. Consequently, five ships of the line were dispatched to Lisbon; but Walpole gave to the admiral, Sir John Norris, strict injunctions to avoid hostilities if possible, and to endeavour to restrain the Portuguese; whilst he sent a plain declaration to the court of Madrid, that England must and would defend its ally in case of attack. The sailing of this fleet produced a great effect both at Paris and Madrid. Cardinal Fleury strongly urged the Spanish court to avoid a collision, and harmony was soon restored betwixt the two peninsula courts without coming at all to blows.

In all these transactions England still found Fleury the same upright and conciliatory manager of affairs for France; but not so Chauvelin, the French secretary of state. This man was as captious and hostile to England as Fleury was friendly and fair. He was not only strongly anti-Anglican, but he endeavoured to do this country the most essential injury by promoting the objects of the pretender. He was in secret correspondence with him, and on one occasion made a singular mistake, that showed that he was as incautious as rancorous. Delivering some papers to the English ambassador, there was found amongst them one of James's letters to himself, which lord Waldegrave at once dispatched to Walpole, and thus discovered the true animus of the man. Walpole, in his usual way, instead of making a stir about this, thought it best to buy up the services of the knave. He entrusted lord Waldegrave to offer him a bribe—a good tempting one for a Frenchman—not less than five thousand pounds or ten thousand pounds, so as to secure his interest, if not his friendship. Even five thousand pounds would, as Walpole observed, make a great show in French crowns. Chauvelin, probably, feared that there might be some snare in this, for, though he showed an inclination to take the bait, he finally declined it, and commenced a more bitter course of hostility to England than ever. Walpole, therefore, took another mode of silencing him. He availed himself of a secret correspondence with Fleury to demonstrate to him the mischievous effect which the hostility of Chauvelin might have on the relations of the two countries; and it is probable that the dismissal of this antagonist from his office, which took place in a few months, was, more or less, in consequence of these representations.

As harmony was restored on the continent, so harmony characterised, to a wonderful degree, the opening of the British parliament in January, 1736. The king congratulated the country on the happy turn which affairs had taken on the continent, and said that he trusted the same peace and good-will would manifest themselves in the domestic affairs of the realm. All appeared likely to realise this wish. A congratulatory address was carried without a division; and without a syllable of dissent. But the peace was hollow—the calm only preceded a storm.

The first debate arose on the subject of drunkenness and gin. Drunkenness, a very ancient and esteemed vice in this country, had of late years appeared to grow rapidly, and to assume more horrible features from the increasing use of gin. Sir Joseph Jekyll was especially concerned at the excess of this vulgar vice, and at the misery which it was diffusing amongst the lowest classes of society in large towns, and especially in London. The justices of Middlesex presented a joint petition to the house of commons, representing the alarming pitch to which the evil had grown; that it had already destroyed thousands of the people since gin became a cheap liquor; that it was undermining labour, exciting to all sorts of crime and debauch; and that it was now sold by so many persons of inferior trades, that it was brought pre-eminently into the way of journeymen, apprentices, and servants.

Sir Joseph Jekyll proposed in committee that a heavy tax should be laid on this pernicious liquor, which should put it out of the reach of the working classes—namely, a duty of twenty shillings per gallon on all sold retail, and fifty pounds yearly for the license to every retailer. This benevolent man had not arrived at the grand truth, that nothing but a sound education will ever effectually root out this or any other vice, and that to tax a crime is only to stop up one vent of it, and to occasion its bursting out in half-a-dozen other places. Every man acquainted at all with matters of revenue, though wholly inexperienced in the science of morals, could have told him that his tax would only drive the trade out of the hands of the licensed dealers into those of smugglers. Sir Robert Walpole saw this clearly; and though he would not oppose the bill for this purpose, he predicted that parliament would soon be called upon to modify its provisions. The small duties heretofore levied on this article had brought in about seventy thousand pounds annually; and, as the excise had been made over to the crown, this sum went to the civil list. Walpole demanded, therefore, that whatever deficiency of this sum should be produced by the new regulations should be made up to the civil list.

The whole measure excited a great clamour out of doors. It was regarded as an invidious attempt to abridge the comforts of the people, whilst those of the wealthy remained untouched. The clause proposed by Walpole to protect the revenue was assailed with much fury both in and out of the house. It was said that the minister was quite indifferent to the morals of the people on the one hand, or to their enjoyment on the other, so that the revenue did not suffer. The bill passed, as did also a fresh mortmain act, in addition to the numerous ones already on the statute-book.

An event which gave great offence to the dissenters, and threw them into the ranks of opposition, also occurred now. We have seen that Stanhope was anxious to have attempted the abolition of the Test Act in 1719. He was told that it was not yet the proper time; he must wait for "a more favourable opportunity." This "favourable opportunity" became the great cant phrase for putting off the dissenters whenever they urged the justice of this concession. They had been long steady and zealous supporters of government. In the hotly-contested election of 1734, they had shown themselves most active friends of the ministry, and had issued declarations, pledging themselves to vote for the ministerial candidates. But in return for this important support, they did not fail to repeat their solicitations for relief from the pressure of the Test Act. The reply of Walpole was always the same, that he was favourable to their claims, but that the time was not yet come. The patience of the dissenters was exhausted, and Dr. Chandler replied, "You have so repeatedly returned us this answer, that I trust you will allow me to ask when the time will come?" Walpole was thrown off his guard by the point-blank query, and exclaimed, in momentary pique, "Never!"

He must have rued the word ere it was well out of his mouth. The dissenters were now aware that they had been systematically hoaxed. They retired in disgust, and gave their indignant interest to the opposition. To recover himself a little, Walpole supported a bill for giving the quakers relief in the recovery of tithes. As they could not conscientiously pay them, they were harassed by serious law processes, and the object was to enable the recovery of them by a simple distraint, without power of imprisoning the defaulters. But it was soon declared by the church and tory parties that this was a direct attack upon the privileges of the church. Petitions were poured in from all sides, setting forth that "such a law would be extremely prejudicial to the clergy, and place the established church on a worse footing than any other portion of his majesty's subject. It would have been difficult to prove how exempting the bodies of defaulters, and taking their goods by a very simple, prompt, and effectual means, was injurious to the church, except it regarded vengeance as one of its privileges. It would, in truth, have been almost as much a relief to the clergy as to the quakers. The house of commons saw this, and passed the bill, but the attack was renewed in the peers. The lawyers were set upon it, and lords Talbot and Hardwicke, the lord chancellor and lord chief justice, criticised its wording, and opposed it with all their power. Gibson, bishop of London, exerted himself conspicuously to engage the rest of the bench against the bill, and it was thrown out. Walpole was greatly irritated by this defeat. He was under heavy obligations to the quakers, who in Norfolk had always zealously supported him, and that in many a fierce contest. He therefore sent for Gibson, and rated him soundly for his conduct. Nor did he satisfy himself with words. He had always consulted Gibson on ecclesiastical affairs, and he was considered so secure of the primacy on the death of archbishop Wake, that Whiston used to call him heir-apparent to the see of Canterbury; but from this moment his chance was lost. The archbishop died the next year, and Walpole, passing over the meddling Gibson, conferred the primacy on bishop Potter.

The session of parliament closing on the 26th of May, George took his annual trip to Hanover, leaving, as usual, the queen to act as regent. Much as George liked to visit his native country and relatives, he seems never to have had an idea that his wife might like it too. His father duly took his mistress with him on these favourite journies, but George was quite satisfied to enjoy himself, and leave the queen to the cares of government. She found these this year by no means light. Great numbers of Irish had flocked over, not only to assist in the harvest, but to settle down in Spitalfields as weavers. They could afford to work at two-thirds the wages of English weavers; and these being, consequently, thrown out of work, made a great clamour. and raised riots, attacking at night the public-houses to which the Irish resorted. These were scarcely suppressed, when the Gin Act came into operation on Michaelmas Day. Some of the Jacobites thought it a favourable opportunity to excite the populace against the government. They therefore contrived that for two evenings gin and other spirits should be supplied to the mob gratis, hoping, when intoxicated, to lead them into decided demonstrations against government. They sent circular letters to arouse the leaders, and the watchword was given—"Sir Robert and Sir Joseph" (Jekyll). Walpole, however, was prepared for them, and the attempt failed.

Very different, however, was the nature of the riots which about the same time broke out in Edinburgh. Every one is acquainted with these riots as they are described by the inimitable pen of Sir Walter Scott in "The Heart of Mid-Lothian." The simple historic facts are these:—Two noted smugglers from Fife, Wilson and Robertson, were condemned to death for a robbery, and were confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, popularly styled the Heart of Mid-Lothian. They made a determined effort to effect their escape before the day of execution. Having procured a file, they freed themselves from their irons, and cut through one of the iron stanchions of their window. During the night they made their attempt to escape, but were prevented by the selfishness of Wilson, who would go first; and, being a man of a corpulent though very powerful build, he wedged himself fast in the gap, and could neither get out nor draw back again. He was found thus in the morning, and the two prisoners were again secured. The selfishness which had prompted Wilson to seek his own safety first now gave way to a more generous feeling. He lamented deeply by his own eagerness having prevented Robertson going first, who, from his slenderer person, could easily have escaped. Before execution it was the custom at that period in Scotland to conduct the prisoners about to suffer, under a strong guard, to church. This being done in the case of these two men, just as the service was concluded, Wilson suddenly laid hold of two of the four soldiers who guarded them, called out to Robertson to run for his life, and detained the third soldier by seizing him by the collar with his teeth. Robertson shook off the other soldier, and, leaping over the pew, darted from the church, unimpeded by the people. He escaped, and was never seen in Edinburgh again.

This daring scheme, so cleverly executed, raised the admiration of the bravery and magnanimity of Wilson to the highest pitch. At this day, so noble an action as that of Wilson on behalf of his comrade would have turned that enthusiasm to the man's advantage; he would undoubtedly have received a pardon, or a commutation of his punishment into something merely nominal. But, though the people of Edinburgh felt this, the government in London was very exasperated at so daring a defiance of authority. No reprieve came down, and the feelings of the people were such that an attempt at rescue was suspected. To prevent this, captain John Porteus was ordered to attend the execution, with a considerable body of the city guard. Porteus is described as a bold and active officer of police, but of a harsh and cruel temper, and therefore hated by the populace of Edinburgh. Supported by Porteus and his guard, the execution took place, and Wilson was about to be cut down, when the mob began to groan, and hiss, and throw stones. Such expressions of disgust are said not to have been uncommon on such occasions; but now the stones aimed at the hangman are supposed to have hit the guard and Porteus himself. Instead of quietly drawing off his soldiers, the smuggler being now hanged, Porteus, in a moment of fury, seized a musket, and fired at the mob. His example was immediately followed by his soldiers, and, on retiring to the guard-house, they discharged another volley. Meaning, however, to frighten rather than to kill, they elevated their muskets above the heads of the mob, and thus unintentionally killed and wounded several persons of a higher rank who were spectators of the scene from the upper windows.

The indignation at this rash and fatal act of Porteus was unbounded. He was thrown into prison, tried for his life before the high court of justiciary, and found guilty, though by only one more than half of the jury. Evidence was given on his trial, and even inserted in the verdict, that the mob had commenced the attack upon him and his guard, and that several of the soldiers had been bruised and wounded by the stones flung at them.

The queen, on being informed of the circumstances, sent down a respite for Porteus for six weeks, in order to allow time for full inquiry into all the particulars of the affair. The people of Edinburgh immediately concluded that the respite was but the prelude to a full pardon. Captain Bushell, who had fired on the people at Glasgow, instead of being hanged, had been promoted. Though time went on, and no such pardon was known to arrive, the populace became more and more excited, in the belief that such would ultimately prove the case. The 7th of September had come. The next day was the one which terminated the respite, and which was ordered for the execution of Porteus. Confident in the persuasion that it was meant to pardon him, he had that evening given an entertainment to his friends in the Tolbooth, and was exulting in a festal mood over the approaching hour of his delivery, when a drum was heard to beat, and a number of people began to appear from different quarters, and assemble before the Tolbooth. A little before ten o'clock the city seemed to be in a state of strange fermentation. The mob had swarmed out like bees from all streets and wynds, had secured the West Port, barred and barricaded it, and blocked up in like manner the ports of the Canongate and Netherbow. They then proceeded to the guard-house and disarmed the guard, who gave up their guns, halberts, and Lochaber axes without any resistance. Though they were some of those men who had fired on the people, the crowd showed no resentment against them; they were bent on higher game.

When all was ready, the cry was, "Porteus! Porteus! To the Tolbooth!" and the whole vast crowd rushed thither, demanding that the prisoner should be turned out to them. When no answer was received, they began battering the door with stones and sledge-hammers to break it in, but the door was immensely thick, and plated with iron, and resisted all their efforts. The alarm of these proceedings was carried to the magistrates, who were drinking at a tavern in the Parliament Close, though it was afterwards stated, as more becoming of their dignity, that they had assembled there to consult on the best mode of ending the riot. Mr. Lindsay, the member of Parliament for the city, was there with them, and he volunteered to carry a message to general Moyle, who was quartered with the troops in the suburbs. Lindsay, with much difficulty and danger, accomplished his mission, and requested Moyle to force the barricade at the Netherbow Port, and march upon the rioters. But Moyle refused to do this without a warrant from the magistrates, and Lindsay declared that if he were found carrying any such document, the mob would tear him limb from limb. Moyle, having the example of Porteus before his eyes, refused to move, and Lindsay continued in vain to urge him. Moyle, not prevailing with Lindsay, sent to Andrew Fletcher, lord justice clerk, whose house was about three miles off, for an order, but it was some time before the message could reach Fletcher, and procure the order, and it was one o'clock in the morning when the order was delivered, and then, by some strange mistake, not to the general, but to Lindsay. The governor of the castle was sent to, but, like Moyle, refused to act without an order from the magistrates. The magistrates, instead of seeing such an order sent to one or both of the commanders, sallied from their tavern, and attempted to descend the High Street towards the Tolbooth—perhaps a more convincing evidence than any other that they were, as reported, far from sober. They were instantly stopped and sent back by the mob. Moyle afterwards, when questioned as to the reason for not hastening to quell the riot, declared that Lindsay was drunk when he came to him, and Lindsay retorted on the general his shameful want of alacrity. Owing to all these circumstances no military arrived, and the mob had plenty of time to storm the Tolbooth. Finding all other means vain, there was at last a cry of "Try fire!" This was no sooner heard than adopted. Tar-barrels and other combustibles were collected and heaped upon the stubborn old door. It soon began to burn; presently there was a hole in the centre of it, and the gaoler, seeing all resistance over, flung the keys through to the besiegers. The mob rushed in almost before the fire could be moved, and, disregarding all other objects, made for the cell of the trembling Porteus. All the other prisoners were allowed to escape at will. The wretched Porteus, hearing the roar of the mob outside, and his name mingled with it, had comprehended the object of the attack, and had endeavoured to escape his horrible fate. He had climbed up into the chimney, but soon found himself stopped by a grate which was fixed across it, as is usual in prisons. The mob, on entering his room, gave a yell of disappointment at finding no one there. They searched every nook, and were not long in detecting and dragging him from his concealment. All entreaties for his life were disregarded, but they allowed him to consign his money and his papers to the care of a friend, a prisoner for debt, on behalf of his family. A man of a venerable aspect assumed the office of clergyman, and exhorted the dying man to prepare for his end. He was then conducted by the triumphant mob towards the Grass Market, the place where Wilson was hanged, the ordinary place of execution, and where Porteus having fired on the people, they determined that he should receive his punishment. Porteus refused to walk, but they mounted him on the hands of two of the rioters, forming what in Scotland is called "the king's chair." Not finding a regular gallows, they seized a dyer's pole, and made it serve their turn. For a rope they broke open a dealer's booth, and, taking a coil, left a guinea in payment. The death of Porteus was hard, but the mood of his captors was harder. They waited for his last struggle, and then those who had arms threw them away, and the crowd began to disperse quietly to their homes. When day dawned, there were only the scattered arms of the city guard and the dangling corpse of Porteus to evidence the awful work of the night.

The news on reaching London was received with astonishment. The daring of the deed was equalled by the orderly, systematic, and successful manner in which it had been conducted. It was clear that the whole was executed under the direction of men of superior rank and education. The care to injure no one but the victim, paying a guinea for the rope, and turning back ladies who were out in their sedans going to parties, but with all courtesy, and guarding them to their homes, all evinced this.

Sir Walter Scott mentions a female relative of his who was thus escorted, and received a bow on entering her house from a youth in the garb of a baker, as he handed her out, which, she said, was never learned beside the oven. When Porteus lost one of his slippers, the crowd stopped till it was recovered and put it on again. The little success which attended the endeavours to discover the ringleaders of this remarkable mob was further proof of the kind of leading which it had had. The queen exhibited great indignation at this systematic defiance of authority. She exclaimed to the duke of Argyll that, sooner than submit to such things, she would make Scotland a hunting-field; on which Argyll replied, with a profound bow and meaning look, "Then I will take leave of your majesty, and go down to my own country to get my hounds ready."

It was the earl of Isla, Argyll's brother, nevertheless, who was sent down to discover the leaders of the riot, and to bring them to punishment. It was useless; the whole feeling of the country was with the punishers of Porteus. Isla, in reporting to Walpole, says, "The most shocking circumstance is, that it plainly appears the highflyers of our Scotch church have made this infamous murder a point of conscience. One of the actors went straight to a country church, where the sacrament was given to a vast crowd of people, as is the fashion here, and there boasted what he had done. All the lower rank of the people, who had distinguished themselves by pretences to a superior sanctity, talk of this murder as the hand of God doing justice, and my endeavours to punish murderers are called grievous persecutions. I have conversed with several of the parsons, and, indeed, I could hardly have given credit to the public reports of the temper of these saints if I had not been witness to it." Thus all attempts to discover any of the chief perpetrators failed, and no more than the general facts have ever come to light.

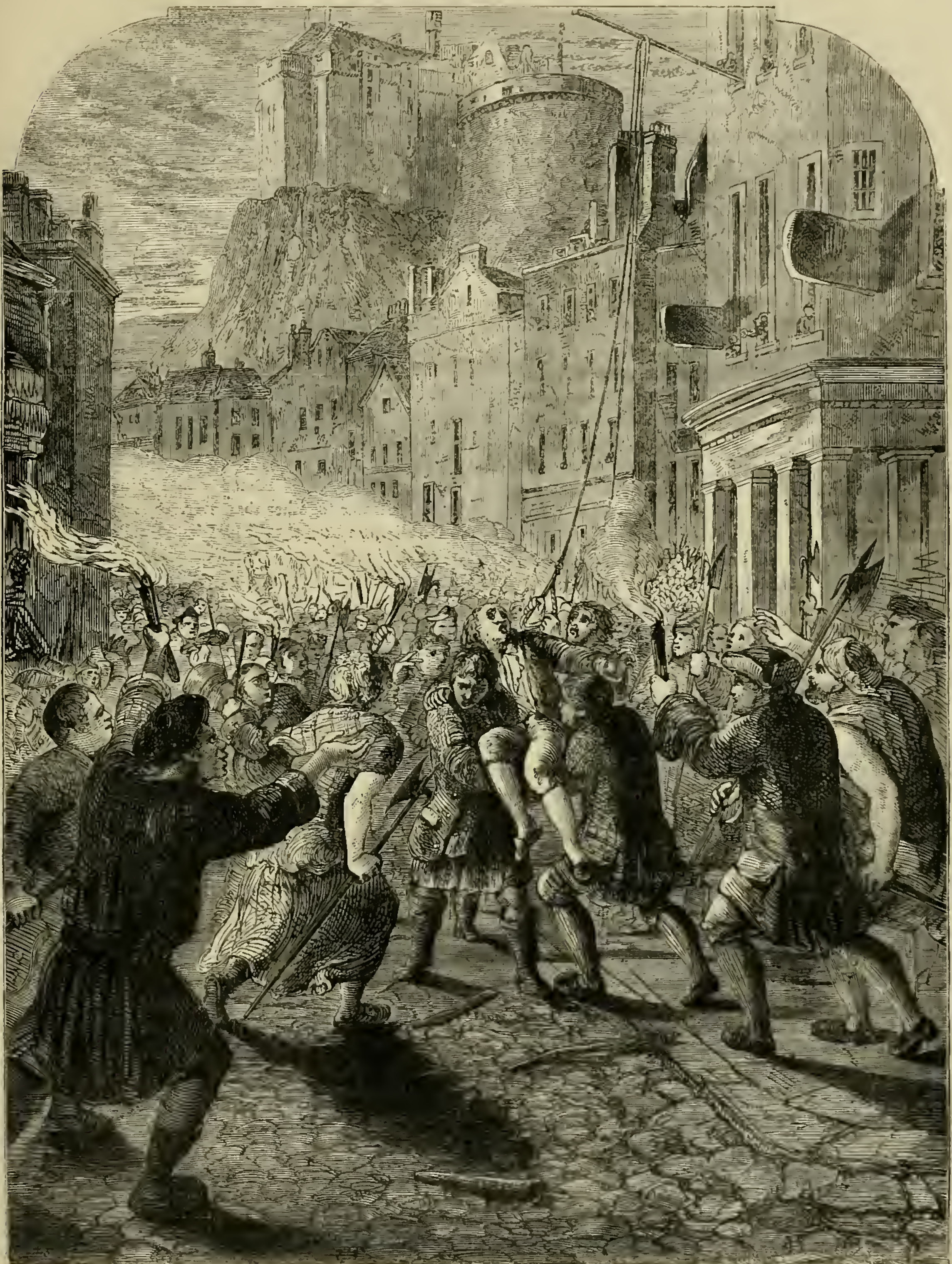
But the more the mystery, the greater was the rage of the English government. On the opening of the session of parliament for 1737 a bill was brought in of a most frantic and unwise character:—To abolish the charter of the city of Edinburgh, to rase the city gates, disband the city guard, and declare Mr. Wilson, the provost, incapable of again holding any public office. Nothing so furious and unstatesmanlike could ever have been imagined possible in the eighteenth century. Witnesses were called to the bar of both houses, and amongst them three Scotch judges in their robes were subjected to a sharp cross-questioning. Nothing, however, could be elicited except some degree of carelessness on the part of the city magistrates. The Scottish nation, with its usual spirit, highly resented the menaces of this impolitic bill. The duke of Argyll in the lords, and various members of the commons, as the lord advocate, the celebrated Duncan Forbes; Lindsay, the member for Edinburgh; lord Polwarth, the son of the earl of Marchmont, already greatly distinguished—denounced it as equally insulting and unjust. They were zealously supported by many English members, especially by Wyndham and Sir John Barnard, and the bill gradually shrank into an act disabling Mr. Provost Wilson from holding any office in future, and fining the city two thousand pounds for the benefit of the widow of captain Porteus; and, alluding to her original station, it was jocosely said, therefore, that all this terrible menace and debate ended in making the fortune of an old cookmaid.

There was still a clause retained in the bill which greatly annoyed the clergy of Scotland. It was one ordering the reading of a proclamation by the clergy once every month, calling on the people to exert themselves to bring the murderers of captain Porteus to justice. The clergy resented this order on two grounds. It seemed to desecrate their pulpits by making them the organs of a mere hue and cry; and, as the proclamation mentioned "the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled," it appeared to give a sanction in them to episcopacy, which they still continued to regard as unchristian, and to denounce as such on all convenient occasions. The clause was a most impolitic one; it tended only to keep up the popular irritation on the subject, and gave so much offence generally, that government felt the effect of it sensibly in the next election in the Scotch burghs.

On the 1st of February, 1737, parliament met, and its first debates were on these Scotch affairs; but on the 9th of March Walpole moved that a sum of one million should be taken from the sinking fund, and applied to relieve some of the old South Sea annuitants. Sir John Barnard proposed that the house should resolve itself into a committee, and take the national debt into serious consideration, in order to its reduction. As the sinking fund was now regularly seized upon for other purposes, Sir John moved that money should be borrowed at three per cent. with which to pay off annuities which were receiving higher interest. The debt, it appeared, at this time amounted to forty-seven millions, eight hundred and sixty-six thousand five hundred and ninety-six pounds. This was clearly a wise and legitimate mode of reducing the national annual payment of interest. The landed proprietors were in favour of the plan, which thus would materially diminish the expenditure, and Sir John Barnard's high moral as well as financial character lent weight to the scheme. But the monied interest opposed it. It lowered the profit of funded securities, and Sir Robert Walpole opposed it as strenuously; for whatever reduced the debt or the interest of it, reduced the motives of a large class for supporting government and its measures. He referred to the South Sea and India Companies, which had, in the disastrous period of 1720, when they had the power to demand the whole of their funds, refrained from doing so. He contended that we were saved from ruin by them, and he demanded whether it were grateful to reduce their dividends. This was a very specious argument, which Sir Robert never wanted; but when the country had gone on paying extra interest to these parties for seven years, the argument would have been totally disregarded by Sir Robert himself, had his political interest leaned another way. His arguments and exertions succeeded, and the plan was rejected.

The attention of the public was now again drawn to those unnatural feuds which disturbed the royal family. The exhibition of domestic discord and hatred in the house of Hanover had, from its first ascension of the throne, been most odious and revolting. George I. had the most monstrous jealousy of his son, and that son, now George II., was equally averse to his son, Frederick, the prince of Wales, who repaid the paternal hatred with the most unfilial opposition and disrespect. These disgraceful and unchristian contentions of this singular family, were aggravated for their own purposes by the adverse parties round the throne. The quarrels of the present father and son, like those of the present and late king, had begun in Hanover, and had been imported along with them only to assume greater malignance in foreign and richer soil. The prince of Wales, whilst still in Germany, had formed a strong attachment to the princess royal of Prussia, who afterwards became margravine of Bareith, and has left us in her memoirs some strange sketches of her different relatives. The Prussian family did not bear a more amiable character than that of Hanover. The king was of a most brutal temper, and had the same inveterate hatred of his son and successor as George of Hanover had. He treated him with the most savage severity, and wished to have him beheaded. Nor did he confine his atrocious violence to his son; he beat and maltreated his daughter. What sort of a race the union of two such families might have produced it is really frightful to contemplate. But this was happily prevented by Frederick William of Prussia and George of England as cordially hating each other as they each hated their own sons. George it was who forbade the connection. But the prince of Wales, in that resistance to the paternal will which was innate in him, dispatched an agent of his, one La Motte, from Hanover, secretly to the queen of Prussia, to assure her that he was determined to marry her daughter, spite of his father, and that he should quickly arrive in Berlin in disguise for that purpose. The Prussian queen, in her delight at this news, defeated it by foolishly boasting of it to the English envoy at her court. The consequence was, that the prince was instantly summoned to England, where he duly arrived in 1728.

The prince found in the opposition in England the most unfortunate fosterers of his unfilial temper. Pulteney, Wyndham, Chesterfield, Carteret, Cobham, and, worst of all, Bolingbroke, became his associates, and the frequenters of his house. There he heard nothing but the most distorted description of his father's government and of his ministers. A more pernicious companion and mentor for a



THE EDINBURGH MOB CARRYING CAPTAIN PORTEUS TO EXECUTION.

young prince than the brilliant but heartless and disappointed Bolingbroke, it is impossible to conceive. Whatever wit and malice could do to pervert a young mind, and to strengthen in self-will that which was already perverted, would be sure to be done by Bolingbroke, who had no Christian principle to restrain him, but an exhaustless supply of black and festering envy and hatred to urge him on. He and his beloved friend, the dean of St. Patrick, whose life was spent in attacking honest patriots, venting his poisonous spite on all that disliked or opposed him, and in torturing trusting women, were fatal counsellors for a young man already regarding with a jaundiced eye everything that related to his father. Bolingbroke could clothe his most devilish feelings under the most fair language, and, with the object of obliquely satirising George II., he wrote and introduced to the son his essay on a "Patriot King."

The prince of Wales, fast ripening into a pattern of unfilial popularity under such influences, possessing some accomplishments, and a desire to stand well with the people, was married in April, 1736, to Augusta of Saxe Gotha, a princess of so much beauty and good sense, as might have reclaimed many a nature, and seems to have at least won the heart of her husband from his former romantic passion. It was an ominous circumstance, however, that the address of congratulation on this occasion was moved, not by the king's own ministers, but by the king's own opposition. Pulteney was the mover, and it was supported by two young men who that evening made their first speeches, and in them burst suddenly forth with that splendour which was destined to grow transcendent through many years. They were Pitt, afterwards lord Chatham, and lord Lyttleton.

Scarcely was the prince married, when he began to complain of his limited income. His father, as prince of Wales, had been allowed one hundred thousand pounds from the civil list, which then was only seven hundred thousand pounds, but he now received only fifty thousand pounds from a civil list of eight hundred thousand pounds. The prince did not take into consideration that his father, on arriving in England, had already a large family to maintain, and that there could be no doubt that on his having a family the country would see that he had a suitable provision, if his father did not. At the same time, it must be allowed that George II. had, by all means, and some of them very paltry and truthless, augmented the civil list from seven hundred thousand pounds to eight hundred thousand pounds, and might with a good grace have allowed his heir the required one hundred thousand pounds, and thus taken away a very plausible plea from the opposition. But avarice was the besetting sin of George, and he allowed his son's discontents to be sounded all through the kingdom without making any movement towards silencing them in the most effectual manner, namely, by rendering them causeless. On the other hand, Bolingbroke and the opposition were only too happy to have such a subject of censure on the king; and they stimulated the prince to the most unbecoming defiance of his father. Bolingbroke, two years before, on leaving England, told the prince, as his parting advice, to apply to parliament, without any regard to the king, for a permanent income of one hundred thousand pounds a year. His best friends as earnestly dissuaded him from this conduct, and amongst others Bubb Doddington, a thorough time-serving courtier, who was professing to be the prince's friend whilst he was in league with Walpole and the king, was employed to prevail on him to remain quiet. Doddington, afterwards lord Melcombe, and a man who has already appeared in this history under his original name of Bubb, has left a very minute and amusing account in his "Diary" of his conversations with the prince, and of his employment at the same time by Walpole to bring over some of the opposition by bribes and promises. Through the whole, whilst Doddington was earnestly endeavouring to persuade the prince as his fast friend not to commit himself to any such impolitic course, he allows us to see that he was doing it at the instance and under the instructions of Walpole. The king was at this time very unwell, and many thought he would not live long, and Doddington urged upon the prince how ungenerous and unfilial it would appear to the nation to take such a step against his father at such a moment. He said that no one desired the downfall of the minister more than he did, but he thought this course would bind the king and ministers faster together than ever.

Doddington then sought his friend Sir Paul Methuen, and induced him to declare that he would neither vote for nor against the grant, and they together waited on the duke of Dorset and other lords, who declared that they would do their utmost to dissuade the prince from this matter. The result of this proceeding was, that the duke of Argyll, lord Scarborough, the duke of Dorset, lord Wilmington, Sir Thomas Frankland, and Sir Conyers Darcy, though the prince's friends, all declared that they could not vote for him.

All this appears very well as the proceeding of a friend who would fain prevent his prince running into a fatal dilemma; but the next moment we find this earnest and prudent friend in close conference with Walpole, who is offering through him to bribe and bring away as many of the opposition as he can get. "We understand one another," observed Walpole, at parting; and undoubtedly they did. Doddington was empowered to treat with others, and with no ambiguous assurance of his own advantage in it. Spite of Doddington's arguments, and spite of the conversions he made of some of the prince's usual partisans, the prince was resolute on proceeding. He declared that none would desert him who were not more afraid of their places and interests than they were sincerely attached to him; and he continually referred to the support which queen Anne, when princess of Denmark, had received under the same circumstances. Meantime, the great leaders of the opposition stood apparently firm to the prince—Pulteney, Wyndham, and Sir John Barnard, whose support of the prince gave a great moral momentum to his cause; for such was the character of Sir John for integrity, honour, and reasonableness, that it was thought he would not countenance anything that was really unjust.

Under these circumstances, Walpole persuaded the king to send a message to the prince, offering to settle a large jointure on the princess, and to make the prince's own income independent of his father. Here the prince ought to have yielded; if he had been either politic or well-disposed, he would have done so. The king was at this time much worse, and his physicians declared that if he did not alter soon, he could not live a twelvemonth. This circumstance of itself would have touched any young man of the least natural feeling, to say nothing of policy; for, if the king died, there was an end of the question—the prince would be king himself. But he was now in such a temper that he would not listen to the royal proposal; and the very next day, the 22nd of February, Pulteney made his motion in the house of commons for an address beseeching the king to settle upon the prince a hundred thousand pounds a year, and promising that the house would enable him effectually to do so. What was still stranger, it was seconded by Sir John Barnard.

The king's message to his son had been delivered by several great officers of state, headed by lord chancellor Hardwicke; and his determined rejection of it struck the public as something very ungracious. Walpole stated the fact of the king's offer of the day before, and added that fifty thousand pounds a year, with the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall, about ten thousand pounds more, was a sufficient allowance for an heir-apparent. He remarked how highly indecorous it was to interfere betwixt father and son, and he replied to the historical references of Pulteney to the establishments of heirs-apparent, by denying that there was any case of such interference as the present, except in the reign of Henry VI.—a prince so weak, that parliament was compelled to exercise certain rights to which they were not properly entitled. Pulteney replied, and described the prince's necessary expenses as amounting to sixty-three thousand pounds a-year, whilst his income was only fifty-two thousand pounds, leaving him nothing to bestow in the exercise of benevolence, and dependent on the minister of his father.

The imminent danger of the king, however, was more persuasive with many than any other arguments. They were not willing to run counter to a prince apparently on the point of ascending the throne, and Walpole would have found himself in a minority had Wyndham, as he hoped, brought the tories to vote for the prince. But forty-five Jacobites, who could not bring themselves to vote for an heir of the house of Hanover, though they would by that have done a serious mischief to the Hanoverian usurper, as they styled him, rose in a body and quitted the house. The Jacobites in the house in the preceding parliament were reckoned to be fifty, so that we have here a pretty clear test of the amount of that party in the house. On the division, the ministerial party amounted to two hundred and thirty-four, the opposition to only two hundred and four—being a majority for ministers of exactly thirty. The next day the same motion was made in the lords by Carteret, but was rejected by a large majority—one hundred and three to forty.

This decided repulse ought to have shown the prince the violence that he was doing to the public sense of decency, and the mischief to his own character; but the disappointment only the more embittered him, and increased his miserable obstinacy. Time had no effect in abating his unnatural resentment. Though this parliamentary decision took place in February, he continued so much in the same temper, that the very last day of the following July, his wife being seized with symptoms of labour, he suddenly determined to remove her from Hampton Court, where all the royal family then were, and hurry her off to London.

The event of this first *accouchement* of the princess was duly expected, and all the necessary measures taken for it, though the prince had never once announced the fact of the princess's pregnancy to the king and queen; and in the middle of the night he suddenly hurried her away at the risk of her life. With all his haste, the birth had nearly taken place at a roadside inn, where there was nothing proper for the occasion—no accoucheur, no medical attendance, nor any of the necessary witnesses of the birth of a probable heir to the crown.

Fortunately, the princess was safely delivered at St. James's, though the house was altogether unprepared for such an emergency—the rooms and beds being unaired, and no adequate suite of servants. The moment that the king heard of this extraordinary conduct of the prince, he dispatched Walpole and lord Harrington to attend the birth, but they were too late. The queen set out, also, with all haste, and was with the princess at seven in the morning at St. James's. Horace Walpole says, "The gracious prince, so far from attempting any apology, spoke not a word to his mother, but, on her retreat, gave her his hand, and led her into the street to her coach, still dumb; but a crowd being assembled at the gate, he kneeled down in the dirt, and humbly kissed her majesty's hand. Her indignation must have shrunk into contempt."

This headstrong and disgraceful conduct of the prince produced that disgust in the public mind, that he soon felt it necessary to make very humble apologies and submissions to both his parents. He professed that the confinement of the princess took place before it was expected, and, therefore he thought it best to take her to where she could have the best assistance, rather than wait till it arrived, and that in his hurry he had forgotten to apprise their majesties. Every one knew that this was all false, and the king treated such an apology with silent scorn. Not only his enemies, but his friends, and Bolingbroke foremost amongst them, blamed his conduct in thus cruelly and dangerously removing the princess. As he had been undignifiedly passionate before, now he became as meanly humble. He continued to make such humble apologies as could only proceed from an ignoble nature. But if the son was grossly culpable, the father was no less so. He had been penurious and harsh towards his son; the son was now disposed to humble himself, and the father should have been satisfied. On the contrary, George remained true to his self-willed and brutal nature; he would do nothing towards closing this frightful and revolting breach in a family, which by its position was exposed to the eyes of all Europe. Lord chancellor Hardwicke is said to have laboured hard and honourably to produce a reconciliation; but Walpole is accused of taking the contrary course, and hardening the king in his hatred to his son. The prince, now reduced to an extremity of self-abasement, resolved to proceed to the king's presence, and there personally entreat his pardon; but the queen, who, no doubt, knew the implacable mood of her husband, advised her son to delay this intention for a few days; and during that interval Walpole, at the king's dictation, drew up a very violent message to the prince. This was then submitted to the judgments of lords Hardwicke, Wilmington, and Harrington. Hardwicke counselled much gentler terms; Wilmington advised that the letter should go as it was, and Harrington said nothing. So this harsh and unwise message was sent on the 3rd of August. It was to express the king's resentment in the highest degree at the removal of the princess under the circumstances already mentioned. The prince again expressed his sorrow, and George took no notice whatever of the expression. A peremptory order was issued for the baptism of the child on the 29th of August, and then the king proceeded to still harsher and more unnatural measures. Though the prince continued to express sorrow for his conduct, the king remained wholly unmollified, and determined to expel the repentant son from the palace. At the conference on this subject lord Hardwicke again urged conciliation, but Walpole is reported by Hardwicke to have said, "It would be better to be short at first." Walpole must now have made up his mind that he had sinned unpardonably against the successor, and therefore took no care, except to gratify the morose desire of the king.

On the 9th of September, therefore, was dispatched a long letter from the king to his son, after having been submitted to and approved by all the lords of the cabinet council then in town. It was carried by the duke of Grafton, the duke of Richmond, and the earl of Pembroke. It said that the king could not be imposed on by the words of the prince, so contrary to his actions. It reiterated at great length the conduct of the prince regarding the confinement of the princess, all which the prince had repeatedly expressed his sorrow for; that until he renounced the company of all those by whom he was mischievously counselled, it was the king's determination that he should not reside in his palace; that he would receive no reply; but that, when his conduct evinced his proper return to duty and submission, the king might be induced to pardon him; that he required him to quit the palace with all his family as speedily as could be done without injury to the princess; and he intimated that he should leave the little daughter just born in the care of the princess till such time as he should see fit to take her away for her education.

Perhaps in all the annals of kings and of nations there is no example of a father expelling his son from his house, after the most earnest expression of sorrow for his faults, and of entire submission, with so hard and unchristian a spirit as this. Never was there so revolting a display, not of mere lack of affection, but of downright hatred and malice, as in this family. Father against son, and son against father, one generation after another, and it descended still farther down. The Stuarts were tyrants, but they had strong affections generally towards each other; but the present dynasty presented to the whole world the most revolting and astonishing exhibition of family discord and paternal and filial hate which had amazed mankind since the days of Atreus.

This harsh conduct was not the way to reclaim an erring son, but to indurate him in the wrong. It had the immediate effect of driving the prince more completely into the arms of the opposition. He betook himself to Norfolk House, St. James's Square, and there all the opponents of his father's government collected around him. The prince was now the head and centre of the opposition himself. Though the king and his ministers might have clearly foreseen this, such was George's exasperation, that he directly issued an order that every person who visited his son at Norfolk House should be excluded from the royal presence in any palace where he might be residing. Not content with this, George had an account of the affair and the correspondence betwixt himself and the prince drawn up and sent to all the foreign ambassadors in London. Thus did this stupid monarch spread the disgrace of his family rancour over the whole civilised world. Causes, too mysterious to be unveiled to the public, were attributed to this odious state of things. "Sir Robert Walpole," says lord Hardwicke, "informed me of certain passages between the king and himself, and between the queen and the prince, of too high and secret a nature ever to be trusted to this narrative. From these I formed great reason to think that this unhappy difference between the king and queen and his royal highness, turned upon some points of a more interesting and important nature than have hitherto appeared."

This open breach of the royal family was quickly followed by the death of the queen. Besides the misery of seeing her son and husband so awfully at variance, she had long been struggling with a complaint which, out of false delicacy, she had carefully concealed. "The queen's great secret," says Horace Walpole, "was her own rupture, which, till her last illness, nobody knew but the king, her German nurse, Mrs. Mailborne, and one other person, lady Sundon. To prevent all suspicion, her majesty would frequently stand some minutes in her shift talking to her ladies, and, though labouring under so dangerous a complaint, she made it so invariable a rule never to refuse a desire of the king, that every morning at Richmond she walked several miles with him; and more than once, when she had the gout in her foot, she dipped her whole leg in cold water to be ready to attend him! The pain, her bulk, and the exercise, threw her into such fits of perspiration as ousted the gout; but these exertions hastened the crisis of her complaint." She continued till nearly the last to conceal from the surgeons the real cause of her sufferings, and was treated by the medical men for gout in the stomach. When the secret was at length disclosed, it was too late, though one of the surgeons declared, that, if they had been informed two days earlier, they could have saved her.

Admirable as was the character of Caroline, she has been accused of retaining her resentment against her son to the last. Pope and Chesterfield affirm that she died refusing to see or forgive her son; but Ford, though he says she would not see him, she "heartily forgave him;" and Horace Walpole not only says she not only forgave him, but would have seen him, only that she feared to irritate her husband. To Sir Robert Walpole she expressed her earnest hope that he would continue to serve the king as faithfully as he had done, and, curiously enough, recommended the king to him, not him to the king. She died on the 20th of November, perhaps more lamented by Walpole than by her own husband, for Walpole well knew how much her strong sense and superior feeling had tended to keep the king right, which he could not hope for when she was gone. The king appeared to lament her loss considerably for a time, that is, till consoled by his mistress, the countess of Walmoden, whom he had kept for a long time at Hanover, and now soon brought over to England. He sent for her picture when she was dead, shut himself up with it some hours, and declared, on reappearing, that he never knew the woman worthy to buckle her shoe. Yet what are we to think of the real affection of this man, who, knowing for years that she had suffered from a rupture, nevertheless demanded her company in his walks; and never, so far as we know, took any pains to conquer her false delicacy, and induce her to have the necessary help in such a complaint.

Not long after the queen's death he brought over the countess of Walmoden, and in March, 1740, he created her baroness and countess of Yarmouth. Fortunately, like the countess of Suffolk, her predecessor, she did not interfere in politics, but was eager, like all the German mistresses, to scrape together money for her family and connections. There was, however, another lady, Anne, the princess royal, married to the prince of Orange, who would have played a different *rôle* had she been permitted. Soon after the death of the queen she came over, evidently intending to assume the influence which her mother had exerted in the government. But the king treated her with almost as little ceremony as he did his son. He sent her immediately to Bath, and soon after, with as much peremptory abruptness, back to Holland.

A striking example was given, at the opening of the year 1738, of the manner in which party considerations blind men to the most unjust and unnatural principles. At a masquerade, Madame Hoppe, the wife of the Dutch ambassador, accosted the prince of Wales, asking him if he were afraid to talk to a lady, and introduced to him his father's mistress, Madame Walmoden. After some conversation, Madame Walmoden recommended the prince to be reconciled to his father, and the prince assenting, they proposed to meet at another masquerade better disguised. But they had been observed, and the opposition immediately took alarm. The earl of Marchmont hastened to represent to the prince the mischief that must follow from a reconciliation, or even the rumour of a reconciliation. He assured him that the quarrel was one of the strongest securities for the house of Hanover, as those dissatisfied with the government, instead of going over to the pretender, formed a hope of a remedy of their grievances much nearer home, that is, in the successor to the crown; that since the quarrel had become public, he had won greatly on public opinion, and that now he was surrounded and supported by the ablest and best men in the state—meaning Pulteney, Wyndham, Carteret, Chesterfield, Pitt, &c.

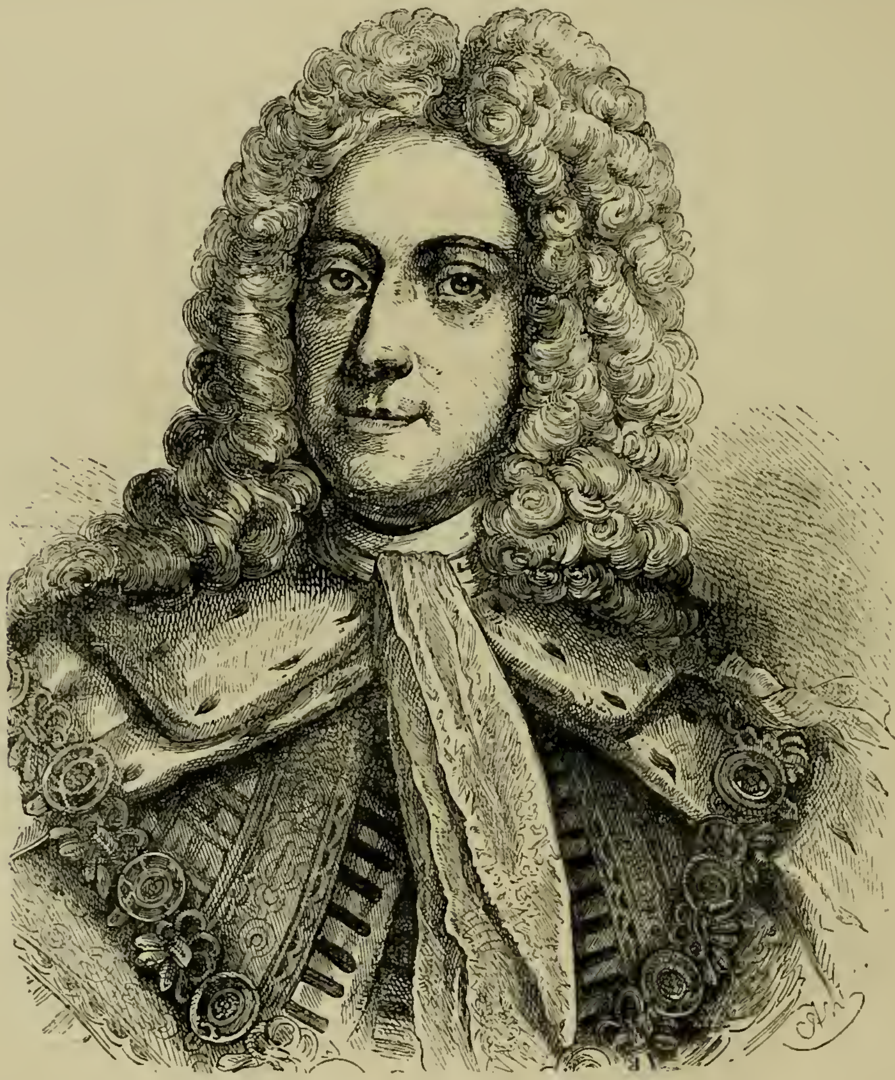
Such were the reasons assigned for inducing the prince to keep open one of the most foul and odious domestic feuds imaginable. The prince replied that he would never make dishonourable terms—as if anything could be so dishonourable as the position in which he and his father stood towards each other!

This alarm was succeeded by another, namely, that Pulteney and Carteret had formed a scheme to get the prince into their hands, and thus make a property of him. Lords Cobham and Chesterfield went and prevented this. The opposition was thus agitated by fears of one another, and no party was secure of the prince, or could rely wholly on his word. All sections of the opposition, however, exerted themselves to keep up his hatred to Walpole. They carried everything possible to him to incense him against him. He was told that when the deputation was formed to congratulate him from the house of commons on the birth of his child, Walpole called across the house to one of those named to go up with the address, "Take a bank bill of twenty thousand pounds with you; he needs it. He will touch!" He was said, also, to call the prince of Wales one of the pretenders to the crown, saying that there were two of them—one at Rome, the other at Norfolk House. If Walpole really indulged himself in such sallies, it must have been under the conviction that he had sinned too deeply against the prince ever to be pardoned; and the prince was heard to say that, whatever else he might do, he would never speak to Walpole.

On the opening of parliament in January, there was a desperate effort made by the opposition at once to reduce the army and to kindle a war with Spain. Walpole proposed to place the army on a footing of seventeen thousand men. The "patriots," as they were called, voted to reduce the number to twelve thousand. Walpole, exasperated at their factious conduct, launched an indignant sarcasm at them, which produced so much effect that they did not venture to divide on the motion. "No man of common sense," said Walpole, "will now profess himself openly a Jacobite; by so doing, he not only may injure his private fortune, but must render himself less able to do any effectual service to the cause he has embraced; therefore there are but few such men in the kingdom. Your right Jacobite, sir, disguises his true sentiments. He roars out for revolutionary principles; he pretends to be a great friend to liberty, and a great admirer of our ancient constitution; and under this pretence there are numbers who every day endeavour to sow discontent among the people. These men know that discontent and disaffection, like wit and madness, are separated by thin partitions, and therefore they hope that if they can once render the people thoroughly discontented, it will be easy for them to render them disaffected. By the accession of these new allies, as I may justly call them, the real but concealed Jacobites have succeeded even beyond their own expectation."

During the debate, colonel Mordaunt was imprudent enough to remark that "a standing army was absolutely necessary to support the whig interest against the tory." This was immediately seized on by the opposition, and lord Polwarth, in a strain of patriotic virtue, declared that no interest or party ought to be tolerated which required a standing army for its support. The motion of the opposition was lost by one hundred and sixty-four votes against two hundred and forty-nine ministerial ones.

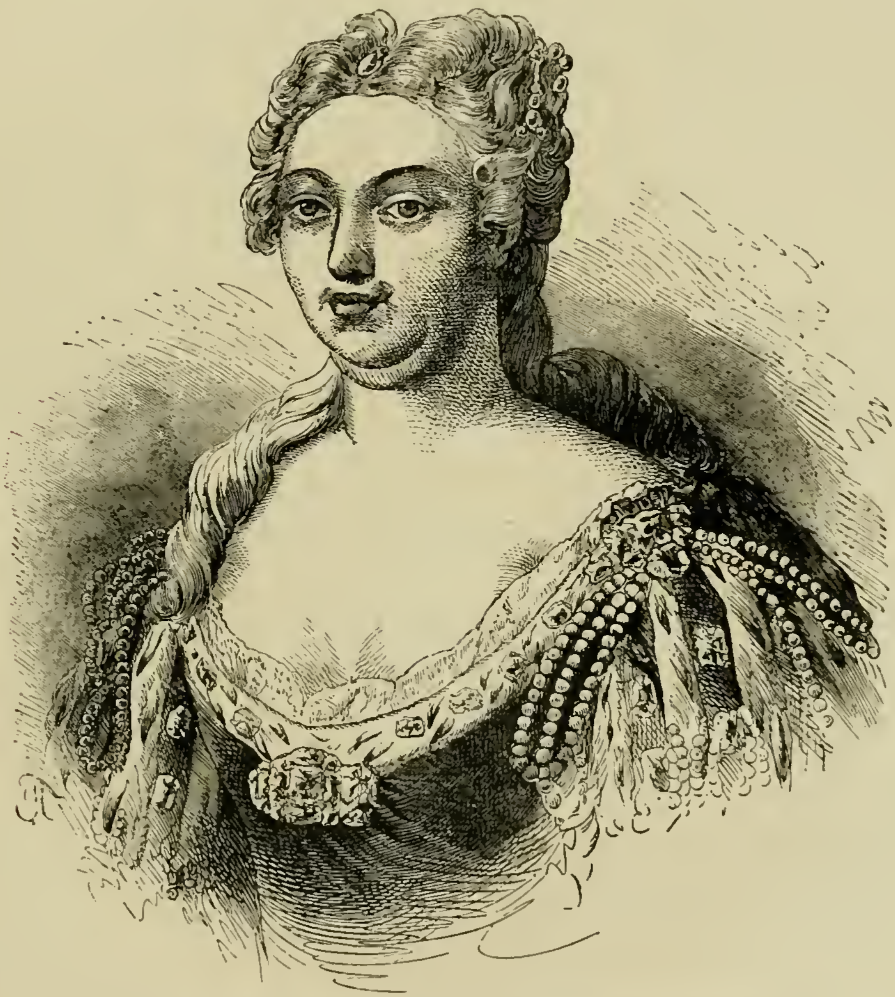
Defeated in this object, the patriots united all their force to embroil us with Spain. There were many causes in our commercial relations with Spain which led to violent discontent amongst our merchants. They found the trade with the Spanish settlements in America exceedingly profitable, but they had no right, beyond a very limited extent, to trade there. The Spaniards, though they winked at many encroachments, repressed others which exceeded these with considerable vigour. Their Guarda Costas insisted on boarding and searching our vessels which intruded into their waters, to discover whether they were bringing merchandise or prepared to carry away colonial produce. This assertion of right led to many clashing incidents, which enabled the English merchants to raise a plausible cry of violence and ill-treatment against the Spaniards. The truth was, that the Spaniards tolerated much more intrusion into their colonial ports and trade than we had any right to expect; but our merchants, in their keen pursuit of gain, were not disposed to give way, and were ever ready to represent themselves as the innocent sufferers. The Spaniards acted on their own regulations regarding their colonies, which they had every right to make, and which were recognised by repeated treaties with us. By the treaty of 1670 Spain had recognised the British colonies in North America, and England had agreed that her ships should not enter the ports of the Spanish colonies except from stress of weather, or with an especial license from the Spanish government to trade. By the treaty of 1729, we had assented to the old regulations regarding trading to the Spanish main, namely, that we should have the Assiento, or right of supplying these colonies with slaves, and that, besides this, we should only send one ship annually to the Spanish West Indies and South America. However rigorous was this restriction, Spain had insisted upon it, and we had consented to it in repeated treaties. However much, therefore, our merchants might grumble at it, they had no right to infringe the international law. The Spaniards stationed their Guarda Costas, or guard ships, along their coasts to prevent interlopers; and they claimed a right, which the tenor of the treaty clearly gave them, to



GEORGE II. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT BY HIGHMORE.

search such of our ships as went thither, to ascertain whether they were licensed, or were exceeding the limits of the treaty. The English, however, were continually intruding, and the Spaniards were in general only too easy; but when the intrusions became too barefaced or frequent, they occasionally were roused to a more vigilant action, which gave high offence to our traders, who retaliated on the Spanish vessels when they met with them on the high seas, either in the Atlantic or Pacific. They are said, too, to have made occasional buccaneer-like descents on the coasts of the Spanish main, burning towns and plundering the inhabitants. The one ship which *was* allowed to trade annually with the Spanish colonies was made a means of the most extensive and audacious smuggling. As fast as that authorised ship discharged its cargo in a Spanish port, she received fresh supplies of goods over her larboard side from other vessels which had followed in her wake, and thus poured unlimited quantities of English goods into the place. Other English traders did not approach too near the Spanish coasts, but were met in certain latitudes by South American smugglers, who there received their goods and carried them into port. In short, such a system of contraband trade was carried on in these waters by our merchants, that English goods in abundance found their way all over the Spanish American regions, and the great annual fair for goods imported from or by Spain dwindled into insignificance.

It was no wonder that Spain, feeling the serious effects of this state of things, should resist it; and when she did so, and exerted an unusual degree of vigilance, then the most terrible outcries were raised, and wonderful stories were circulated of Spanish cruelties to our people beyond the Atlantic. At this time the opposition got hold of one of these, and made the house of commons and the nation resound with it. It was, that one captain Robert Jenkins, who had been master of a sloop trading from Jamaica, had been boarded and searched by a Guarda Costa, and treated in a most barbarous manner, though they could detect no proof of smuggling in his vessel. He said that the Spanish captain had cut off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his king, and tell his majesty that, if he were



QUEEN CAROLINE, CONSORT OF GEORGE II. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT BY AMICONI.

present, he would treat him in the same manner. This story was now seven years old, but it was not the less warmly received on that account. It excited the utmost horror, and Jenkins was ordered to appear at the bar of the house of commons on the 16th of March, to give an account of the outrage himself; and it would appear that both he and other witnesses were examined the same day. Jenkins carried his ear about with him wrapped in cotton, to show to those to whom he related the fact, and the indignation was intense. It has been suggested that probably the captain was wearing both his ears at the time under his bushy locks, though the excited feelings of his auditors did not suggest to them to make the examination. But Tindal, the historian, asserts that he certainly had lost an ear, but, as it was suspected, as a punishment from the hands of his own countrymen, and probably in the pillory.

Pulteney, Barnard, Wyndham, and Pitt, who took the lead in this movement, made the most of this story, and William Murray, afterwards lord Mansfield, was engaged by the petitioners as their counsel. But an answer of Jenkins himself produced the most universal effect. He was asked by a member how he felt when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians, and he replied, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." The worthy skipper had probably been crammed with this dramatic sentiment by some of his clever parliamentary introducers; but its effect was all the same as if it had been a genuine and involuntary expression of his own mind. It had an electric effect both in parliament and the country. "We have no need of allies," exclaimed Pulteney, in triumph, "to enable us to command justice; the story of Jenkins will raise volunteers." Burke has since dubbed this story, "The *Fable* of Jenkins' Ears."

After the eloquent and stirring speech of Mr. Murray, Pulteney delivered one of his most masterly harangues on the question, declaring that the British nation had a right to sail freely over any sea in the globe, so that they did not intrude into forbidden ports; that, so long as they kept out of the Spanish harbours, they were at liberty to traverse the American waters, and to carry their articles of commerce from one British colony to another; that they had a just right to cut logwood in Campeachy Bay, and to gather salt on the Island of Tortuga. These were rights which the Spaniards denied, and had sometimes resisted, though at other times they had suffered the English, who went with arms in their hands, to carry away those articles. Pulteney, however, contended that we had acquired a right by long use.

Walpole, in reply, said he did not deny that the Spaniards had committed great outrages on English traders, but he thought these might receive a full and friendly compensation, and he promised his utmost exertions towards this end with the court of Madrid. He besought the house not to close the avenues to accommodation by any intemperate proceedings, and by denying altogether the right of search, which he thought the Spaniards would not readily relinquish. He had been severely ridiculed for his tameness, as the opposition called it. Imperious as he is at home, he is no less abject and crouching, they said, abroad; and they quoted continually some lines ascribed to bishop Atterbury, which called him "The cur-dog of Britain and spaniel of Spain." Walpole now repudiated these charges. "I have always," he said, "disregarded a popularity that was not acquired by a hearty zeal for the public interest, and I have been long enough in this house to see that the most steady opposers of popularity, founded upon any other views, had lived to receive the thanks of their country for that opposition. For my part, I never could see any cause, either from reason or my own experience, to imagine that a minister is not as safe in time of war as in time of peace. Nay, if we are to judge by reason alone, it is the interest of a minister, conscious of any mismanagement, that there should be a war, because by a war the eyes of the public are diverted from examining into his conduct; nor is he accountable for the bad success of a war as he is for that of an administration."

Walpole in the commons maintained his ascendancy against the repeated attacks of Pulteney, but Chesterfield and Carteret in the peers found no men capable of competing with them, and they carried some strong resolutions which were embodied in an address to the crown. At the same time, Walpole had to contend with the false and wayward conduct of the Spanish ambassador. This was a man of Irish descent, Thomas Fitzgerald, now bearing the Spanish cognomen of Don Thomas Geraldino, who caballed with the opposition, and, encouraged by their conduct, held most intemperate language in public regarding the matters in dispute. He made no hesitation in betraying state secrets to serve his purpose, and declared everywhere that ministers were deceiving the country by pretending that Spain would be induced to give up what she knew to be her inalienable rights. Walpole sent a formal complaint of his conduct to the court of Madrid, but Geraldino assured the Spanish government that Walpole, whilst pretending pacific measures, was doing all in his power to destroy the security of the Spanish trade, and that the interest of Spain was to foment to the utmost the differences and discontents in England; and, under this persuasion, the Spanish government kept him still in London.

And, in truth, everything now seemed to run counter to Walpole, and to tend towards war. His colleague, the duke of Newcastle, who had been one of the most obsequious of subordinates both under Stanhope and himself, now thought he should serve himself decidedly by advocating war. The king was naturally of a martial turn; he had won some military repute in his youth, and he was no longer under the much more sensible guidance of the queen. Newcastle, therefore, probably in the hope of supplanting Walpole, fostered this spirit in the king, and took advantage of it to recommend warlike measures in the cabinet, and to send dispatches to the English ambassadors in Spain, which it required all the energy and wisdom of Walpole to prevent doing irreparable mischief, and which rendered the negotiations extremely difficult. Lord chancellor Hardwicke and lord Harrington arrayed themselves on the same side, and blew the war-note in the house of lords with unrestrained zeal. There was a time when Walpole would have had these antagonistic colleagues dismissed; but both he and they saw too well that there was such a strong war spirit in both king and people, that no such thing was possible. He therefore pursued his efforts with the court of Spain for peaceable conclusions, at the same time that he fell in so far with the belligerent spirit as to make active preparations, as if for an encounter. This, however, was his last and most powerful argument for peace—an argument meant to tell on the fears, as he could not reach a spirit of conciliation in the Spaniards.

He dispatched a squadron of ten ships of the line to the Mediterranean, under admiral Haddock; another strong squadron sailed for the West Indies; letters of marque and reprisal were issued to the merchants; and troops and stores were forwarded to Georgia, which the Spaniards had threatened to invade. He gave directions to all merchants in Spanish ports to register their goods with a public notary in case of a rupture. These measures produced a rapid change of tone at the Spanish court. Orders were issued for liberating and sending home seventy-one English sailors, who had been taken by Guarda Costas; and Geraldino was instructed to say that his Spanish majesty was ready to enter into negotiations for settling all past differences, and for preventing all future ones. The terms of this negotiation were discussed, first betwixt Walpole and Geraldino in London, and afterwards by Mr. Keene and the Spanish minister, La Quadra, at Madrid. On comparing the demands on both sides for damages sustained in commerce, there appeared a balance in favour of England of two hundred thousand pounds. Besides this, the Spaniards demanded sixty thousand pounds in compensation for the ships taken by admiral Byng in 1718—a claim which Stanhope would never allow, but which had been recognised in the treaty of Seville, and was now, therefore, allowed. This reduced the sum to a hundred and forty thousand pounds, which the Spanish court proposed should be paid by assignments on the American revenues. This, the ministers were well aware, might involve the most endless delays and uncertainties, and they certainly showed a most conceding spirit by allowing a deduction of forty-five thousand pounds for prompt payment at Madrid. The sum was now reduced to ninety-five thousand pounds; and this being agreed to, a convention was signed by Keene and La Quadra on the 14th of January, 1739. It was stipulated that it should be paid in four months from the date of the ratification. There was another sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds which La Quadra asserted was due to the king of Spain from the South Sea Company; but Keene explained that the king had nothing whatever to do with the debts of the South Sea Company; and it was settled that, in the discharge of these claims, those of the South Sea Company should not be taken into consideration. Within six weeks two plenipotentiaries on both sides were to meet at Madrid to settle all the matters betwixt the two powers regarding the rights of to-day, as well as to the limits of Carolina and Florida, during which time no progress was to be made in the fortifications of either province.

In this convention no mention was made of the right of search, and various other matters were reserved for the consideration of the plenipotentiaries. When the convention was announced to parliament by the king in his opening speech, there arose a general denunciation of it both in and out of parliament. The right of search was declared to be purposely sacrificed; the limits of Georgia left undefined; and the Spanish captains in the West Indies left unpunished for all their cruelties. That sixty-eight thousand pounds should be allowed for compensation for ships taken by admiral Byng in 1718 was very justly declared taxing us for our victories. In fact, Walpole, in this treaty, seems ready to give up everything to Spain, knowing, probably, how hopeless it was to extract money from that country, and glad of an excuse of any set-off against our claims as the easiest way of settling them. But all did not avail him. The more conceding he was to the Spaniards the more immovable they became, whilst the public at home were enraged at the tameness displayed by ministers. Ministers found their majority continually on the wane. Chesterfield and Carteret attacked the address to his majesty, in which the house of lords was made to say that it trusted care would be taken to secure our trade in the American seas, and to assure his majesty that the parliament would support him in such endeavours. The duke of Argyll went over to the opposition, and the prince of Wales gave his first vote in parliament in the amendment on the address. On a division, seventy-one peers voted for the address, and fifty-eight against it.

A still more determined assault was made on the address in the commons. Horace Walpole introduced it in an elaborate speech of two hours, but no sooner did he sit down than there commenced a fierce criticism on the convention. Sir Thomas Saunderson complained that it was a testimony of the most truckling meanness on the part of the English government that the captain who cut off Jenkins' ear was still at large. Lord Gage was vehement on the miserable amount of compensation consented to; lord Lyttleton was equally eloquent on the right of search; and William Pitt, in a most powerful speech, declared that the convention was nothing but a stipulation for national injury; an illusory expedient to baffle the resentment of the nation; a truce without a suspension of hostilities on the part of Spain; a surrender of the rights and trade of England to the mercy of plenipotentiaries; a security not only inadequate, but decidedly repugnant to the resolutions of parliament and the promises from the throne. On the division the ministers' majority had dwindled to twenty-eight, namely, two hundred and sixty votes against two hundred and thirty-two.

But that there should be a majority at all on such a question brought the opposition to try an experiment which they had been for some time planning. This was the absurd scheme of seceding in a body from the house of commons, on the plea that a paid and standing majority rendered all reason and argument nugatory. That might, to a certain extent, be true; but to renounce the opportunity of exposing the state of things to the whole nation was to leave the majority in unmolested possession of their power, without a voice to proclaim evil when it was done. They hoped by this proceeding to excite the nation to such a ferment in defence of its violated rights as should drive ministers out of office. But all such attempts have proved failures, because removing the watchdogs does not remove the thieves. The motion of Horace Walpole was carried in committee; and on the report of it being brought up, another division being carried, Pulteney spoke in strong terms against the convention, and then Wyndham rose, and declared that it was useless sitting longer in that house; that "in a future parliament he might, perhaps, still be at liberty to serve his country as before; but now, being unable to discern the least appearance of reason in any one argument offered on the ministerial side, he must conclude either that the majority was swayed by other or secret arguments, or that he himself wanted common sense to comprehend the force of those which he had heard. In the first case, he could not with honour sit in an assembly determined by such influences; in the latter case, he looked upon himself as a very unfit person to act as a senator; and in either case, therefore, he thought it his duty for the future to retire, and content himself with offering up his prayers for the preservation of his country."

In the course of his farewell speech, Wyndham made use of such violent language, that Mr. Pelham jumped up to move the commitment of the honourable member to the Tower; but Walpole was too well aware that such a proceeding would have wonderfully served the ends of the opposition, rendering them martyrs to their country's cause, and raising a vivid interest in their behalf. He therefore stopped him, and said that the measures which that gentleman and his friends might pursue gave him no uneasiness; on the contrary, the house was much obliged to them for pulling off the mask. "We can be on our guard," he said, "against open opposition, but it is difficult to guard against secret traitors. The faction I speak of," he said, "never sate in this house, never joined in any public measure of the government, but with a view to distress it, and serve a popish interest. The gentleman who is now the mouth of this faction was looked upon as the head of those traitors who, five-and-twenty years ago, conspired the destruction of this country and of the royal family to set a popish pretender upon the throne. He was seized by the vigilance of the government, and pardoned by its clemency; but all the use he ungratefully made of that clemency has been to qualify himself according to law, that he and his party may, some time or other, have an opportunity to overthrow all law. I am only afraid that they will not be so good as their word—that they will return; for I remember that in the case of their favourite prelate (Atterbury), who was impeached of treason, the same gentleman and his faction made the same resolution. They went off, like traitors as they were; but their retreat had not the detestable effect they wished and expected, and therefore they returned. Ever since, sir, they have persevered in the same treasonable intention of serving that interest by distressing the government; but I hope their behaviour will unite all true friends of the present happy establishment of the crown in his majesty's person and family more firmly than ever, and that the gentlemen who with good intentions have been deluded into the like measures, will awake from their delusion, since the trumpet of rebellion is now audaciously sounded."

With such a flaying censure sounding in their ears, the seceders were not likely to carry much public sympathy with them, for, unfortunately, there was too much truth in this uncompromising charge of the minister. The weakness of the opposition of that day rose from the palpable fact, that it was not from patriotic motives that they acted, but to destroy the protestant dynasty, and lead back again the worst race which had ever cursed the country. Bolingbroke was still their counsellor, and the solid, independent good of their country the last thing in their thoughts. Sir John Barnard, a man of a different stamp, Mr. Plumer, of Hertfordshire, lord Polwarth, and a few others, refused to join the secession, who, as Walpole foretold, were very soon convinced that they had made a gross blunder, and were anxious to get back again on some plea or other. They hoped that a call of the house fixed for Monday would give them this opportunity, either to return to their posts, as in obedience to it, or by giving occasion for their being taken into custody, and thus making them objects of public interest. But Walpole perceived this object, and defeated it by moving an adjournment till Tuesday.

Relieved of their presence, he now carried his measures in unopposed quiet. There was little speaking, for there was no need to show the propriety of measures, and thus deprive opposition of its force, and there was no division. Bills were introduced and carried as a matter of course; bills on behalf of the woollen manufacturers and the sugar colonies. The only question which raised a debate and a division was the repeal of the Test Act, on which Walpole and some of his supporters were at issue; but this was negatived by a larger majority than on the previous occasion. Nay, there can be no doubt that the opportunity was seized to pass such objectionable measures as would scarcely have been resolved upon in the face of a present opposition. Such was the proposal for a subsidy to the king of Denmark, by which we agreed to pay him annually two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for three years, on condition that he held six thousand men at our service, if we should need them. The reason alleged for this subsidy was that the French government had been endeavouring to draw Denmark and Sweden into an alliance against England, and had made them such advantageous offers as it was necessary for us to outbid. But this was a barefaced pretence without foundation. The real cause was another Hanover job which this country was called upon to pay for, and the opposition, by its absence, lost a most admirable opportunity of exposing its grossness. George had bought a petty castle called Steinhorst from the duke of Holstein; but the Danes declared that the place belonged to them, and dispatched a body of troops against it. A skirmish ensued, and the Danes were driven back. They prepared, however, for a more efficient attack, and George, to get rid of the trouble without any cost to himself, hit upon this subsidy as a *placebo* for Denmark. A more impudent transaction it was difficult to conceive; and it was of little use for the opposition, from their distant country seats, to cry out against it, or for Bolingbroke to apprehend that "we should throw the small remainder of our wealth where we have thrown so much already, into the German gulph, which cries 'Give! give!' and is never satisfied." The opposition had, in fact, invited such dirty transactions by their desertion of their post.

Parliament, having so smoothly transacted its business, was prorogued on the 14th of June, and Walpole then addressed himself to the settlement of the Spanish difference. But here he found a spirit of resistance which had undoubtedly grown from the invectives of the opposition. The outcries against the Spanish captains, the right of search, and the payment of compensation for the ships taken by Byng, had given great offence to the proud Spaniards. They were encouraged, also, by the earnest manner in which Walpole had argued for peace. They now assumed a high tone. They complained of the continuance of the British fleet in the Mediterranean; and La Quadra said that, so long as they remained there, "no grace or facilities were to be expected, for the king his master would not condescend to make any concession with that scourge suspended over him." They demanded the payment of the sixty-eight thousand pounds which they said was due from the South Sea Company, though it had been stipulated in the convention that it should not come into consideration. But they asserted that Mr. Keene had declared that he would see the money paid. Mr. Keene contended that he had said if the money was found to be due from the company, he would undertake that they should pay it, but that it could not be charged to the king.

Here all further progress became impossible. The Spaniards, having reduced their debt to less than one-half the original sum, were fighting stoutly to reduce it to nothing. There appeared no chance but for arms to decide it. Cardinal Fleury, with his usual pacific disposition, made an effort to avert the war by guaranteeing to undertake the payment of the ninety-five thousand pounds by Spain, provided that the English fleet was withdrawn from the Mediterranean. But English spirit, even in Walpole, had now reached its limit of patience. The king and the nation were equally in a mood for war. Walpole, therefore, ceased to listen any longer to the Spanish objections, but took his stand on the true British ground of resistance to the right of search, and on that of an acknowledgment of all British rights and claims in North America. Instead of withdrawing the Mediteranean fleet, he ordered its reinforcement, sent Sir Chaloner Ogle with fresh ships to the West Indies, and Sir John Norris was ordered to put to sea with a third squadron. The above demands being peremptorily made from the court of Madrid, and being rejected, war was proclaimed in London on the 19th of October.

The nation seemed to rejoice to a man almost at this declaration of hostilities. It had been raised to a pitch of intense hatred of the Spaniards by the stories of their atrocities beyond the Atlantic. The merchants were on fire to reap the wealth of those celebrated regions. They saw the ocean scoured by our men-of-war, and the colonies invaded by our armies. It was imagined that the conquest of these envied regions would be an easy enterprise, and that all the mines of Mexico and Peru would be transferred to us. There was a rise of speculative imagination, like that of the commencement of the South Sea bubble. The stocks, which had been low, rose instantly. The bells rang from every steeple in London, and the populace followed hurrahing at the heels of the heralds who proclaimed what to them seemed such glad tidings. The chiefs of the opposition joined in the procession, where appeared even the prince of Wales, who stopped at the Rose Tavern, at Temple Bar, and drank success to the war.

Such are the delusive anticipations with which men hail the greatest curse of the human race, fraught with unimaginable mischiefs to the multitude—deaths, agonies, taxes, and poverty, and, to all but a very few, disappointment and chagrin. Walpole, who had reluctantly resorted to this master evil, as he heard the rejoicings, exclaimed, "They may ring the bells now, but they will soon be wringing their hands!" Had this able but ambitious man had as much sound principle as he had love of power, he would rather have resigned than rush into a war of which he disapproved; and he would have found his best policy in it, for the time would have come when the nation, awaking to its folly, would have honoured his principle as much as his sagacity, and would have recalled him to power to put an end to their difficulties. But he was weak enough to retain office to conduct a war which he condemned, and he reaped the bitter fruits of such culpable policy.

The first symptoms of the consequences which the war was likely to produce were seen in the new hopes which it awoke in the ranks of the Jacobites. There was eager running and riding amongst them to carry the news, and to concert measures for taking advantage of this change of circumstances. Large numbers of them met at Edinburgh, and drew up a bond of association, pledging one another to take arms and venture life and fortune for the restoration of the Stuart. On the other hand, those nations on which England calculated for aid hung back and remained neutral. The Dutch were bound to furnish certain troops in case of war, and, before the declaration of it, Horace Walpole was dispatched by his brother to demand their production; but they pleaded the menaces of France, which threatened them with invasion by fifty thousand men if they assisted the English, and which held out to them the prospect of their obtaining that trade to the Spanish colonies which England had enjoyed. As for France herself, she assumed an air rather ominous of war than of peace, and thus England was left alone in the contest.

When parliament assembled on the 15th of November, the king informed it that he had called it together earlier than usual on account of the declaration of war; that this he had made in conformity with the wishes of the nation, and therefore he trusted it would be as unanimous in supporting the war as it had been in recommending it; that it was a most just and necessary war, occasioned by the injuries and violence of the Spaniards, and their refusal of all redress. If he was well seconded by parliament, he did not doubt but that we should make Spain repent of the wrongs it had done us, and let our enemies see that we were not to be injured or insulted with impunity.

The opposition had flocked back to their seats, for the declaration of war was precisely what they had recommended, and Pulteney dwelt much on that circumstance as justifying their secession. The war, he said, was just as necessary when they seceded as it was now; and, as the minister had at last made up his mind to do what they had contended for, they should support him in prosecuting the war with all vigour. He recommended the conquest of the Spanish West Indian Islands, and that no minister should ever be allowed to give them back again on any pretence whatever.

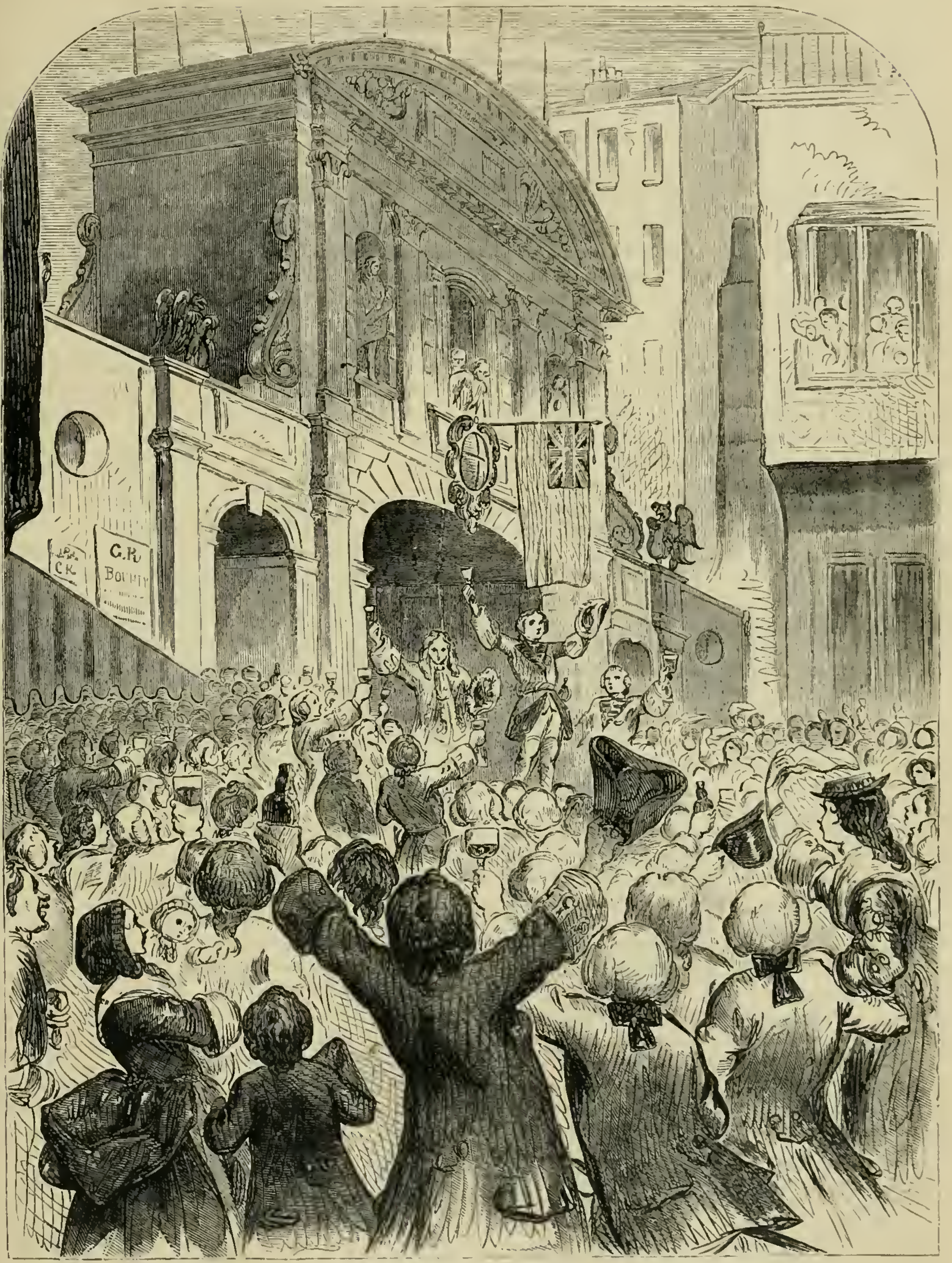
Walpole could not bring himself to give a gracious reply to these observations. He had been forced into a course which his own mind condemned, and he was in no mood to submit to any triumphings of those who had done so much to bring about this result. He observed that, after what passed last session, he certainly did not expect to have the company of certain gentlemen quite so soon again; that, however much they might have contributed to the declaration of war, their absence had undoubtedly facilitated the passing of various useful measures at the close of the last session, and, for his part, he should not be sorry to see them taking their departure again. He thought, however, that they had found no cause to congratulate themselves on their proceeding, for their constituents could not imagine that they had been promoting their interests by abandoning them.

The original address passed the commons without any division; but in the lords the peers' address, which was opposed most vehemently by Chesterfield, Carteret, and others, was only carried by sixty-eight votes against forty-eight. The duke of Argyll was amongst the most steady and determined of the opposition now, and Walpole was censured for having left him so long in possession of all his great posts, notwithstanding his obvious desertion of the ministerial party. It was asserted that he dared not turn him out; but this was soon proved to be no truer than many other of the opposition's assertions. Argyll was dismissed from everything at once. The great Scottish duke vowed revenge, and the year 1740 opened with a threatening aspect for the minister.

The opposition, being the real parents of the war, claimed a right to conduct it according to their own notions. They brought in a bill to encourage the seamen by conferring on them all the prize-money acquired. This had been brought in in the former session, and had been thrown out; but now Walpole found himself compelled to concede it. Then Sir William Wyndham professed to believe that Walpole was not in earnest in the war, after all, and that he would seize the first opportunity to put an end to it. On the 21st of February he moved a most violent address to his majesty, praying him never to make peace with Spain until the right of search and our right to navigate the American seas without being subject to it were utterly given up. He expected that Walpole would oppose it, but, on the contrary, he supported it, and it was carried unanimously. The place and pension bill was again introduced, but it was once more rejected by two hundred and twenty-two votes against two hundred and six.

The war was scarcely begun when it was discovered that, according to an ancient and almost invariable practice, we had proclaimed hostilities much before we were prepared to carry them out. Our ships were badly manned, and therefore slow to put to sea, and the more alert Spaniards were busy picking up our merchant vessels. Nor they only—the French, Dutch, and other nations hoisted Spanish colours, and were making wide devastation amongst our trading vessels. The government was to blame for this in one respect. They adhered to the old and impolitic practice of paying seamen on board men-of-war less than merchantmen paid them. The consequence was, that though Jack expressed himself anxious to have a brush with the Spaniards, his patriotism did not rise high enough to do it at a considerable discount in his wages. The merchants petitioned parliament for fleets and convoys to protect their trade, and yet, at the same time, there was a loud outcry against the barbarity of pressing men. A committee of the house of commons, to which the matter was referred, proposed to surmount the difficulty by establishing a register of all able-bodied seamen and watermen, and to make periodical drafts from them as men were needed; this only raised the outcry higher. It was represented as a system of pure despotism, by which husbands and fathers of families would be dragged away at the will of the government, and leave all dependent upon them to poverty. Walpole contended that it was the only efficient mode of manning our navy; that the system of impressment provoked as much ill-will, without furnishing anything like the numbers required; that whilst we were issuing proclamations and press warrants, and gleaning up our men one by one, the enemy was become aware of all our projects and in readiness to defeat them. Admiral Sir Charles Wager introduced a bill upon this principle, but Pulteney asked for the delay of a few days, so as to have the bill printed; and this being assented to, the measure, as Pulteney meant, was defeated, for there was such an outcry raised against the scheme, as based on French principles and French despotism, that the bill was presently abandoned. The house of commons, as well as the ministry, seemed at its wits' end. Men must be had, and yet every means of obtaining them was opposed. All seemed impressed with the necessity of a register, but none dared support it. At length it was proposed that there should be a *voluntary* register, as if such a thing could be more than a name. Walpole was compelled to issue letters of marque and licenses to whole swarms of privateers, who issued forth to make reprisals. The lords of the admiralty, on the 1st of February, had ordered an embargo on all shipping except coasters, so as at once to keep them out of reach of the enemy, and to induce active seamen to enter the navy; but on the 28th of March a petition from merchants and owners of shipping was presented, complaining of the hardships and the destruction of trade by it. The lords of the admiralty contended that such had been the complaints of injuries done at sea to our traders, that they had been compelled to impose the embargo in the absence of sufficient hands for men-of-war. They now took the embargo off foreign ships, and gave notice to English owners that they would take it off altogether, on condition that the owners and masters of vessels would enter into an engagement to furnish a certain number of men to the navy in proportion to the number of hands in each trader. This also was denounced as a most oppressive measure, and the opposition represented it as intended to make the mercantile community sick of the war. Driven, however, to extremities, ministers would not listen to these arguments; a motion was made and carried, sanctioning this plan, and then the merchants came into it. It was agreed that the merchants should introduce landsmen to the amount of one-third into their service, and should furnish one man in four to the king's ships. This being settled, on the 14th of April the embargo was removed from all merchant vessels of Great Britain and Ireland outward bound.

Such were the difficulties which ministers had to contend with for commencing the war at sea. In one particular, however, there was more liberality; money was freely voted; the land-tax was raised from two to four shillings in the pound, and the sinking fund was so freely resorted to,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THE PRINCE OF WALES DRINKING SUCCESS TO THE WAR AT TEMPLE BAR.

that the supplies altogether amounted to upwards of four millions. During these discussions, news came on the 13th of March, that admiral Vernon had taken Porto Bello from the Spaniards. This was good news for the opposition, for Vernon was one of their party, and a personal enemy of Walpole. There were great rejoicings, and bonfires made in the streets, and the lords sent down an address of congratulation to the king, for the concurrence of the commons. Yet in this they could not avoid making a party matter of it, the address stating that this glorious action had been performed with only six ships, and thus to mark the contrast with the doings of admiral Hosier in those seas, and so to blacken his memory. The address was carried in a thin house, but only by thirty-six against thirty-one, so that along with the news went the comment to Vernon, that the ministry begrudged him his glory.

Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of April, and the king set off on his summer visit to Hanover. Active measures were meanwhile continued to send powerful fleets against the Spanish possessions. Sir John Norris, having on board the duke of Cumberland as a volunteer, was ordered to Ferrol, to waylay the Spanish fleet about to sail to the West Indies; but he was attacked by very stormy weather, and continued tossed about near the English coast, and, after having two of his vessels greatly damaged, had the mortification to find that the enemy's fleet had escaped him, and was on its way across the Atlantic. The duchess of Marlborough, who, though no longer capable of exerting any power, continued to exert her tongue and epistolary pen with as much causticity as ever, remarked that Sir John *lingered* near the coast, and that perhaps it was contrived purposely to allow the Spaniards to escape. In the autumn commodore Anson was sent to co-operate with Vernon. He was to proceed to the Pacific, and commit depredations there, and communicate with Vernon across the Isthmus of Darien. Still greater preparations were made for attacking, and, it was confidently hoped, conquering the Spanish colonies of North America. A fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line was assembled in the Isle of Wight, under the command of Sir Chaloner Ogle. It was extremely well equipped, and attended by a multitude of frigates, fire-ships, bombs, ketches, tenders, hospital-ships, and store-ships, and carried over an armament, consisting of marines and detachments from old regiments under the command of lord Cathcart. These were to be joined at Jamaica by four battalions raised in the British colonies of North America, and great hopes were excited of the services they were to perform.

Still greater forces would have been sent into this quarter could the duke of Newcastle have ruled. Newcastle, who had for a long time appeared easy and unambitious, now began to aspire to equal if not superior power with Walpole. He assumed to have a leading voice in the direction of the war, as he had been one of its foremost promoters. He would have sent every ship we had to the West Indies and North and South America, but Walpole knew too well that there would be urgent need for a strong force in the home seas. He knew that the pretender was on the watch to seize all opportunities of advantage, and there were symptoms of fresh combinations of the continental powers, which boded much trouble. So far from finding support in his views in the cabinet, he was now compelled to contend with Newcastle and other members on almost every measure brought forward. These things showed too plainly that his ascendancy was on the decline, and he evinced his mortification by giving way to bursts of passion, and lost the buoyancy and cheerfulness of his temper.

The turn of affairs on the continent justified his most serious apprehensions. France was soon discovered to have made a compact with Spain, and once having taken this step, she displayed her usual activity in every court of Europe, to induce England's allies to break with her, and to prevent her making new leagues. Walpole did his best to counteract these French influences. He managed to secure the Russian court, before in connection with France, and subsidised Sweden, Denmark, Hesse-Cassel, and some other of the German states. But at this crisis died the savage old Frederick William of Prussia; and his son Frederick now commenced that extraordinary military career which obtained him the name of Frederick the Great. England was of course anxious to secure the alliance of this young and enterprising monarch; and as the same animosity which had raged betwixt George of Hanover and the father was not necessarily continued betwixt him and the son, every exertion was made to obtain his friendship. The French, on the other hand, used equal assiduity to obtain his alliance; but Frederick, who had plans of his own, waited coolly, without encouraging the one or the other. It was not long before it was seen in what direction he would turn his ambition, and that his designs must necessarily sever him from England, and lead him into co-operation with France.

Although the late king of Prussia had made no great military campaigns, he had been proud of an army, and had left seventy-six thousand well-disciplined soldiers, and a million and a half sterling in his coffers. Temptingly adjoining his own territory, Frederick, the young king, beheld those of an equally young female sovereign, Maria Theresa of Austria, and he determined to extend his kingdom at her expense.

The emperor, Charles VI., died on the 20th of October of this year, leaving his daughter, Maria Theresa, sole possessor of his dominions. All the powers of Europe were bound, by their consent to the Pragmatic Sanction, to support her claims; but it required a very few months to show how little oaths and treaties bind monarchs. The year had not elapsed before the king of Prussia was in arms to wrest from her as much of her territory as possible, and numbers of the other powers were in equal haste to join him, and come in for a share of the plunder. The elector of Bavaria put in direct claims as a male heir to a great part of the Austrian dominions, and he declared that the female line could not succeed. He refused to recognise the accession of Maria Theresa; the rest of the powers of Europe did recognise it, but only to break with and help to make war on her. Of all these not one, besides England, stood by her. England, for her own sake, endeavoured to secure the interest of Prussia against France; and Horace Walpole drew up a plan of a grand confederacy against the house of Bourbon, in which Frederick was complimented by being placed at the head. But Frederick, though he did not yet throw off the mask, was planning a very different state of things, and the French were equally assiduous in endeavouring to engage him to declare for them, but in vain.

On the 15th of December Frederick gave a great masked ball at Berlin, and, at its close, mounted his horse, put himself at the head of thirty thousand men, and marched off, nobody at first knew whither. So far only he disclosed his intentions by saying to the French ambassador as he got on his horse, "I am going to play your game; if aces are dealt to me, we will go halves." This was a plain intimation that he was going to do what would subserve French interests; though, as to going halves of what he hoped to win, Frederick meant nothing less. The mystery of his movements was dissipated by his crossing, on the 23rd of December, the Austrian frontiers into Silesia. It was seen that it was the favourable opportunity of overpowering a weak neighbour which had tempted the Prussian robber to break his engagement, and to endeavour to make himself master of the domains of a defenceless young princess. But these royal robbers, who, if they succeed, are worshipped under the convenient name of conquerors, never lack an excuse for their conduct. Frederick, therefore, brought out some antiquated claims on the province of Silesia, and on these he justified his breach of treaties. The province was protestant, which was greatly in his favour, for it was only too glad to escape from the catholic yoke of Austria. There were very few troops in the province, so that it was easy for Frederick, at this season, when the world was dreaming nothing of campaigns, to make his way. The handful of Austrians retired before him; Breslau, the capital, harangued by an enthusiastic protestant shoemaker, and led by protestant sympathies, threw open its gates; Namslau and Ohlau were equally ready to receive the conqueror; and, by the middle of January, Frederick was master of the whole province. The Austrian troops had retired into Moravia.

Maria Theresa applied, in her alarm, to the powers who had concurred in the Pragmatic Sanction, but all except George II. fell away instantly from her. They believed her incapable of defending her territories, and hoped to come in for a share of the spoil. The elector of Bavaria joined Prussia; Saxony the same; France was eager for the promised half of the winnings; and Spain and Sardinia promised their secret support to Frederick. George II., confounded by this universal defection, advised Maria Theresa to compromise the affair with Prussia by giving up half Silesia, or the whole, if necessary; but the high-spirited queen rejected the proposal with scorn, and called on George to furnish the troops guaranteed by England under the Pragmatic Sanction. George could, however, only assemble some few soldiers on the Hanoverian frontier, but this obliged Frederick to appropriate a considerable section of his army to guard against any attack from Hanover. He went on through the winter increasing his army, and before spring he was able to dispatch thirty thousand more troops into Silesia.

The movements of Russia in this new outbreak of continental war had now to be determined by a new monarch. The czarina, Anne, died about the same time as the emperor of Austria, and was succeeded by Ivan, the infant grandson of her sister, the duchess of Mecklenburg. The Russians, impatient of being governed by a child, deposed him, and placed on the throne Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great. Elizabeth was of mature age, and of considerable ability; and she was eagerly importuned by both the belligerent parties to throw her weight into the scale. Whichever way this should incline, it must make an important difference.

George II. returned to England at the commencement of November, and opened parliament on the 18th. Affairs both at home and abroad wore a sombre hue. During his absence there had been riots in various parts of the kingdom, in consequence of the high price of bread. The military had been called out, had fired on the people, and had killed some of them. The Spaniards and other privateers continued to make havoc amongst our merchant vessels at sea. Walpole, who had done all in his power to avoid war, and who had told the people they would soon be wringing their hands instead of ringing their bells, was most unjustly blamed for these losses.

The king, in his speech on opening parliament, mentioned the fleets which we had dispatched to the West Indies and South America, and his determination to continue those armaments so as to bring Spain to reason. He professed to rely with confidence on our allies, when we had scarcely one left, whilst, in the same breath, he admitted the no longer doubtful hostility of France, and when almost the only ally we had—namely, Austria—was calling on us for assistance, instead of being able to yield us any, should we need it. On the proposal of the address, the opposition proceeded to condemn the whole management of the war. The duke of Argyll led the way, and was followed by Chesterfield, Carteret, Bathurst, and others, in a strain of extreme virulence against Walpole, calling him a minister who for almost twenty years had been demonstrating that he had neither wisdom nor conduct. In the commons Wyndham was no longer living to carry on the opposition warfare, but Pitt and Lyttleton more than supplied his place; and the criticisms on Walpole's administration were such as to call forth from him the bitterest rejoinders. In both houses the addresses were carried, but the attack was continued under the form of calling for papers, and making motions on the subjects of the general management of affairs. Admiral Haddock was declared by him to have done nothing in the Mediterranean but what they called "the mean and mercantile services" of protecting the British commerce, blockading Cadiz, and defending Gibraltar and Port Mahon. They called on government to carry on the war with more vigour, and yet opposed any augmentation of the army.

The storm grew every day more violent, and on the 11th of February Sandys, who had acquired the name of "the motion-maker," announced that he intended to make a motion for a direct charge of condemnation of the minister, and for his removal from office. Walpole thanked Sandys for his announcement, and, laying his hand on his heart, said, with much emotion, "Nil conscire sibi, nulli pallescere culpæ." A strange scene occurred, as passing in an assembly whose business it was, not to discuss points of prosody, but the laws of the nation. Pulteney declared Walpole's Latin as bad as his government; that Horace had written "nullâ pallescere culpâ." Walpole denied that, and offered to bet a guinea on his correct quotation. Pulteney accepted the bet.

and left the decision to Nicholas Hardinge, clerk of the house, and a friend of Walpole, who decided that Walpole was wrong. Thereupon Walpole flung the guinea to Pulteney, who held it up, and exclaimed that it was the only money he had received from the treasury for many years, and that it should be the last.

On the following Friday Sandys made his threatened motion of condemnation. There was a rush to the house at an early hour; some members took possession of their seats by six o'clock in the morning, though the debate did not begin till one o'clock. The passages to the gallery were densely thronged, and a great crowd surrounded the house. Sandys began by lamenting the miserable condition to which the administration of Walpole had reduced us; that we were engaged in a war with one great power, and were menaced with it by another, without having one ally in the world left us; that we had accumulated an enormous debt, which was crushing us to the earth, independently of any extra war expenses; that we had reversed the wise old policy of the country, which treated France as she was—our determined enemy—and had vainly sought to make a friend of her, whereby we had forfeited the ancient friendship of Austria. He had the candour to admit the disastrous nature of the peace of Utrecht, but he contended that the Quadruple Alliance and the glorious victory of Byng over the Spanish fleet on the coast of Sicily ought to have counterbalanced all that. He contended, notwithstanding this, that we ought to have taken advantage of the indignation of Philip of Spain against the court of France, for having sent back the infanta after she had been affianced to Louis XV., and then have assisted him against France. Instead of that, we had, by the treaty of Hanover, united with France; and from that day England had been in a state of degradation, under the influences of French policy. He ran through all the succeeding negotiations, the act of the Pardo, the treaty of Seville, and all others, in the same strain. He charged Walpole with permitting Spain to wrest Naples and Sicily again from the emperor, and France to aggrandise itself by the acquisition of Lorraine. He accused him of having opposed the just merits and withheld the proper rank of admiral Vernon, because he had had the boldness to denounce the perfidy of France. He wound up his tirade on foreign affairs by expressing the utmost execration of the convention; and then, turning to domestic concerns, he laid the whole crime and ruin of the South Sea scheme at once on Walpole. That that minister had made a profit by that bubble was quite proof enough to Sandys that he had not only patronised it, but had blown it—though nothing was more notoriously untrue. He had a more just cause of blame against him in the treatment of the sinking fund, asserting that since 1727 it could not have produced less than fifteen millions, all which, he declared, had gone "in Spithead expeditions and Hyde Park reviews."

He next drew an awful picture of the general policy of the minister: his maintenance of a large standing army to exhaust and enslave the people; the enormous system of bribery and corruption which he had organised to secure his power; his passing laws of a very arbitrary tendency; his frequent votes of credit; his dismissal of officers of the army for voting against the excise scheme, which he characterised as one of the most mischievous projects ever conceived. He accused him generally of steady opposition to the abolition of all burthensome taxes, because such abolition would reduce the number of placemen and officers interested in maintaining his continuance in office.

Finally, he fell upon the management of the present war, in which he asserted that exactly everything had been done which ought not to have been done, and everything left undone which ought to have been done; that it was at once one grand scene of mismanagement and party spite against those who rendered the highest services to the country, when those who performed them happened not to be his friends; and, as a striking proof of this, he pointed at the manner in which that great man, as he styled him, admiral Vernon, had been thwarted and ill-used by him. He described Walpole as a minister more hated than any wicked minister ever yet was, notwithstanding which, and his full knowledge of it, he had continued to hold office. This, the speaker declared, was evidence that this was no longer a free country, for a free people would never submit to be controlled by a minister whom they hated and despised. But, he added, he has been so much in league with the French, that he has imbibed their principles, and has introduced a practice familiar enough to them—that of a minister retaining place without regard to the feelings, wishes, or interests of the people. It was on this ground that he attributed all the evils of the country—not to the cabinet at large, but to this man in particular, because, he said, "this one person has grasped in his own hands every branch of government; this one person has attained the sole direction of affairs, monopolised all the favours of the crown, compassed the disposal of all places, pensions, titles, ribands, as well as all preferments, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; this one person has made a blind submission to his will, both in elections and parliament, the only terms of present favour and future expectation."

In conclusion, he moved "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole from his majesty's presence and councils for ever."

This long and damnatory charge being concluded, in which there was, as usual on such occasions, a great deal of truth mingled with considerable falsity and exaggeration, it was seconded by lord Limerick, and then a warm discussion arose on the mode in which the debate should be continued. Mr. Wortley Montague, the husband of the celebrated lady Mary Wortley Montague, a man of enormous wealth, but dull and heavy as his wife was witty and sparkling, proposed that, according to many precedents, Sir Robert should be ordered to retire whilst his conduct was passed under review. This motion was seconded by Gibbon, and as strenuously opposed by Bromley and Howe. It was justly argued that the precedents quoted were unjust, and contrary to the genius of British judicature, and the majority were of this opinion. Gibbon then proposed that Walpole should make his reply and then retire, it being understood that neither his life, liberty, nor estate were involved in the decision. But it was contended that this was equally contrary to English ideas of justice and to precedent; that it was not to be expected that a gentleman should be charged by speeches only, unsupported by any documentary or other evidence and that he should withdraw whilst members were at liberty to heap upon him any accusations that they pleased. The opposition, however, still made a great stand on this point, but its glaring injustice compelled them at last to give way, and it was determined that Sir Robert should hear all the charges to be advanced against him, and then finally to reply.

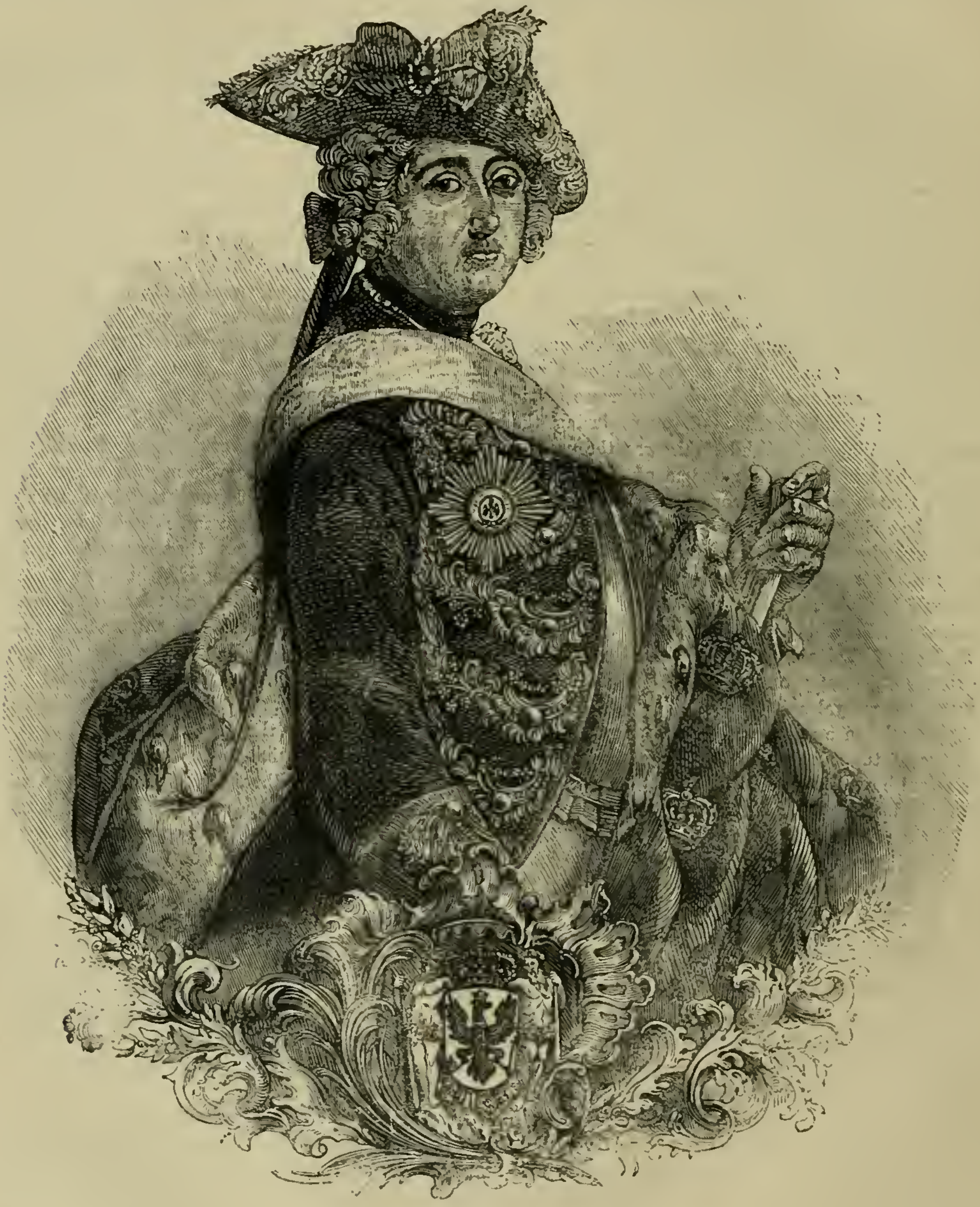
Then commenced a series of speeches from Pulteney, Pitt, Bootle, Fazakerley, Lyttleton, and others, in which the whole life and policy of Walpole were analysed with all the keenness, completeness, and ability which party feeling and such men furnished for this great occasion. Pulteney went over the ground traversed by Sandys with such striking similarity, though abounding with variations, as gave ground for the opinion that he had had the chief getting up of Sandys' speech. He dwelt particularly on the crime and folly of Walpole cultivating the French alliance at the expense of that of Austria, though it would have been difficult to show wherein Austria had contributed anything to us except expense and bloodshed in defence of its territories and claims. Pitt dwelt more particularly on the increase of the debt and the equal multiplication of taxes during the administration of Walpole. Whilst this was the case at home, abroad, he said, the whole system of Europe was overthrown; that a new and more awful struggle was coming upon the civilised world than it had ever yet known; and that it was absolutely necessary for the safety of the country that a minister who had lost the confidence of all mankind should be removed from his majesty's councils.

But violent and lowering as was the storm which burst now on the head of Walpole, some of the members comparing him to Piers Gaveston and Hugh Le Despenser, and almost every other royal minion that they could call to mind, a light broke in a quarter where no one expected it, and the force of the opposition attack was paralysed, to their own astonishment. Edward Harley, the brother of the late lord Oxford, rose and said, that he had opposed the measures of the administration because he thought them wrong, and he did now avow that he considered the state of the nation was deplorable from misgovernment, but that he was not prepared to lay the whole blame of these measures on one man. The man now under censure was not one who had any claims on his forbearance, but he desired to be guided by facts and evidence, and not by private opinions and feelings. "A noble lord," he said, "to whom I had the honour to be related, has often been mentioned in this debate. He was impeached and imprisoned: by that imprisonment his years were shortened, and the prosecution was carried on by the honourable person who is now the subject of your question, though he knew at that very time that there was no evidence to support it. I am now glad of this opportunity to return good for evil, and do that right honourable gentleman and his family the justice that they denied to mine." With that he left the house, followed by his relative, Robert Harley.

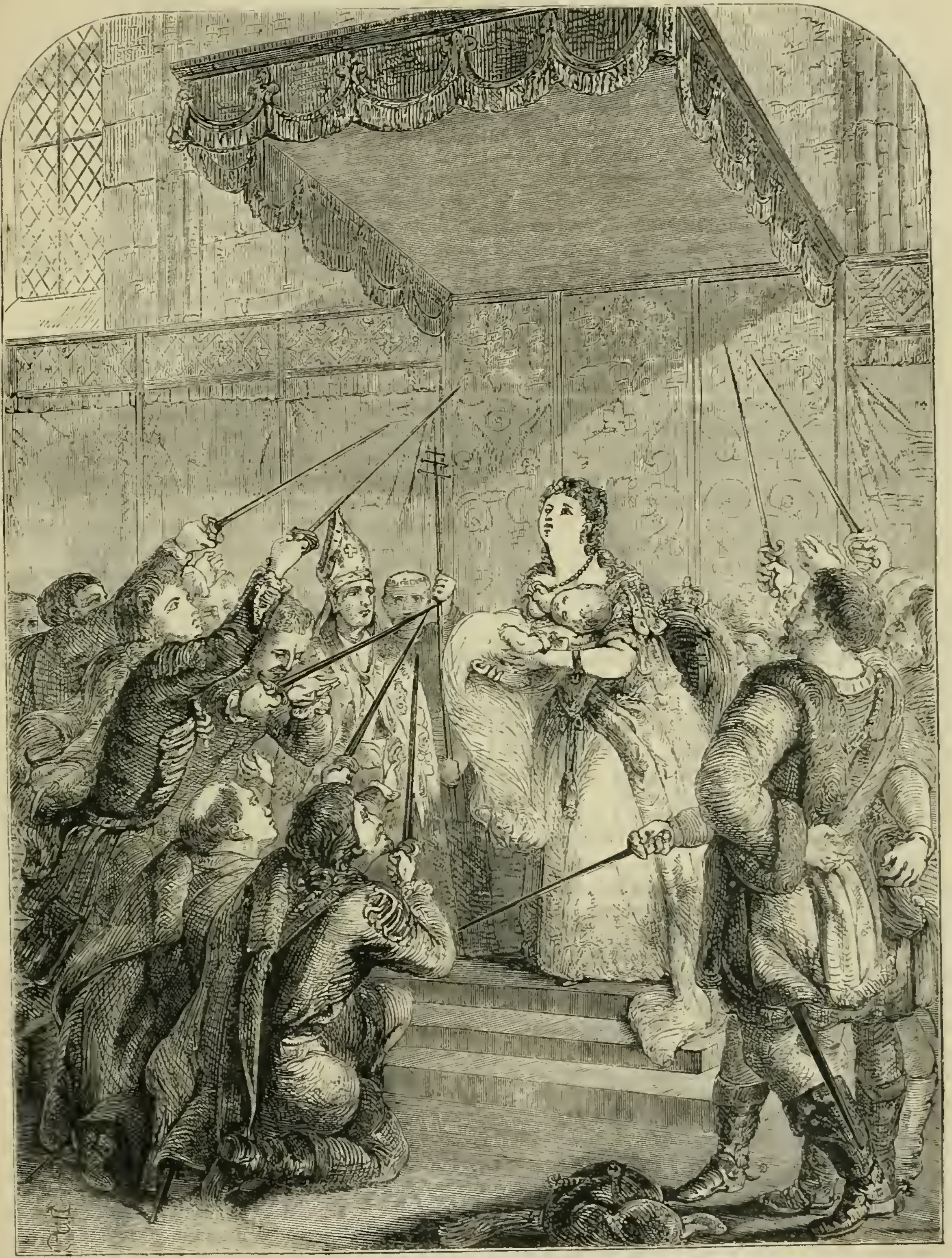
This took the opposition by surprise, but that surprise was greatly heightened when Shippen, "the thorough Shippen," as he was called, also declared that he would not join in the ruin of the assailed minister. He declared that he never followed any dictates of self-interest, and cared little who was in or out, unless he could see a prospect of different measures; but that he regarded this movement only as the attempt to turn out one administration in order to bring another in. He would therefore have no concern in it; and with that he withdrew, followed by thirty-four of his party.

This was a terrible blow to the designs of the opposition, and it has been attempted to account for the conduct of Shippen by this statement—That shortly before this time Walpole had discovered the correspondence of a friend of Shippen's with the pretender, which put his head in danger; that Shippen had waited on Walpole, and solicited his clemency in the matter, which Walpole had readily granted, with the remark—"Mr. Shippen, I cannot hope that you will vote with my administration, for with your principles I have no right to expect it; but I only require, that whenever any question is brought forward in the house affecting me personally, you will recollect the favour I have now granted you." But the conduct of Shippen is sufficiently clear without this explanation. He was an honest and determined tory and Jacobite. Money was the last thing which would influence him. Walpole himself declared that he was almost the only man that he could not purchase. "I will not say," he often observed, "who may be corrupted, but I will say who is incorruptible, and that is Will Shippen." He refused a bribe of one thousand pounds from the prince of Wales. It was a matter, therefore, of the simplest political common sense which guided him and his friends. He was bent on restoring the pretender; but he and his fellow Jacobites knew that this was only an attempt of the discontented whigs to turn out Walpole, and to preserve pretty much the same measures; that led to no result desired by the Jacobites, and therefore they would have no concern in it. Carte, the Jacobite historian, says, in a letter to the pretender, that the motion "was set on foot by the duke of Argyll and the party of the old whigs, without either concerting measures with the tories or consulting them about it, so that when it was moved in the commons, Sir John Hynde Cotton and Sir Watkin Williams were forced to go about the house to solicit their friends to stay the debate, which they were vexed should be brought on without their concurrence; and all they could say could not prevent Will Shippen and twenty-three others of the tories leaving the house in a body. All prince Frederick's servants, and party also, except Lyttleton, Pitt, and Granville, left the house; so that, though there were above five hundred members present, when the question came to be put there were not above four hundred."

Another reason has been assigned for the terrible breakdown of this charge. It is said that Sir Robert had, some time before, addressed a letter to the pretender with the object of softening the asperity of his partisans in England, and that this had so raised the hopes of James, that Walpole was actually intending to come round, that he had ordered his followers to avoid anything which should shake his power. Whatever the causes, the fact was striking; and the opposition having concluded its onslaught upon him, he rose to make his reply. It was an occasion which demanded the utmost exertion of his powers, and he put them forth. Walpole's speech on this day has justly been deemed his masterpiece. He divided his assailants into three classes—tories, disaffected whigs, styling themselves patriots, and boys. Passing lightly over the tories, he fell with all his trenchant bitterness on the so-called patriots. He declared that they were patriots, not from any real patriotic feeling, but solely from disappointment and discontent. They did not want any change of masters, but merely of men; they wanted merely to occupy the places of those in power. Their principles being the same, why, unless this were the case, did they not coalesce, and support those principles? Why swell the ranks of the enemies of their own principles? Did not a whig administration naturally deserve the support of the whigs, as a tory administration demanded the support of tories?


FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA.

On this point Walpole was unassailable—he struck his enemies in their weak place; but when he inquired why they combined against one man, though of their own principles, his ground gave way beneath him. They accused him of corruption, he said, and he denied it, and appealed



MARIE THERESA APPEALING TO THE MAGYAR DIET.

to the character of his supporters as equal or superior to that of their opponents in the house. But here all would know better. They knew that Walpole had corrupted the house more systematically and deeply than any man who ever went before him. He attacked them on the ground of patriotism, however, with better success: all the world knew, quite as well, the nature of their patriotism. "Gentlemen," he said, "have talked a great deal of patriotism—a venerable word when duly practised. But I am sorry to say that of late it has been so much hackneyed about, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace. The very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, sir! why, patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them in the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot! I have never been afraid of making patriots, but I disclaim and despise all their efforts. But this pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice and disappointed ambition. There is not a man amongst them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive they have entered into the lists of opposition."

He next proceeded to take the charges made against him in succession, and first those regarding his foreign policy. He complained, and justly, that his enemies had travelled back over the whole diplomacy of Europe for thirty years, and made him responsible for the whole. Whatever had been the doings of former ministers, and ministers of totally opposite principles and views, had all been piled upon his shoulders. But why should he be made amenable for the measures of the tories, for the schemes and delinquencies of Oxford and of Bolingbroke? Even when they came down to a time in which he had done his part, they insisted on his having done all and everything. "I am called," he said, "repeatedly and insidiously, prime and sole minister. Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that I am prime and sole minister in this country, am I, therefore, prime and sole minister of all Europe? Am I answerable for other countries as well as for my own? Many words are not wanting to show that the particular views of each court occasioned the dangers which affected the public tranquillity. Yet the whole is charged to my account. Nor is this sufficient: whatever was the conduct of England, I am equally arraigned. If we maintained ourselves in peace, and took no share in foreign transactions, we are reproached for tameness and pusillanimity. If, on the contrary, we interfered in the disputes, we are called Don Quixotes and dupes to all the world. If we contracted guarantees, it was asked, why is the nation wantonly burdened? If guarantees were declined, we were reproached with having no allies."

He then ran through the different treaties, from that of Utrecht to the Spanish convention, showing that some of these were entered into before he had any influence in the state, and defending the later ones from the attacks upon them. He declared that he had honestly endeavoured to preserve peace, and that, had Spain as honestly performed her contracts, peace would have been preserved. As to his endeavouring to maintain the alliance with France, he contended, justly, that France was not to be considered the eternal enemy of England, but that in some respects she was the most valuable ally that we could have. "But," he continued, "if England had, at this crisis, to carry on the war single-handed, that was owing to a variety of causes over which the British government had no control; and as to his concern in the matter, he was not the foreign minister, and had had no voice in the cabinet in foreign affairs. Sweden now corrupted by France; Denmark tempted and wavering; the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel almost gained; the king of Prussia, the emperor, and the czarina, with whom alliances were negotiated, all dead; the Austrian dominions claimed by Spain and Bavaria; the elector of Saxony hesitating whether he shall accede to the general confederacy planned by France; the court of Vienna irresolute and indecisive;—in this critical juncture, if France enters into engagements with Prussia, and if the queen of Hungary hesitates and listens to France, are all or any of these events to be imputed to English counsels? And if to English counsels, why are they to be attributed to one man?"

Walpole had much cause of just self-defence in the foreign view of affairs, for he had done all in his power to maintain peace and amicable alliances; the war had been forced on him by the opposition. When he came to domestic affairs, he was on tenderer ground. There, he contended, if guilty, his guilt was shared by the whole cabinet, whilst it was notorious that he had long ruled the cabinet and swayed the king. He was forced, in this part of his defence, hardily to assert what was to all men's knowledge utterly false and untenable. He declared that no expenses had been incurred but such as had been sanctioned by parliament; but, then, what a parliament! One with a permanent, paid majority, doing just what he dictated. He declared that he had practised no bribery, no corruption,—an assertion to make the walls of the house laugh! And he added, that if some members had been deprived of their commissions it was the will of the king to do it, who certainly had the right—a very lame reason, for it did not remove the known fact, that these acts were direct punishments for opposition to government, and especially to the excise scheme.

Walpole contrived to blunt the force of Sandys' charges regarding the invasions of the Sinking Fund, showing that Sandys had exaggerated, and that within the last seventeen years eight millions of the national debt had been paid off by the application of that fund, and that no less than seven millions taken from the fund had been applied to the relief of the agricultural interest, thus keeping down the land-tax. As to the South Sea scheme, he reminded them, truly, that it was no project of his; that he had opposed it and warned the nation against it, and had been called on by the king and the whole public to remedy the fatal consequences of it; that he had been called to the helm when the finances were in the most miserable condition; and he appealed to them, confidently, whether they were not wonderfully improved? whether peace had not been preserved till recently amidst the resistant efforts of a violent opposition? If the conduct of the war on sea or land had not answered expectation, he observed that he was neither admiral nor general, and *they* were to have great allowance made for them, seeing that the opposition would not permit us to have an efficient army or navy. He concluded by again denying that he had either become corrupt himself or had corrupted others; that he had sought no honours, but had refused them, except the ribbon of the order of the garter, which it would have been disrespectful to his majesty to have declined. He defended some promotions to members of his own family, and finally called on all who were desirous to maintain the rights and prerogatives of the crown, and the honourable exercise of a ministerial discretion, to reject the motion before the house.

It was four o'clock in the morning when Walpole concluded his masterly defence, and the motion was instantly rejected by two hundred and ninety votes against one hundred and six. Whilst Sir Robert had been thus fiercely assailed in the commons, the storm was raging against him with equal fury in the lords. Carteret introduced the motion, which was eagerly supported by the dukes of Argyll and Bedford, the earls of Sandwich, Westmoreland, Berkshire, Carlisle, Abingdon, and Halifax, and by lords Haversham and Bathurst. It was singular that whilst Berkshire, Lichfield, and Bathurst were voting against Walpole in the peers, their sons in the commons were voting for him. The dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, the lord chancellor, Sherlock, bishop of Salisbury, the earl of Isla, brother to Argyll, and lord Hervey, as warmly defended Walpole, and the motion was rejected by one hundred and eight to fifty-nine. The prince of Wales attended the debate, but did not vote, nor did lord Wilmington and other peers holding places under government, whence they obtained the cognomen of "sneakers." A fiery protest, said to have been penned by the indefatigable hater, lord Bolingbroke, was signed by thirty-one peers.

The immediate effect of the attack appeared to be to strengthen the minister, and that considerably; his levee the next morning was more crowded than had ever been known, and he seemed to sway the cabinet with uncontrolled power. But thinking men foretold that the blow would tell in the end, when the momentary enthusiasm was gone off; and Walpole himself seemed to be of the same opinion. The attack, in truth, was but the first outbreak of the storm which, kept up by the implacable spirit of a powerful opposition, was sure to bear him down at last.

Whilst this powerful confederacy was putting forth all its strength to drive from the seat of supremacy the man who had so long guided the fortunes of England, another confederacy was knitting together its selfish members to rend in pieces and share amongst them the empire of the young queen of Austria. On the 8th of April George II. addressed his parliament, telling it that we were bound to stand by this defenceless princess, whose cause was the cause of all Europe. If her territories were seized upon by Prussia, France, and Bavaria, the balance of power would be destroyed, and there would be no prospect but bloody wars or established despotism. He said Maria Theresa had called for the twelve thousand men which were stipulated for by treaty, and that he had called on the king of Denmark and the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse Cassel, to furnish their proper quota, six thousand for each, to be ready to march to her assistance. He alluded to measures in concert to support the queen of Hungary, which would render great expenses necessary to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction, and that he looked to his parliament to enable him effectually to discharge his engagements on this head.

In opening the debate on these supplies in the commons, Clutterbuck, one of the lords of the treasury, made a most unhappy slip of the tongue. He declared that we ought to be as anxious to insure the safety of Hanover as we were to insure that of England. The words were instantly seized upon by the opposition, and the idea of Hanover being the chief subject of the king's thoughts, which haunted the public mind, was made damagingly prominent. The unhappy orator had, in fact, laid bare the real anxiety of the king, for, in truth, he was greatly alarmed for the safety of Hanover during these German commotions. Pulteney drew out this anxiety to the utmost, and reminded the house that by the act of settlement it was provided that this country should not be involved in the quarrels of Hanover—a country, he declared, from which we never expected or received any benefit, and for which, therefore, nothing ought either to be suffered or hazarded. Walpole hastened to stop the mischief by dwelling on the fact, that we were not called upon in any way to take thought for Hanover, but to assist, as we were bound to do by solemn treaty, to prevent the dismemberment of the Austrian empire, and to maintain the true succession. Sandys endeavoured to turn back the argument by asserting that we owed allegiance to the king of Great Britain, and not to the elector of Hanover; but, notwithstanding this momentary advantage of the opposition, the address on the king's speech was carried without a division, and this was followed by a motion on the 13th of April, carried also without a division, voting to Maria Theresa a subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds. There was, perhaps, a motive in this unanimous assent, employed again to damage Walpole, for Carteret hastened to assure the Austrian court, that this grant was by no means owing to the good will of the ministry, but to the unanimous feeling of the English parliament and people for the queen of Hungary.

Parliament was prorogued on the 25th of April, and as its term of seven years had nearly expired, it was soon after dissolved, and writs were issued for a new election, returnable on the 26th of June. George was impatient to get away to Hanover, and Walpole as anxious to detain him. He dreaded the endeavours of the opposition during the king's absence; but his entreaties were useless, George embarked for his beloved electorate on the 7th of May. Great events were already occurring in Germany. Frederick of Prussia encountered the Austrian general, marshal Neuperg, on the 10th of April, betwixt Molwitz and Groningen. The Hungarian hussars, early in the day, made a vigorous charge on Frederick's left wing, and seized his baggage, and soon after the Austrian heavy cavalry routed his right wing. Frederick, who thought all was lost, galloped off amid his flying horse, never stopping till he reached Oppeln, where he took refuge in a windmill!

This act of cowardice deeply mortified the ambitious Prussian, and the more so, as he found that his father's well-trained infantry had stood their ground, had repulsed the Austrian cavalry, and, under marshal Schwerin, had put the whole of the Austrian army to the route. Nearly five thousand of the Austrians were left dead on the field or disabled; nine pieces of cannon and four standards were taken. The Prussians had lost nearly as many men, and Frederick, reflecting with shame on his part in that conflict, wrote down in his memoirs "that Molwitz was the school of the king of Prussia and his troops, for he there saw his faults and errors, and tried to correct them in future." Neuperg, the Austrian general, retreated across the Neisse, and there entrenched himself, waiting for reinforcements, whilst Frederick marched against Brieg, which, notwithstanding its vigorous defence by Piccolomini, was compelled to surrender on the 4th of May. France, rendered confident in the fortunes of Frederick by these successes, hesitated no longer to pull off the whole of the mask of friendship for Austria, and disregarding her guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, dispatched marshal de Belleisle from Frankfort to conclude an alliance with the Prussian king. The conditions of this alliance proposed by France were—1st, The division and dismemberment of the provinces of the queen of Hungary; 2nd, The elevation of the elector of Bavaria to the imperial dignity; 3rd, The guarantee of France to Prussia of all Lower Silesia, on condition that Frederick renounced his claims on the duchies of Berg and Juliers, and that he voted at the Diet for the elector of Bavaria. France promised to send two armies into Germany if these terms were accepted—one to support the elector of Bavaria in his demand of being made emperor, and the other to keep in check the army of George in Hanover.

Frederick was willing enough to make a league with France, but he was cautious enough not to make it too soon. He wanted to know whether he could keep England out of the campaign, in which case he could deal easily with Austria himself. The French ambassador, Belleisle, thinking only of the advantages to Frederick of this alliance, and not of the obstacles in Frederick's own mind, was proposing to him nothing short of the utter dismemberment of the Austrian dominions. "He seemed," said Frederick, "as if he thought all the territories of the queen of Hungary were already on sale to the highest bidder." One day the marshal looking puzzled, Frederick asked him whether he had any bad news. "None, sire,' said the marshal, "none whatever; but what embarrasses me now is, that I cannot settle what we shall do with Moravia." "Oh," replied Frederick, laughing, "offer it to the king of Poland." The crafty Prussian was all this time waiting to see what terms England would offer. Walpole was exerting himself both with Prussia and Austria to bring matters to a compromise. He instructed the envoy to the imperial court to urge the good policy of making some concession to Prussia, in order to save all the rest, and break up the alliance betwixt Prussia and France, which threatened the most disastrous consequences. But the high spirit of Maria Theresa rejected all fresh overtures, and the envoys to Frederick were as little successful. John Carmichael, earl of Hyndford, was first sent to Frederick, and he was followed by Mr. Schwickell from Hanover. Hyndford endeavoured to touch the feelings of Frederick, and rouse in him a sense of chivalry, by representing the magnanimity of not pressing too far on a young, beautiful, and defenceless woman. But all such arguments were lost on the so-called great monarch, this disciple of Voltaire and French materialism. "Talk not to me," he exclaimed, "of magnanimity. A prince ought first to consult his own interests. I am not averse to a peace, but I want four duchies, and I *will* have them."

Robinson, the English ambassador at Vienna, all this time was labouring to induce Maria Theresa to give up something, but for some time without success. At length the queen consented to resign the duchy of Limbourg and some other trifling territories in the Netherlands, and Robinson hastened to the head-quarters of Frederick to make this known. But the Prussian king treated the matter with contempt. He exclaimed, "Still beggarly offers! Since you have nothing to propose on the side of Silesia, all negotiations are useless. My ancestors would rise out of their tombs to reproach me should I abandon my just rights!" and, pulling off his hat in grand, theatrical style, he rushed behind the curtain of his tent, leaving the envoy in amazement. Frederick, in his memoirs, asserts that George II. offered to assume a neutral position as regarded Hanover, provided that certain territories were ceded to the electorate to complete its compactness. Nothing, however, moved the Frenchified Prussian king, and Walpole counted more on obtaining allies who should keep both Frederick and the French in play, and paralyse their efforts. He used all his efforts to detach Russia from Prussia, and to direct military operations from the province of Livonia against Frederick, and thus divide his attention; but France counteracted that plan by winning over Sweden, which at that period was all French in taste and spirit. Sweden declared war against Russia, which at the time was distracted by internal commotions, and thus effectually prevented any demonstration against Prussia. France at the same time endeavoured to excite a fresh Jacobite ferment in Scotland, and thus keep England engaged; and the treaty being formally signed with the Prussian king, marshal Maillebois marched an army across the Rhine, and Belleisle and Broglie with another. Maillebois pursued his course direct for Hanover, where George was drilling and preparing a number of troops, but in no degree capable of making head against the French. Panic-stricken at their approach, he made haste to come to terms, and agreed to a year's neutrality for Hanover, leaving Maria Theresa to her fate, and, moreover, engaging not to vote for the election of her husband, the duke of Lorraine, to be emperor. The news of this ignominious conduct of the king of England in the person of the elector of Hanover was received in Great Britain with the utmost indignation and contempt. Here was the man who had always been so fond of military affairs, and who was so ready to engage in war. What a humiliation! Well would it have been for George to have remained, according to the advice of Walpole, in England!

Belleisle and De Broglie had, during this time, joined their forces to those of the old elector of Bavaria, the constant enemy of Austria and the friend of France, and had marched into Austria. He took Linz, on the Danube, and commenced his march on Vienna. As this allied army approached Vienna, Maria Theresa fled with her infant son, afterwards Joseph II., into Hungary, her husband and his brother, prince Charles of Lorraine, remaining to defend the city. The Hungarians received their menaced queen with enthusiasm. She had done much since the recent commencement of her reign to win their affections. She had been crowned in the preceding month of June in their ancient capital, and had sworn to maintain their ancient constitution in all its force, and both Magyar and people were fervent in their loyalty. When, therefore, she appeared before the Hungarian parliament in Presburg with her son in her arms, magnificent woman as she was, and called upon that high-spirited nation to defend her against her perfidious and selfish enemies, the sensation was indescribable. When she said, "The kingdom of Hungary, our person, our children, our crown are at stake; forsaken by all, we seek shelter only in the fidelity, the arms, the hereditary valour of the renowned Hungarian states"—all rose to their feet, and, drawing their swords half-way from the scabbard, they exclaimed, "Our lives and our blood for your majesty! We will die for our *king*, Maria Theresa!"

It must be remembered that Maria Theresa reigned contrary to the custom of the country, which had not hitherto admitted female sovereigns to the throne. She was queen by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, and therefore the loyal but proud Magyars still used the term "our *king*." The feeling kindled by this scene, representations of the beauty, spirit, and wrongs of the young queen, flew through the land, and the Hungarians flocked to her standards in thousands upon thousands. The English subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds served to equip them, and very soon a formidable host stood in arms for the cause of their queen.

The French and Bavarians, however, did not stop to waste time against the walls of Vienna. They suddenly diverged into Bohemia, which was almost destitute of troops, Prague, the capital, being defended by only three thousand men. The husband and brother of Maria Theresa hastened to secure Prague from the menaced attack; but the allies were too nimble for them, and made themselves masters of the ancient capital. The elector of Bavaria was crowned king of Bohemia, and then hastened to Frankfort to stand as candidate for the empire. He was there elected unanimously, for the elector of Hanover, almost the only ally of Austria, had bound himself, for the security of his own territory, not to vote in its favour. The Bavarian, now old and racked with the gout, did not long enjoy the imperial honours, for he was not crowned emperor till the following February, 1742, and survived that ceremony only four years.

Whilst this diversion was making in his favour, Frederick of Prussia was pushing his advantages in Silesia by arms or deceit, as suited him best. He had entered into league with the king of Bavaria as soon as that un-German prince had joined France. Breslau was obtained through the treachery of some Austrian aristocratic old women; and then the court of Vienna, having yielded to the recommendations of lord Hyndford—that it should give up part of Upper Silesia with the whole of Lower Silesia, and that count Neuperg should remove into Moravia, on condition that Frederick should attempt nothing more against Austria—that prince, so falsely called "the great," appeared to comply with the condition in order the more effectually to break it. The agreement was merely verbal, and Frederick confessed that this circumstance made the breach of it only too tempting. He himself, therefore, returned to Berlin, and stopped the operations of his army. He kept the agreement literally, *himself* doing nothing; but he left orders with marshal Schwerin to surprise the Austrians when they had ceased to fear any attack. Suddenly, therefore, in the depth of winter, and amid a deep snow, Schwerin rushed forward into Moravia, besieged and took the town and fortress of Olmutz. Such was the faith of this *great* monarch; such the mean advantage he was ready to take because the agreement was not solemnly signed and sealed. Because his honour was relied on, he was in haste to show that he had none of that quality; and these are the heroes whom the world worships and styles "great!" The Hungarian levies were now, however, getting into action, and general Khevenhöller, making a spirited raid into Bavaria, compelled the Bavarians to evacuate Bohemia in haste, in order to defend their own country; and the brave Khevenhöller soon drove the French from Austria, and gave a new face to the war.

CHAPTER X.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE II. (Continued.)

Carthagena attacked by the English unsuccessfully—Cuba attacked with like Result—Anson arrives at Juan Fernandez—A French Invasion threatened in favour of the Pretender—His Agent, Drummond of Bohaldie, arrives in Edinburgh—The King offers the Prince of Wales an additional Fifty Thousand Pounds a Year, which he refuses, unless Walpole be dismissed—Final Attack upon Walpole, who resigns—Made Earl of Orford—Wilmington made Minister with Carteret, and the Marquis of Tweeddale Secretary for Scotland—King of Bavaria crowned Emperor of Germany as Charles VII.—Inquiry into Walpole's Administration—Paxton, Solicitor to the Treasury, committed to Newgate—Five Millions voted for the War, and Five Hundred Thousand Pounds to the Queen of Hungary—Battle of Czaslau—Prussia obtains Bohemia—Peace betwixt Prussia and Austria—Belleisle retreats across the Line—Pulteney made Earl of Bath—War on Italy by the Spaniards—Defeat of Spaniards at St. Christopher's—Spaniards defeated in Georgia by Oglethorpe—Cardinal Fleury dies—Bolingbroke returns to England—Wilmington dies; Pelham succeeds—Battle of Dettingen—Quadruple Alliance betwixt England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony—The Young Pretender sails for England, but is driven back—Louis XV. takes the Command of the Army in Flanders—Anson returns, laden with Spanish Treasures—King of Prussia takes Prague—Austrians driven from the Kingdom of Naples—Charles VII. dies—Walpole dies—Battle of Fontenoy—French take many Towns in Flanders.

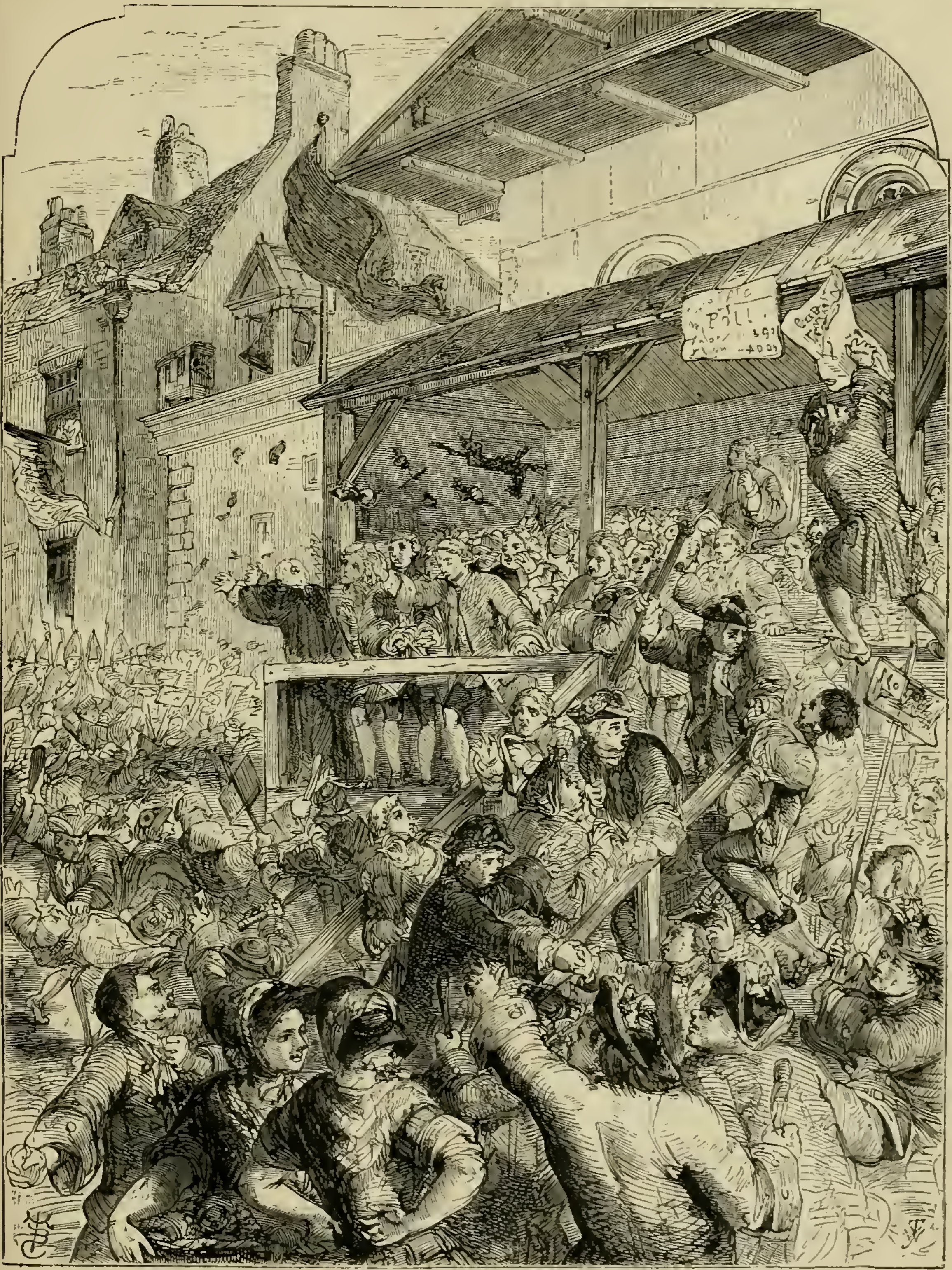
WHILST these transactions had been taking place on the continent, our fleets, which should have kept the French and Spaniards in check, had done worse than nothing. France had subtly delayed to declare war against us, so that, although she joined her fleets and armies to the enemy, we could not attack her without being the first to declare war, or to commence it by direct breach of the peace. Admiral Haddock, who was on the watch in the Mediterranean to harass the Spaniards, was thus baffled. The Spanish fleet was joined by twelve French men-of-war from Toulon, the admiral of which declared that he had orders to defend the Spaniards if they were attacked. As the combined fleet, moreover, doubled his own, he was compelled to fall off and leave them.

Still more inglorious were the proceedings of our fleet on the coasts of the Spanish American colonies. Sir Chaloner Ogle, on his way with his squadron, carrying lord Cathcart and his troops to join the fleet of admiral Vernon, fell in with four large ships of war. Ogle sent the same number of ships, under lord Augustus Fitzroy, to give them chase. The vessels refused to hoist their colours or show who they were, and lord Fitzroy discharged a broadside at one of them, and a fight began. This continued the greater part of the night, and then the vessels hoisted French colours. It now turned out that these ships were part of the French squadron, under the command of the marquis D'Antin, sent to assist the Spanish admiral, De Torres, against the English fleet and colonies. As war was not yet declared betwixt France and England, although the French were thus ready to perpetrate it anywhere on the seas, the firing ceased, as though it had been an accidental mistake. The two commanders exchanged mutual compliments, apologised for the blunder, and separated with an air of friendship, but with a considerable loss on each side. The French ships proceeded to join D'Antin, and to commit any other such mistake whenever the English should attack the Spaniards, or the Spaniards be disposed to attack the English. Ogle joined admiral Vernon in Jamaica, who now found himself at the head of the most formidable fleet and army which ever appeared in those seas, and with full authority to act at his discretion. The united squadron consisted of twenty-nine ships of the line, and an equal number of frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, supplied amply with all necessary stores of ammunition and provisions. Had Vernon been the great commander which the opposition represented him, he had now the opportunity of doing magnificent service, and reducing some of the most important and valuable of the Spanish territories. He had fifteen thousand seamen and twelve thousand soldiers, including an American regiment, and a considerable body of negroes. But Vernon, so far from being the great man that his party had described, and, perhaps, believed him, was a testy, captious, and incompetent person. The palpable thing to do was to sail for Cuba, and endeavour to take Havannah. This place was, according to all accounts, badly garrisoned. There was no chance of its resisting such a force as that of England. The capital once taken, all Cuba must speedily have been reduced; and Spain, thus deprived of one of her finest possessions, would have found us so placed, that we must continually intercept the whole wealth of the Spanish West Indies, and Spain must have been reduced to a humiliating surrender.

Sir Chaloner Ogle joined Vernon on the 9th of January, and no time was to be lost, for the wet season set in at the and of April, which, besides the deluges of rain which fall, is attended by a most unhealthy state of the climate. Vernon, however, did not move till towards the end of the month, and then, instead of directing his course towards the Havannah, which lay to the leeward, and could have been reached in three days, he beat up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to watch the motions of the French fleet under D'Antin. It was the 15th of February before he learned distinctly that the French had sailed for Europe in great distress for men and provisions. Now was the time to make his way to Cuba; but, instead of that, he called a council of war—the resource of a weak commander, and which was followed by its almost invariable result—a contrariety of advice. It was at length concluded that, as admiral Torres had now sailed for Havannah, and thus closed the opportunity for its attack, the fleet should take in wood and water at Hispaniola, and make for the continent of New Spain. On the 4th of March the fleet came to anchor in Playa-Grande, to the windward of Carthagena.

Carthagena was strongly fortified, and the garrison was reinforced by the crews of a squadron lying there under Don Blas de Leso. If the place was to be assaulted, it should have been done at once; but Vernon lay perfectly inactive for five days, as if to allow the enemy to make all his preparations for defence. He then, with a surprising infatuation, landed his troops on the island of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour called Boca-Chica, or the Little Mouth, which was wonderfully fortified with castles, batteries, bombs, chains, cables, and ships of war. Notwithstanding this, the brave English erected a battery on shore, and played so effectually on the principal fort, that they soon made a breach in it, whilst the fleet fired into the harbour, thus dividing the attention of the enemy. In spite of their advantages, the Spaniards abandoned their forts and batteries, the English entered the breach, the vessels in the harbour were destroyed, and the passage cleared so that the fleet could sail in and support the army. Lord Aubrey Beauclerk was killed whilst he was leading on the ships, but this did not stop the attack. There appeared nothing capable of preventing the conquest of the town but the cabals of the two commanders. Lord Cathcart had caught the endemic fever and died, and was succeeded by general Wentworth in command of the land forces. Wentworth had a great contempt of Vernon, and Vernon was by no means well disposed towards Wentworth. The fleet having entered the harbour, the land forces were all disembarked, and posted within a mile of Carthagena. But there the success stopped. Vernon had written home his dispatches to the duke of Newcastle on the 6th of August, saying, "The wonderful success of this evening and night is so astounding, that we cannot but cry out, 'It is the Lord's doing, and it seems marvellous in our eyes!'"

The news, when it reached England, produced a transport of exultation. Bells were rung, cannon fired, and great rejoicings made, anticipatory of fresh tidings of wonderful success. But very different was the reality. Wentworth called on Vernon to bombard Carthagena from the harbour, whilst he assailed it on land; but Vernon replied that he could not get near enough to attack the town effectually, and that Wentworth must attempt the reduction of the fort San Lazaro, which commanded the town, and might be taken by escalade. Wentworth replied to Vernon with indignation, that he did not support him; that he had landed the troops and their tents, stores, and artillery most negligently, so that his men had had to lie on the bare ground for three nights, under the heavy dews of that unhealthy season, and exposed to the fire of the Spaniards, without any means of returning it. On the other hand, Vernon complained that Wentworth had left open the communication betwixt the town and the country, by which means the enemy was reinforced and the town supplied with abundance of provisions. Amid these recriminations, Wentworth called a council of officers, and it was resolved to attempt the escalade of San Lazaro. Twelve hundred men advanced, under General Guise, to the assault. They were led on by a number of pretended Spanish deserters or guides. These fellows conducted them, not to the weakest, but to the very



WESTMINSTER ELECTION IN THE TIME OF GEORGE II.

strongest part of the fort, where they were at the same time exposed to the fire of the town. Whilst they were thus standing under a murderous fire, they discovered, to their consternation, that their scaling ladders were too short. The attack had been commenced under the obscurity of night, but it was now broad day-light, and a prudent commander would have drawn off his forces for a better opportunity. But the escalade was persisted in: they remained splicing their ladders, and a detachment of Grenadiers, under colonel Grant, reached the top of a rampart; but Grant was instantly killed, and the grenadiers hurled back over the wall. Still, the bull-dog spirit of the English made them persist in this desperate attempt, till six hundred, that is, half of them, lay dead, when they drew off.

All this time the great admiral Vernon, as the opposition delighted to call him, in disparagement of all the commanders favourable to government, lay still with his ships, and afforded no assistance to the land troops. When Wentworth bitterly complained of this, to show that it was impossible to operate on the town from the harbour, Vernon sent into the inner harbour the Galicia, a Spanish ship which had been taken. It was sent in before day, with sixteen guns mounted on one side as a floating battery, and manned by volunteers from different ships, under captain Hoar. This ship kept up a cannonade on the town for several hours, producing little effect, and fired on from the town with as little. The men were then brought off in boats, the Galicia's cable was cut, and she was suffered to run upon a shoal, where she soon filled. This Vernon held to be a triumphant proof that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour to enable a squadron to act on the town effectually; but Smollett, who was present, says that this was ridiculous, for that a little farther to the left he might have stationed four or five of his largest ships abreast, within pistol shot of the walls; and that, had this been done simultaneously with the attack of San Lazaro, the town would, in all likelihood, have been taken.

The troops were now hastily re-embarked; the unhealthy season was at its height, and the men were swept away by fever more rapidly than they had been mowed down on land. The heavy rains had set in, and the troops in a few days were reduced to one half their number. "Nothing," says Smollett, "was to be heard but complaints and execrations, the groans of the dying, and the service for the dead. Nothing was seen but objects of woe and images of dejection. The conductors of this unfortunate expedition agreed in nothing but the expediency of a speedy retreat from this scene of misery and disgrace. Admiral Vernon, instead of undertaking any enterprise which might have retrieved the honour of the British arms, set sail from Jamaica with the forces in July, and anchored in the south part of Cuba in a bay, on which he bestowed the appellation of Cumberland Harbour."

Here the remains of that fine fleet and army, capable of achieving the most brilliant conquests under able commanders, were suffered to corrode away under the influence of inactivity, the season, bad salted provisions, and excess of rum. When they landed, the twelve thousand men were already reduced to three thousand, and they soon fell away to two thousand. To reinforce them, one thousand negroes were landed from Jamaica and drilled, but nothing was attempted, for the small town of St. Jago, even, was deemed too strong for their diminished body. In November they were re-embarked and carried back to Jamaica.

Unfortunately, the government, probably before they were informed of the miserable mismanagement of this costly armament, sent out four more ships of war and three thousand more soldiers. These only followed their predecessors to a miserable death, for Vernon, as if struck with paralysis of mind, attempted no new enterprise, which might have saved his troops, by leading them into a healthier region, and by the mere change to enterprise and activity. As the dreadful news began to reach England, the public became outrageous in their condemnation of Vernon, from whom they had been taught to expect so much, and discovered too late that they had been deceived in his character. He endeavoured to cast the blame on Wentworth, and had the hardihood to boast in his dispatches to the duke of Newcastle, that, had the combined command of the expedition been left to him, he would have taken both Carthagena and St. Jago with far less loss than they had suffered altogether. His boasts could, however, no longer impose on the people at large.

The conduct of Vernon, though he had been the idol of the opposition and not of the ministry, as it became known, increased enormously the unpopularity of Walpole. Though he had literally been forced into the war by the opposition, the whole of its disasters were charged not on them but on him; and they did not hesitate to throw from themselves upon him the odium of all its failures. The general election which now came on was seized upon to load Walpole with all the weight of the unsuccessful war. The duchess of Marlborough, Pulteney, and the prince of Wales raised funds to outbribe the master of corruption himself. They incurred heavy debts to complete his ruin, and as the news of the miserable issue of the expedition to the Spanish settlements came in, numbers of those who had been returned to parliament as friends of the ministry, turned round and joined the opposition in violent denunciations of the mismanagement of the war. Lord Chesterfield, whilst these transactions had been progressing, had hastened on to Avignon, and taking up his quarters with the duke of Ormonde, obtained from the pretender letters to nearly a hundred Jacobites in England and Scotland, engaging them to put out all their power and influence against Walpole.

Whilst these combined efforts were making to unseat him, Walpole saw his cabinet every day becoming more unreliable, more divided against him. The duke of Newcastle was eagerly pressing forward to supplant him. He had entered into secret engagements with the duke of Argyll, and lord chancellor Hardwicke threw himself into that clique. The earl of Harrington did not forget the severe observations of Walpole on his conduct when he was with king George at Hanover, and the king was compelled to undergo such humiliation on the approach of the French army under marshal de Maillebois. To these were added the earl of Wilmington, formerly Sir Spencer Compton, who, forgetting his alarm at the idea of succeeding Walpole as prime minister, now was anxious for that honour. To add to these depressing circumstances, the king arrived from Hanover in a humour ready to lay his disgrace and failure at anybody's door. On the 4th of December he opened the new parliament, and, conscious of his own contemptible figure after the submission to French dictation in Hanover, he took care to remind it that he had commenced the war only at the urgent desire and advice of both houses, and that he had been particularly counselled to direct our naval efforts towards America. He next adverted to the menacing confederacy of France, Russia, and Bavaria against the queen of Hungary, and he severely criticised the continental powers who had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, and had all, except England, abandoned their engagement. All that he could hold out in the shape of hope was, that he trusted that a sense of the common danger must, ere long arouse some of the powers to unite against the formidable confederacy mentioned.

The opposition made no objection to the re-election of Onslow as speaker of the commons, but they made a determined attack on the address. Lord Noel Somerset moved that in the address his majesty should be desired not to engage this kingdom in a war for the defence of his Hanoverian dominions. This was seconded by Shippen, who declared that he had grown old in the house of commons, only to see all the predictions of his life realised in the management of the nation. He re-asserted that Hanoverian maxims were inconsistent with the welfare and happiness of this kingdom, and at war with the spirit of caution which inspired those patriots who framed the act of settlement, which conferred the throne on the present royal family. He pointed out the instances in which the minister had violated these cautionary securities, and insisted on steps being taken to prevent the nation being sacrificed to the preservation of foreign dominions. Gibbon, who followed him, exclaimed against the folly of returning thanks for a war of disaster and dishonour. "What!" he said, "are our thanks to be solemnly returned for defeats, disgrace, and losses?—for the ruin of our merchants, the imprisonment of our sailors, idle shows of armaments, and useless expenses?"

Pulteney seemed to be animated by a double portion of patriotic indignation. He reviewed Walpole's whole administration, and accused him, not merely of individual acts of erroneous policy, but of deliberate treachery. The whigs, elated by this fiery denunciation of the minister, called for a division; but Pulteney, aware that they had not yet a majority, observed that dividing was not the way to multiply. Walpole, on his part, offered to leave out the paragraph thanking his majesty for his royal care in prosecuting the war with Spain; but this was only regarded as a proof of conscious weakness, and Pulteney proceeded to charge Walpole with purposely ruining the nation to serve the pretender.

This called Walpole up, and he defended himself with all his accustomed self-command and ability. He retorted the charges of serving the pretender on his enemies, and these with real grounds. He referred to Chesterfield's recent visit to the pretender's court at Avignon. He asked, as he had done before more than once, whether he, as minister, had raised the war in Germany, or advised the war with Spain?—whether he was amenable for the deaths of the late emperor and the king of Prussia, which opened up all these complications?—whether the lawless ambition of Frederick, or the war betwixt Sweden and Russia, were chargeable on him? He offered to meet the opposition on the question of the state of the nation, if they would name a day. This challenge was accepted, and the 21st of January next was fixed upon. The clause respecting the Spanish war, as Walpole had suggested, was also struck out, and the address then was carried unanimously.

But though the 21st of January was to be the day of the grand attack on the ministry, the battle was not deferred till then. Every day was a field-day, and the sinking minister was dogged step by step, his influence weakened by repeated divisions, and his strength worn out by the display of the inevitable approach of the catastrophe. The first decided defeat that he suffered was in the election of the chairman of committees. The ministerial candidate, Giles Earle, was thrown out by a majority of two hundred and forty-two to two hundred and thirty-eight, and the opposition candidate, Dr. Lee, was hailed by a shout that rent the house. "You have no idea," writes Horace Walpole, the minister's son, "of this huzza, unless you can conceive how people must triumph after defeats of twenty years together." This was the point of the wedge—the whole wedge must soon follow. The swarms of petitions against election returns gave opportunity of pursuing the attack without intermission. In these combats Walpole's majority sank to seven; and this induced those who now saw that the old sun was setting, to look out for the rising luminary. Then came a petition against the conduct of the high bailiff and the magistrates in the election for Westminster. The high bailiff had been guilty of some illegal practices at the poll, and three justices of the peace, on pretence of preventing a riot, sent for a military force to overawe the election. The petitioners employed William Murray, afterwards earl of Mansfield, as their counsel; and he made so masterly a charge against the magistrates, that the election was declared void by a majority of four. The high bailiff was taken into custody; the officer who ordered the soldiers to march, and the three justices, were called to the bar of the house, and reprimanded on their knees.

The fall of Walpole was now certain, and he would have consulted both his dignity and comfort in resigning at once. This was the earnest advice of his friends, but he had been too long accustomed to power to yield willingly. He was oppressed with a sense of his defeats, and the insolence of enemies whom he had so long calmly looked down upon without fear. He was growing old and wanted repose, but he still clung convulsively to his authority, though he had ceased to enjoy it. At this time his son describes his condition thus:—"My father, who used to be called in the morning, and was asleep as soon as his head touched the pillow—for I have frequently known him snore ere they had drawn his curtains—now never sleeps above an hour without waking; and he who at dinner always forgot he was minister, and was more gay and thoughtless than all his company, now sits without speaking, and with his eyes fixed for an hour together."

Under these circumstances opened the year 1742. Fearing the consequences of the debate on the state of the nation to take place on the 21st of January, Walpole made a last grand effort to divide the party in array against him: this was, to buy off the prince of Wales and his adherents. For this purpose, he prevailed on the king to grant an additional fifty thousand pounds a year and the payment of all his debts, on condition that he should abandon the opposition. Secker, bishop of Oxford, was selected as the bearer of this offer; but the prince declined the proposal, declaring that he would listen to no overtures so long as Walpole continued in office. This was a stunning blow, but the tenacious minister did not yet give in. He continued to avail himself of the interval before the 21st to bribe and bring over less distinguished men. The opposition, however, were now every hour receiving fresh accessions of strength, and men who had stood the brunt of many years now went over to them. Lord Hervey joined Pulteney and Chesterfield; and Bubb Doddington, now perceiving that one side really preponderated, stepped out of his equivocal demeanour, and openly wrote to lord Wilmington to entreat him to persuade the king to dismiss the obnoxious minister.

The 21st of January arrived, and Pulteney entered on his great question. There was nothing new to bring forward, but the old charges were dressed up with new force, and Pulteney affected to make his attack on no particular person, but merely to demand a plain statement of the condition of the nation for the service of his majesty. Pitt used similar language; but this assumed candour was unceremoniously cast away by lord Perseval, who had been brought into the house by the re-election for Westminster. He declared that "the patriots" would be satisfied with nothing short of the dismissal of Walpole, as the great cause of all our present troubles and disgraces. He should, therefore, he said, vote for a committee of accusation.

Walpole defended himself with an ability worthy of his best days. He boldly reminded the opposition of the long twenty years of defeats in their endeavours to turn him out; he declared their accusations were just as false and groundless as ever; and he proceeded to anatomise the characters of Bubb Doddington and Pulteney in a manner which must have made men of any feeling wince. He was ably supported by Sir William Yonge, by Pelham, and Winnington, but the division showed a majority for the minister of only *three*. On this occasion five hundred and three members voted. On both sides the very invalids had been brought up to the house; but whilst the opposition brought them into the body of the house to be ready to vote, Walpole allowed his sick friends to occupy an adjoining room, belonging to his son as auditor of the exchequer, till they were called for. Then it was found that some of the opposition, who were aware of the circumstance, had filled the keyhole of the room with sand and dirt, so that it could not be unlocked till too late, and thus the minister lost their votes. The prince of Wales was present, and when a lame member was brought in who was in favour of Walpole, his royal highness remarked to general Churchill, "So I see you bring in the lame, the blind, and the halt." "Yes," replied Churchill, "the lame on our side and the blind on yours."

The result of this division shook the last resistance of Walpole. When the motion which had been rejected on the 18th of December—for copies of the correspondence with the king of Prussia—was again put, he made no opposition, and it passed without a division. He made, however, one more attempt to carry his measures. In the disputed election of Chippenham he stood his ground against the petition, and was defeated by a majority of *one*. It was now clear to himself that he must give way. His relatives and friends assured him that to defer longer was only to court more decided discomfiture. On the 31st of January, he, therefore, prepared to depart for his seat at Houghton, and the next morning he demanded of the king, in a private audience, leave to retire. George, on this occasion, evinced a degree of feeling that did him honour. When the old minister who had served him through so long a course of years knelt to kiss hands, the king embraced him, shed tears, and begged that he would often come to see him.

The next day, February 2nd, Walpole did the prince of Wales the courtesy, though he had greatly contributed to his fall, to send him a private intimation of his intended resignation, and that evening calling to him Sir Edward Baynton, the opposition member whose return was secured by Walpole's last division, he pointed out to him members who were then voting against him, but who owed many favours to him. He said it was time to retire, and that he would never again enter that house.

On the following day lord chancellor Hardwicke announced his majesty's desire that the house should adjourn for a fortnight, and during that interval Walpole resigned, and a new ministry was appointed. On the 9th Sir Robert was created earl of Orford, and on the 11th he made a formal resignation of all his places. He that day retired to his lodge at Richmond, as he expressed his hope to pass the remainder of his days in peace, far from the rancour of parties and heart-burnings of courts. Nevertheless, he was not allowed to withdraw without a passing storm of censure. He had not occupied the seat of power so long without taking care of himself. From a country squire of two thousand a year he had grown into a very opulent nobleman. His house at Houghton was worthy of being a royal palace, and was enriched by a noble collection of books and paintings. It is true that he had made part of this by speculations on the Stock Exchange, as we have seen, not neglecting to draw profit from schemes that he condemned, as the South Sea Bubble. Yet every one has regarded Walpole rather as an arbitrary than a rapacious minister. Though he helped himself and his friends, he did so with more moderation than many ministers who both preceded and succeeded him. However much we are obliged to condemn that system of political corruption which he raised to an unexampled height, though he did not originate it, we are equally obliged to confess that he might have employed the power it gave him much worse. He firmly maintained and established the protestant succession; he was a stanch friend to peace, and dared to cultivate an alliance with France as long as the opposition would let him. Under these circumstances, the country had risen rapidly in wealth and comfort, and at the time that the people were rejoicing enthusiastically in his downfall, they were enjoying the substantial blessings which he had conferred on the country. Those who came after him soon showed, by their bloody vengeance on the followers of the young pretender, a dark contrast to the humane policy of Walpole.

But the merits of Walpole were concealed from the public view for a good while by the exaggerated representations of his demerits and his crimes by the opposition, and by the accumulated honours and favours amidst which he withdrew from public life. He not only received a patent of nobility, but a pension of four thousand pounds a year; and he obtained at the same time a patent of rank for an illegitimate daughter by a lady whom he had since married. There was a terrible outcry as these facts became known. It was so vehement that Walpole resigned the pension, but only to resume it at a future date, which, two years later, was permitted to him without much notice. He would also have given up, probably on the same understanding, the patent for his daughter; but it had already passed the seals, and could not be recalled.

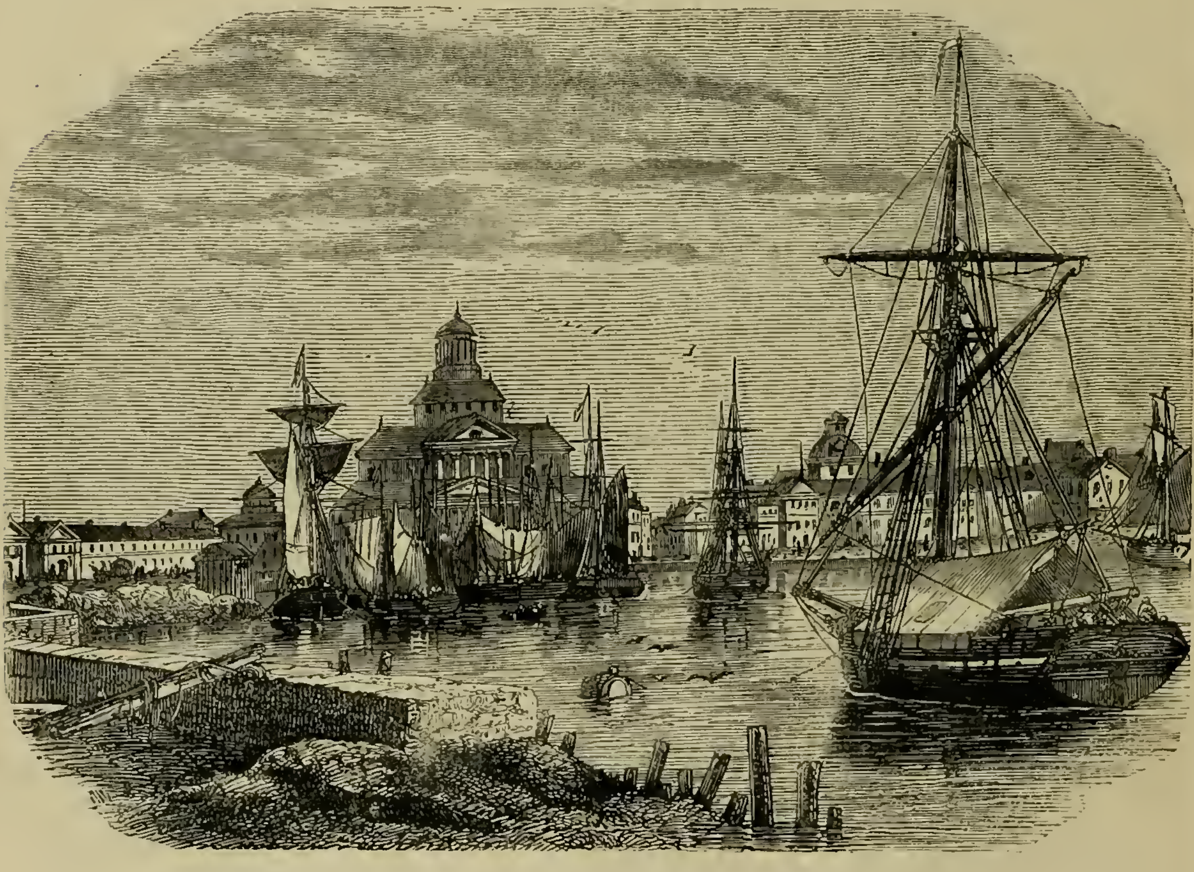
So passed from a long possession of power a minister who inaugurated a system of corruption, which was not so much abused by himself, as made a ready instrument of immeasurable mischiefs in the hands of his successors, growing still more terrible and oppressive till it reached its acmé in our time, and compelled the necessity of political reform. Had Walpole used the power which he purchased with the country's money more arbitrarily and mischievously, the system must much sooner have come to an end. As it was, the evils which he introduced fell rather on posterity than on his own time.

Before he withdrew, the king, who retained his high opinion of his political wisdom, consulted him on the constitution of the new cabinet. Walpole recommended that the post of first lord of the treasury, including the premiership, should be offered to Pulteney, as the man of the most undoubted talent. If he should refuse it, then that it should be given to lord Wilmington, who, though by no means capable of directing affairs by his own energy, was of a disposition which might allow them to be conducted by the joint counsel of his abler colleagues. The king consented that the premiership should be offered to Pulteney, though he hated the man, but only on this condition, that he pledged himself to resist any prosecution of the ex-minister. Pulteney declined the overture on such a condition, for though he said he had no desire to punish Walpole, he might not be able to defend him from the attacks of his colleagues, for, he observed, "the heads of parties, like those of snakes, are carried on by their tails." The king then sent Newcastle to Pulteney, and it was agreed to allow Wilmington to take the post of first lord of the treasury. Carteret thought that this office was more due to him, but Pulteney declared that if Wilmington were not permitted to take the premiership, he would occupy it himself, and Carteret gave way, accepting the place of secretary of state, with the promise that he should manage in reality the foreign affairs In all these arrangements the king still took the advice of Walpole, and Newcastle was instructed to again endeavour to draw from Pulteney a promise that he would at least keep himself clear of any prosecution of the late minister. Pulteney evaded the question by saying that he was not a bloody or revengeful man; that he had always aimed at the destruction of the power of Walpole, and not of his person, but that he still thought he ought not to escape without some censure, and could not engage himself without his party. Newcastle, who wanted to retain his place in the new cabinet, was more successful. Pulteney said he had no objection to himself or the lord chancellor, but that many changes must be made in order to satisfy the late opposition, and to give the cabinet a necessary majority. Pulteney then declared that, for himself, he desired a peerage and a place in the cabinet, and thus the new ministry was organised:—Wilmington, first lord of the treasury; Carteret, secretary of state; the marquis of Tweeddale, secretary for Scotland; Sandys, the motion-maker, chancellor of the exchequer; the prince of Wales was to receive the additional fifty thousand pounds a year; and his two friends, lord Baltimore and lord Archibald Hamilton, to have seats at the new board of admiralty.

When these arrangements became known, the tory party became dreadfully exasperated. Had they not fought the battle through all those years side by side with the discontented whigs for the overthrow of Walpole; and now, when these whigs had triumphed through their help, were they to be not so much as mentioned? But not the tories only—there were throngs of whigs who had battled zealously for the same object, and with the same hope of personal benefit, and yet they were passed over, and Pulteney, Carteret, and their immediate coterie had quietly taken care of themselves, and thrown their coadjutors overboard. This result was certain to take place, whatever the arrangements had been. No party could hope to maintain themselves in office with a batch of tories amongst them, who had always been opposed to the Hanoverian succession, and so intimately mixed up with the Jacobites that they could scarcely be distinguished; and there were too many whigs to be all gratified according to their own ideas of their services and merits. Pitt, Lyttleton, Granville, and that class of ambitious young men whom Walpole had called the "boy-patriots," had from the first opposed all these arrangements, and were vehement in their denunciations of them. They protested that the country was betrayed by a knot of apostates, who, instead of a total change of men and manners, were only fortifying themselves to perpetuate the old state of things.

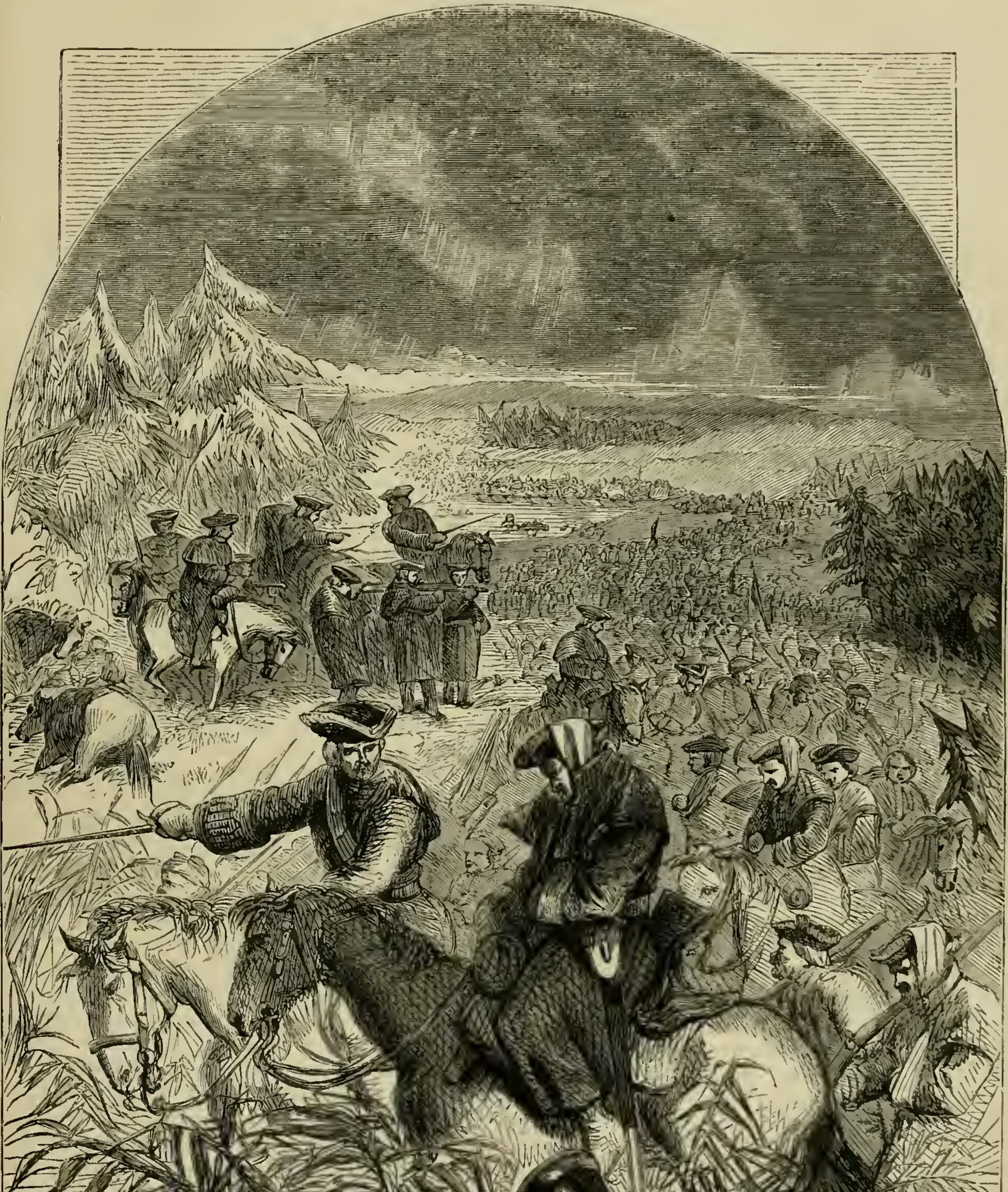
On the 11th of February, the day of Walpole's resignation, a great whig dinner was held at the Fountain Tavern, in the Strand, where the disappointed men gave vent to their anger in the most stormy harangues. The new ministers were invited, that they might have their conduct censured as the disappointed thought it deserved. Carteret declined going, but Pulteney, Sandys, and the chancellor of the exchequer attended. There were nearly three hundred men, peers and commoners, present, and the bulk of them smarting with anger and disappointment. Lord Talbot drank to the cleansing of the Augean stable, both of dung and grooms. But the duke of Argyll was the most violent. He had done as much as any one to throw down Walpole, and to have been passed wholly over, as if his services or his rank and influence deserved no notice whatever, was certainly enough to excite his wrath. He seemed converted, indeed, into an actual tory by his mortification, for he protested that no good would be done until tories as well as whigs were included in the ministry. This was probably to excite the hopes of the tories, and bring them down all the more fiercely on the new cabinet. Pulteney defended himself with great warmth, declaring that the arrangements had not originated with him, and that he and his friends had had nothing to do but to accept or reject what was offered them. As to tories, however, he confessed that it would yet require time "to remove suspicions inculcated long, and long credited, with regard to a denomination of men who had formerly been thought not heartily attached to the reigning family." Sandys excused himself on the same ground. When the king offered posts to gentlemen of their party, were they to decline them? If so, the king would have no alternative but to recall the old set. When the discontented had well blown off their vexation, they began to take a more business view of the matter; and as many good things were yet undisposed of, they more wisely made direct demands for them than wasted their time in complaining.

A meeting was appointed betwixt Pulteney and the rest already in office, and the duke of Argyll, Chesterfield, Cobham, Bathurst, and some others. The prince of Wales was present, and the different claims were discussed. Argyll was satisfied by being made master-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majesty's royal regiment of horse guards, field-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the forces in South Britain. He also obtained, after a stout opposition, a seat at the board of admiralty for his friend Sir John Hynd Cotton, a decided Jacobite. Chesterfield got nothing, professing to wait to see a more thorough change of men before he went amongst them; but Cobham was made a field-marshal, and restored to the command of the grenadier guards, but he could get nothing for his nephews, the fiery oppositionists, Lyttleton and Granville. Lord Harrington was made an earl and president of the council in lieu of Wilmington, who vacated it for the premiership. But what surprised the country most was, that Pulteney, hitherto the head and soul of the party, should have been content to sacrifice himself for the sake of a title. He was made earl of Bath and received a place in the cabinet; but by this change he forfeited the confidence of the country, which had always looked up to him as the most determined and disinterested of patriots. From this moment he sank into insignificance and contempt. Some others of the old officials remained in as well as Newcastle. Sir William Yonge and Pelham, brother of Newcastle, retained their posts, Yonge as secretary of war, and Pelham as paymaster of the forces.



HARBOUR OF HELSINGFORS.

One appointment the king positively refused to confirm, that of Sir John Hynd Cotton. This Cotton had not only been a determined Jacobite, but in the house of commons had attacked and harassed the whig ministry nearly as



THE RETREAT OF BELLEISLE.

much as the "thorough Shippen." The king very properly declared that he would not employ the most daring enemies of his family, but should feel bound to promote and encourage those who had maintained the rights of the house of Brunswick. This again roused the duke of Argyll, who, in the house of lords, made the most severe strictures on this rejection, and he was supported in both houses by the tories, who were furious with indignation at the rejection of one of their party, which was significant for all. The duke of Argyll, it was fully seen, had not, with all his appointments, reached the height of his ambition, and it was correctly augured that he would not long continue in office.

The prince of Wales and all the leaders of the late opposition now appeared again at court; but it was observed that the king received the prince very coolly, merely saying that he hoped the princess was well, allowing him to kiss hands, and then taking no further notice of him. The prince was not long in showing his discontent: he again absented himself from court, and began to cry down the administration which he had helped to form. The cabinet itself did not exhibit much sign of vigour. Wilmington remained the same feeble creature that he had felt himself to be as Sir Spencer Compton, and Pulteney, who had been expected to form a patriot cabinet, and take the lead in it in a career of necessary reform, was regarded with universal scorn and aversion. From the most popular man in the country he had sunk at once into the most despised. Instead of being followed, as he had been for years, by applause, when he appeared abroad he was hissed and hooted. He was regarded as a traitor to the highest principles for the mere empty honour of a peerage; and to have received those honours as the wages of iniquity which he might have had as the reward of virtue. It was believed that Walpole had artfully betrayed him into this false step, and thus taken full revenge on him for his long and final persecution of him. When they first met in the house of lords, he said to his old antagonist, "My lord Bath, you and I are now two as insignificant men as any in England." But Walpole felt that this was true only of Pulteney. For himself, he might be said to have passed into the house of lords as a natural transition—as the natural result, at the close of a long life of public services in accordance with his principles, and was to the end as much considered as ever, and still consulted in difficult circumstances, by ministers. According to Chesterfield, the nation looked upon Pulteney as a deserter, and he shrunk into insignificance and an earldom.

The new ministry were now to find that it is a very difficult position to maintain, when they have to perpetuate principles and measures which they have for a quarter of a century been condemning, simply because they furnished weapons of annoyance to the party in power. They were now eagerly called upon to undo all that they had condemned in the administration of Walpole. Petitions were poured in by the merchants of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and almost all the larger towns in the kingdom, complaining of the miserable management of the war, and of their losses in consequence. It was alleged by Mr. Glover, a member for the city of London, upon an examination of a great mass of papers, and the examination of numerous witnesses, that the war had been carried on, not through negligence, but by a fixed and uniform design to expose the commerce of Great Britain to the insults and rapine of the Spaniards. A bill was framed on the basis of this monstrous assertion, and actually passed through the commons, but was thrown out in the lords, where Walpole was present, to expose its malice and absurdity. The pension bill was next revived, and Carteret voted against it, having on so many former occasions warmly supported it.

The public, still smarting under the ruinous mismanagement of the war, returned to the charge, by demanding an inquiry into the conduct of Walpole, whom they accused of their sufferings, though he had so long and vigorously resisted the insane cry for this war, and though it had been urged on him by the very men now in power. These petitions were introduced and recommended by what were called the boy-patriots—Pitt, Granville, Lyttleton, and the rest. As a means of popularity, they insisted on the standing army being abolished in time of peace, on the strict limitation of placemen in parliament, and on the return to triennial parliaments. These were hard topics for the patriots now in power to digest. But the depression of trade continued, and no one could suggest a remedy but that of reducing taxation at the very time that all parties were zealous for the prosecution of the war. Finding no other solution to their difficulties, the public turned again to the demand of an inquiry into the administration of Walpole, hoping to lay bare, in that, the causes of their sufferings. The people of Westminster demanded whether such a man was to be permitted to retire without scrutiny into the enjoyment of private tranquillity. Accordingly, on the 9th of March, lord Limerick moved for a secret committee to inquire into the administration of affairs by Sir Robert Walpole for the last twenty years. He was seconded by Sir John St. Aubyn, and supported by Pitt, lord Perceval, the new member for Westminster, and that section of the young patriots, and eagerly by the tories. It was vigorously opposed by Mr. Pelham, Sir Charles Wager, and Mr. Henry Fox, surveyor-general, and brother of lord Ilchester. Pulteney was not present, being in attendance on a dying daughter; but he had so plainly expressed his aversion to pursuing vindictively the fallen minister, that his party voted against it, and it was thrown out, but merely by two votes, in a house of four hundred and eighty-six members. When Pulteney took his place in the house again, the defeated party upbraided him with his apathy in the cause, and then the world saw this great patriot, who had so lately declared his wish to leave the late minister unmolested, actually encouraging lord Limerick to renew the motion in an altered form, so as to comply with the forms of the house. Accordingly, lord Limerick, on the 23rd of March, rose and proposed a committee to inquire into the administration of Walpole, not for twenty, but for the ten last years. Pulteney not only voted, but spoke in favour of this motion, and it was carried by a majority of seven. Having let loose the parliamentary hounds on the ex-minister, Pulteney excused himself from being on the committee, but recommended moderation and fair play. These qualities were just the last which, in the temper of the party, were likely to operate, as was speedily obvious. Horace Walpole, the son of the accused, endeavoured to defend the conduct of his father, but he was rudely handled in reply by Pitt, who displayed much more eloquence than generosity; and when the names of the committee were called over, it was observed that the majority were the rancorous enemies of Walpole, and two only could be termed his decided friends. Lord Limerick was chosen chairman, and such was the partial and vindictive spirit in which they went to work in examining papers and witnesses, that the honourable-minded Sir John Barnard, though so stanch an opponent of Walpole when in power, declared that he would no longer take part in the labours of a committee which displayed so little regard to the general inquiry, but concentrated all their efforts on the ruin of one individual.

But the committee found itself opposed in these objects in the highest quarter. The king displayed the most firm disposition to protect his late minister, and was in constant communication with Walpole and his friends for the purpose. Every means were used to protect those who were possessed of the most important information from the scrutiny of the committee, and to induce them to remain obstinately silent. Mr. Edgecumbe, who had managed the Cornish boroughs for Walpole, and could have revealed things which would have filled the committee with exultation, was raised to the upper house, and thus removed from the power of the commons. Paxton, the solicitor to the treasury, a most important witness, remained unshakably silent, and was committed to Newgate; nor was the committee more successful with Scrope, the secretary to the treasury. This officer, who, no doubt, held most desirable knowledge in his bosom, as firmly refused to make any disclosures, though he was now a very feeble old man. Other officials refused to make statements whose disclosure might criminate themselves, and which they were excused from doing by the great principles of our judicature.

To remove this obstacle, lord Limerick, the chairman of the committee, then moved that a bill of indemnity should be passed, to exempt witnesses from all penalties in consequence of their disclosures. This passed the commons by a majority of twelve, but was rejected in the house of lords by a large majority. It was there supported by Chesterfield, Argyll, and Bathurst, and opposed by Carteret and Hardwicke, who, as lord chancellor, designated it as an outrage on every principle of our constitution, and, if passed, destructive of all personal security. Enraged by this defeat, lord Strange, the son of the earl of Derby, moved, on the part of the committee, that the opposition of the lords in this matter was an obstruction to justice. It was supported by lord Quarndon, son of the earl of Lichfield, and led to a violent debate, and sharp recrimination betwixt Sandys and the rejected lord of the admiralty, Sir John Hynd Cotton, but was defeated by a majority of fifty-two. The temper of the secret committee was now exasperated to fury; they again called before them the octogenarian Scrope, and handled him with an insolent barbarity disgraceful to any body of men. But the old man who had fought for Monmouth, remained as stanch as he was on Sedgemoor in the days of youth. He said, "I am fourscore years of age, and I care not whether I spend the few months I have to live in the Tower or out of it, but the last thing I will do is to betray the king, and, next to the king, the earl of Orford." The committee had sense enough to dismiss the sturdy old whig, and give him no further trouble.

After contending with such difficulties—for the committee was, in truth, combating with all the powers of the crown—it was not likely that it would produce a very effective report. In fact, desirable as it was that a deep and searching inquiry should have been made, and the mysteries of that long reign of corruption thrown open, the fact that the monarch and the minister had gone hand in hand through the whole of it, was, on the very surface, fatal to any hope of a successful issue; and what rendered this fatality greater was, that the committee too obviously went into the question hotly to crush an old antagonist who had defeated and humiliated them for a long course of years, rather than to serve the nation. When, therefore, on the 30th of June, they presented their report, the feeling, on its perusal, was one of intense disappointment. It alleged that, during an election at Weymouth, a place had been promised to the mayor if he would use his influence in obtaining the nomination of a retiring officer, and that a church living had been promised to the mayor's brother-in-law for the same purpose; that some revenue officers, who refused to vote for the ministerial nominees, were dismissed; that a fraudulent contract had been given to Peter Burrell and John Bristow, two members of the house of commons, for furnishing money in Jamaica for the payment of the troops, by which they had pocketed upwards of fourteen per cent.

But what were these few trifling and isolated cases to that great system of corruption which the whole public were satisfied had spread through the whole administration of Walpole, and which abounded with far more wonderful instances than these? These cases might have been extracted from the most virtuous administration that had ever existed. The very mention of them, and them alone, was a proclamation of defeat. The sole fact which they brought forward, which bore any proportion to the expectation of the public, was that, under Walpole, the amount of secret service money was greater than in any preceding period. The committee selected ten years from the end of the reign of queen Anne, and the commencement of the reign of George I., that is, from 1707 to 1717, and showed that the secret service money during that period amounted to three hundred and thirty-seven thousand nine hundred and sixty pounds, whilst, during the last ten years of Walpole's ministry, it amounted to one million four hundred and fifty-three thousand pounds. That was a striking and palpable fact; but the committee totally failed to discover *how* this money had been spent. That a large sum had gone to bribe members and electors, there could be no rational doubt; only fifty thousand pounds, however, could be traced as paid to writers of pamphlets and in newspapers, as well as to the proprietors of newspapers, in favour of government; whilst an enormous proportion must have gone to secure foreign alliances, and to keep poor and mercenary courts from swelling the host of our enemies. The result of this inquiry, begun with parade, and pursued with much animosity, had the effect of injuring the committee instead of the ex-minister. He had been charged with so much, and convicted of so little, that the resentment of the public was diverted from him to the committee which had so egregiously failed.

It was extremely unfortunate for Pulteney that just at this time Sir Robert Godschall, lord mayor of London, moved for the repeal of the septennial act. This act had been the subject of some of Pulteney's most eloquent and impassioned attacks from year to year, whilst it was defended by Walpole; and now he was compelled by his party to put himself exactly in Walpole's position, and support, by a recreant oratory, what he had so often and so energetically condemned; for he had not yet taken his seat in the lords.

The committee of inquiry, stimulated by the disappointment of the public, began preparations for a fresh report; but their labours were cut short by the termination of the session. In order to conciliate in some degree public opinion, ministers hastened to allow the passing of a bill to exclude certain officers from the house of commons; they passed another to encourage the linen manufacture; a third, to regulate the trade of the colonies; and a fourth, to prevent the marriage of lunatics. They voted forty thousand seamen and sixty-two thousand landsmen for the service of the current year. The whole expenditure of the year amounted to nearly six million pounds, which was raised by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound; by a malt-tax; by a million from the sinking fund; and other resources. They provided for the subsidies to Denmark and Hesse-Cassel, and voted another five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary.

In the month of July lord Gower was appointed keeper of the privy seal; lord Bathurst, captain of the band of pensioners; and Pulteney took his seat in the peers as the earl of Bath. On the 15th the king prorogued parliament; at the same time assuring the two houses that a peace was concluded betwixt the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia, through his mediation; and that the late successes of the Austrian arms were in a great measure owing to the generous assistance of the British nation.

In fact, the brave Austrian general, Khevenhöller, had severely chastised the elector of Bavaria, now emperor of Germany, for his assistance of the French and Prussians. He invaded and ravaged Bavaria itself, made himself master of Munich, the capital, and then entered the palatinate and laid it under contributions, in revenge of the prince Palatine sending a body of troops to reinforce the imperial army. The Austrians were soon after obliged, by count Saxe, at the head of Bavarian and French troops, to evacuate Bavaria, but they soon returned. In June the king of Prussia, as George assured parliament, had come to terms with the queen of Hungary, who consented to resign Upper and Lower Silesia, and Glatz, in Bohemia. Frederick engaged to pay the sum lent by the merchants of London to the late emperor on the Silesian revenues; and he was obliged to maintain a strict neutrality during the war, the kings of England, Poland, and Denmark, the czarina, the states-general, and some smaller potentates, being parties to the treaty.

Deserted by the Prussians, the French retired with precipitation to Prague, where they were followed by the Austrian army under prince Charles of Lorraine and prince Lobkowitz. Soon after the grand duke of Tuscany came and took the principal command; and the French offered to capitulate, on condition that they might march away with their arms and baggage. This was refused; but after some time, amid various marchings and counter-marchings of the Austrians under Khevenhöller and general Festilitz, the French under Maillebois, and the Bavarians under Seckendorf and Saxe, marshal Belleisle stole out of Prague in December, and, giving Lobkowitz the slip, made for the mountains with fourteen thousand men and thirty pieces of artillery. Broglie had escaped some time before, and was gone to command the army of Maillebois, who was recalled in disgrace. Belleisle, who, during his retreat, was undergoing tortures from rheumatism of the hip-joint, was carried in a sedan, and displayed unwearied activity in protecting his men and baggage from the harassing pursuit of Lobkowitz. Notwithstanding this, his men perished in great numbers from famine and the severity of the season. They had been reduced to eat horse-flesh before leaving Prague, and now they fell exhausted in the deep snows, and were mercilessly butchered by the Austrian irregulars and peasantry. On the 29th of December he reached Egra, and from that point marched into Alsace without further molestation; but he then found that of the thirty-five thousand troops which he took into Germany, only eight thousand remained. Though this retreat was celebrated as one of the most remarkable in history, the marshal, on reaching Versailles, was received with great coldness. Lobkowitz returned to Prague, and took possession of it.

Whilst these events had been passing in Austria and Bavaria, the king of England had endeavoured to make a powerful diversion in the Netherlands. Under the plea of this movement, sixteen thousand British troops were embarked in April for the Netherlands; but they were first employed to overawe Prussia, which was in contention with Hanover regarding the duchy of Mecklenburg. There were other causes of dispute betwixt Prussia and the elector of Hanover. George having now this strong British force, besides sixteen thousand Hanoverian troops and six thousand auxiliary Hessians, Frederick thought proper to come to terms with him, and, in consequence of mutual arrangements, the Hanoverian troops quitted Mecklenburg, and George, feeling Hanover safe, marched this united force to the Netherlands to join the British ones. He expected the Dutch to co-operate with him and the Austrians, and strike a decided blow at France. But the earl of Stair, who was to command these forces, and who was at the same time ambassador to the States, found it impossible to induce the Dutch to act. They had increased their forces both by sea and land, but they were afraid of the vicinity of the French, and were, with their usual jealousy, by no means pleased to see the English assuming power in the Netherlands. Therefore, after making a great demonstration of an attempt on the French frontier with the united army, the project was suddenly abandoned, and the troops retired into winter quarters.

In the north, the succession of the czarina Elizabeth only caused the war against Sweden to be carried on with more vigour, but the French court was not able to bring over the czarina to join them against the queen of Hungary.

Elizabeth sympathised with her sister monarch. She sent her a considerable sum of money; yet, not to appear too much a partisan, she at the same time congratulated the elector of Bavaria on his elevation to the imperial throne. Elizabeth ordered the counts Osterman, Munich, and the other adherents of the deposed czar, to be tried, and they were condemned, but their lives were spared, their sentence being commuted to banishment to Siberia. She was crowned in May, and then prosecuted the war against Sweden with augmented vigour. The Swedes, who had till then carried all before them, and refused to make peace unless all the conquests of Peter were restored to them, now were driven by general Lasci to surrender at Helsingfors. The Swedish generals, Lewenhaupt and Bodenhock, were condemned to death by a court-martial on their return home.

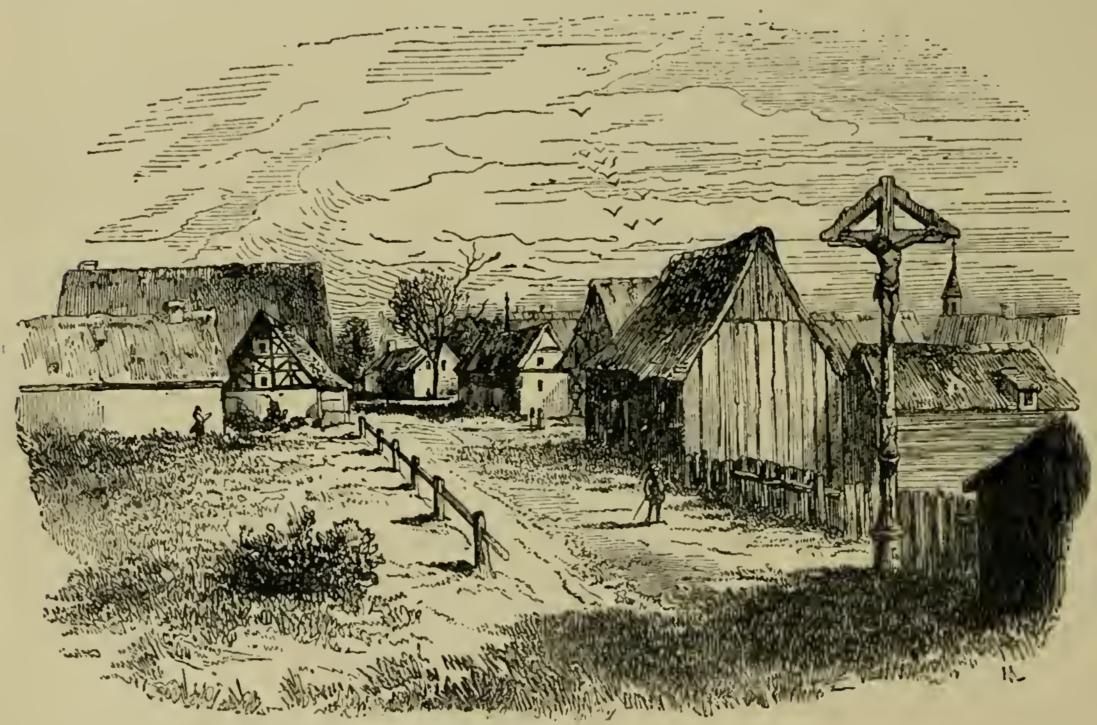
In Italy, the ambition of the queen of Spain had produced fresh commotions. As she had established her son Don Carlos as king of Naples and Sicily, she now endeavoured to carve out a kingdom in northern Italy for her son Don Philip. The Spaniards had already a large army in northern Italy under the duke of Montemar, and Philip was to march a second army into Savoy. On learning these intentions, the king of Sardinia, who had greatly aided the Spaniards in the conquest of Naples, now suddenly made peace with Austria, and marching against Montemar, drove him to take shelter in the kingdom of Naples. But whilst he was doing this, Don Philip appeared in Savoy with his army, and the king left Montemar and marched against Philip. At his approach Philip retreated into Dauphiné. Then the marquis de Minas, an able general, arrived from Madrid to take the command of Philip's army, who compelled the king of Sardinia to retreat into Piedmont, and he himself marched his Spaniards into Savoy. The army of Montemar, now commanded by count Gages, again advanced into Italy as far as the Bolognese and Romagna, where it went into winter quarters, whilst the king of Sardinia and the Austrians took up theirs in Modena and Parma. Thus there was a prospect of sharp fighting in Italy in the spring.

The incursion of Spaniards would have been much greater this summer in Upper Italy had it not been for the spirited conduct of commodore Martin, with five ships of the British line. Don Carlos was mustering a large army to follow that of Montemar under Gages, when Martin suddenly appeared before Naples, and sent in a message to say that the king of England, as the ally of Austria, and at war with Spain, proposed that Naples should maintain a strict neutrality in this war. As Naples was utterly defenceless, and possessed of the meagerest garrison, Don Carlos and his court were thunderstruck. In order, however, to gain time, they sent on board to the British commodore a man of high rank, to enter into a discussion, and put off any decided action. But the commodore was not the man to be played with. He pulled out his watch, laid it on the table, and laconically informed the envoy, that if he did not within two hours receive a satisfactory answer to his proposal, he should bombard the city. This produced its effect: the king at once gave the required promise, and wrote, at the desire of the commodore's emissary, an order to the duke of Castropignano, to quit the Spanish army in Italy, and march home with the Neapolitan troops. The commodore's emissary insisted on reading this letter himself before it was dispatched, and he then returned on board, and the fleet sailed away. After the departure of the fleet, Don Carlos, warned by this startling visit, erected some defences of the city and port, and began to build some ships of war; but he was careful not to violate the neutrality till the Austrians attacked him in his own kingdom.

Admiral Haddock, who had continued nearly inactive in the Mediterranean, was recalled, and admiral Matthews sent to take his command with seven additional ships. He found all his attempts against the Spaniards still baffled by the French, who, though there was yet no declaration of war, continued to protect the Spanish fleet; but Matthews resolved to pay no attention to the French, and on the first opportunity he pursued five Spanish galleys into the French port of St. Tropez, and there, under the very guns of the French batteries, attacked and destroyed them. In May he sent commodore Rowley to cruise off Toulon, and there seized a great number of Spanish vessels. It was he who dispatched commodore Martin to Naples, who so promptly executed his mission, and again joined the admiral in the road of Hieres. He landed a body of men at St. Remo, in the territory of Genoa, and destroyed the magazines of the Spaniards there. After these and other decisive measures he selected the port of Hieres for his winter station.

Little was done by our fleet elsewhere. Vernon and Wentworth, after the reinforcements sent from England, planned an attack on the town of Panama, on the isthmus of Darien. They were joined by the governor of Jamaica, and sailed from that island on the 9th of March; but this expedition was as unfortunate as the one against Carthagena. They had chosen their time in the midst of the rainy and unhealthy season again; and, after losing a number of men by sickness, they returned to Jamaica. In August they made the insignificant conquest of the small island of Rattan, in the bay of Honduras; and in September these wretched commanders were called home, with the miserable remains of their fine armament, where they arrived amid the scorn and execration of the public. A more satisfactory conduct was displayed by general Oglethorpe in the new colony of Georgia. This was attacked by a Spanish force of four thousand men and six-and-thirty ships, under the command of Don Marinal de Monteano, who began his march on Frederica; but Oglethorpe, with a mere handful of men, gave them such a reception that they were glad to retire to their vessels and abandon the enterprise.

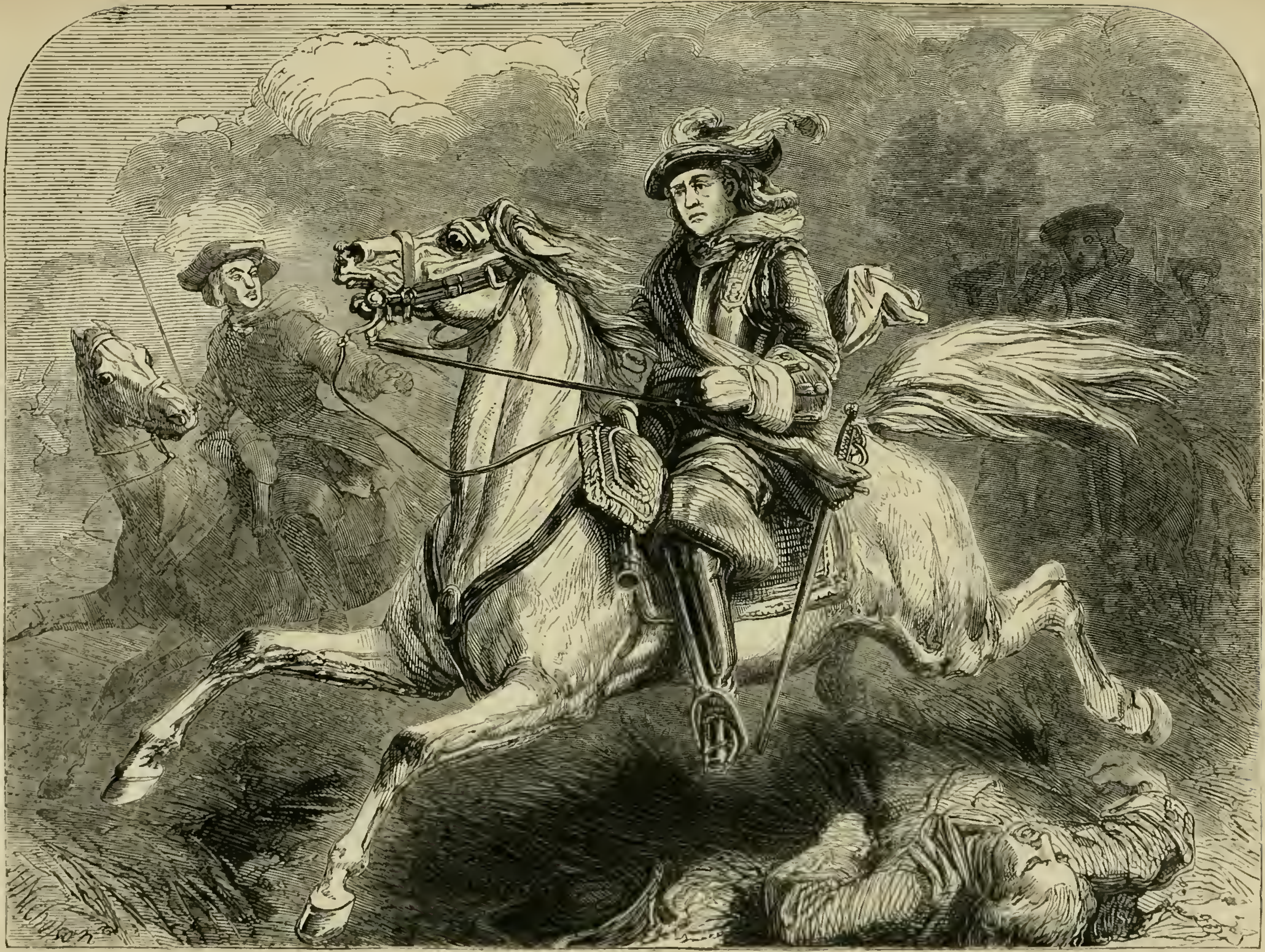
Parliament met on the 16th of November, when the king told them that he had augmented the British forces in the Low Countries with sixteen thousand Hanoverians and six thousand Hessians. In fact, it had been his design, accompanied by his son, the duke of Cumberland, to go over and take the command of the combined army of English, Hanoverians, Austrians, and Dutch; but the arrival of the earl of Stair, who had been the nominal commander of these troops, and the return of lord Carteret from the Hague, with the news that the Dutch could not be moved, had caused him to give up the idea, and order his baggage on shore again. He assured parliament, however, that the spirit and magnanimity of the queen of Hungary, and the resolute conduct of the king of Sardinia in Italy, had produced the most beneficial effect. He maintained that Sweden had implored his good offices in procuring peace with Russia, and that the defensive alliances which he had made with the king of Prussia and the czarina, were events which could not have been expected if Great Britain had not manifested a seasonable spirit in the assistance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe. He added that the honour and interest of his crown and kingdom, the success of the war with Spain, the re-establishment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe, would greatly depend on the prudence and vigour of their resolutions.



VIEW NEAR EGRA, BOHEMIA.

The usual address, proposed by the marquis of Tweeddale, met with considerable opposition, especially in the upper house, from the earl of Chesterfield. Lyttleton again introduced the place-bill, but it was rejected by the very men who had formerly advocated it. There was another motion made for inquiry into the administration of Walpole, on the plea that that inquiry had been shamefully stifled on the former occasion; but it met with the same fate. But on the 10th of December the opposition mustered all its strength on the motion of Sir William Yonge, the new secretary-at-war, that we should pay for the sixteen thousand Hanoverians and the six thousand Hessians, and that a grant of six hundred and fifty-seven thousand pounds should be made for their maintenance from August, 1742, to December, 1743. It was the hard task of Sandys, as the new chancellor of the exchequer, to defend this monstrous grant and the interests of Hanover, after so many years of attack on these topics in opposition. Pitt answered Sandys in the most caustic style of his eloquence, and Sir John Aubyn and others followed as indignantly; but the ministers carried the motion by two hundred and sixty votes against one hundred and ninety-three. Their ablest supporter on this occasion was Murray, afterwards lord Mansfield, who made his first parliamentary speech on the occasion, and showed the delighted cabinet that the man whom they had just made their solicitor-general was capable of contending with that "terrible cornet of horse," Pitt.

But in the house of lords the motion and the millstone of Hanover were dealt with still more rigorously. The earl of Stanhope, the son of the late respected minister of that name, moved an address to beseech and advise his majesty, that, in compassion to his people, loaded already with numerous and heavy taxes, such large and growing debts and greater annual expenses than the nation had before borne, he would exonerate his subjects from the burthen of mercenaries engaged without the consent of parliament. The earl of Sandwich followed in terms of great contempt for Hanover, and the duke of Bedford was still more severe. He said that it was a public conviction that the measures of the English ministry were directed to the benefit of the electorate of Hanover instead of that of their own country. That, little as Hanover was, it was a gulph which swallowed up all the wealth of Great Britain. That by it we were involved in all the quarrels of the continent, with which we had no real concern whatever. That the state of



GEORGE II. AT THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN.

Hanover had been changed without any visible cause, since the accession of its princes to the throne of England; affluence had begun to wanton in their towns, and gold to glitter in their cottages, without the discovery of mines, or the increase of their commerce; and new dominions had been purchased, of which the value had never been paid from the revenues of Hanover.

The ministry, the patriot lord Bathurst, and the new earl of Bath, were obliged to defend the measures they had for so many years unsparingly condemned; and the earl of Bath, adopting the very language of Walpole against himself as Mr. Pulteney, declared that it was an act of cowardice and meanness to fall passively down the stream of popularity, and to suffer reason and integrity to be overborne by the noise of vulgar clamour! So pitiable are the exhibitions which men are compelled to make who sacrifice their honour and patriotism for the bare ambition of rank and place! Lord Chesterfield replied in a trenchant exposure of these flimsy sophisms. He condemned the assembling of troops in Flanders without the consent of parliament, and the payment of Hanoverian soldiers to fight their own battles Hanover, he said, did not appear to contribute anything to the cause of Austria, but was to be paid by Great Britain at an exorbitant rate for every man it sent into the field; and this we were to pay whilst we had a great army lying idle at home, adding to our burdens. These arguments would have made a still deeper impression on the nation than they did had they not proceeded from the mouths of known Jacobites, who were anxious for succour from France and Spain, which these subsidised troops rendered vain. The nation now felt that there was only too much truth in them, and the sight of the men who had held this same language, now forcing this expense on the nation, for the sake of the king's Hanoverian predilections, did the ministers much damage. They carried the motion by ninety to thirty-five, but they lost weight by their very victory, and it was observed that two members of the cabinet, lords Cobham and Gower, voted against these measures, at the risk of dismissal, which, however, did not take place.

The year 1743 opened with a mighty struggle on the subject of gin. In 1736 the awful increase of drunkenness, which was attributed to the cheapness of gin, induced a majority of the house of commons to pass an act levying twenty shillings a gallon duty upon the liquor, and charging every vendor of it fifty pounds per annum for a licence. Walpole at the time declared that such an attempt to place gin beyond the reach of the poor consumers would fail; that it would fail equally as a source of revenue, for it would lead to wholesale smuggling and every possible evasion of the law. The event had proved Walpole only too correct in his prognostications. So far from checking the use of gin, the act had stimulated it enormously. The licences, so preposterously high, were wholly neglected; no duty was paid, yet the destructive liquid was sold at every street corner. Neither informers nor magistrates dared to attempt to put the law into force, for the vice was the darling vice of the whole populace, and their lives would have certainly been sacrificed had they opposed themselves to the practice. "To such an extent," says Smollett, who was living at the time, "had this shameful profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards inviting people to be drunk for the small expense of one penny; assuring them that they might be dead drunk for twopence, and have straw for nothing! They accordingly provided cellars and places strewed with straw, to which they conveyed those wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. In these dismal caverns they lay until they had recovered some use of their faculties, and then they had recourse to the same mischievous potion; thus consuming their health and ruining their familes in hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with riot, execration, and blasphemy."

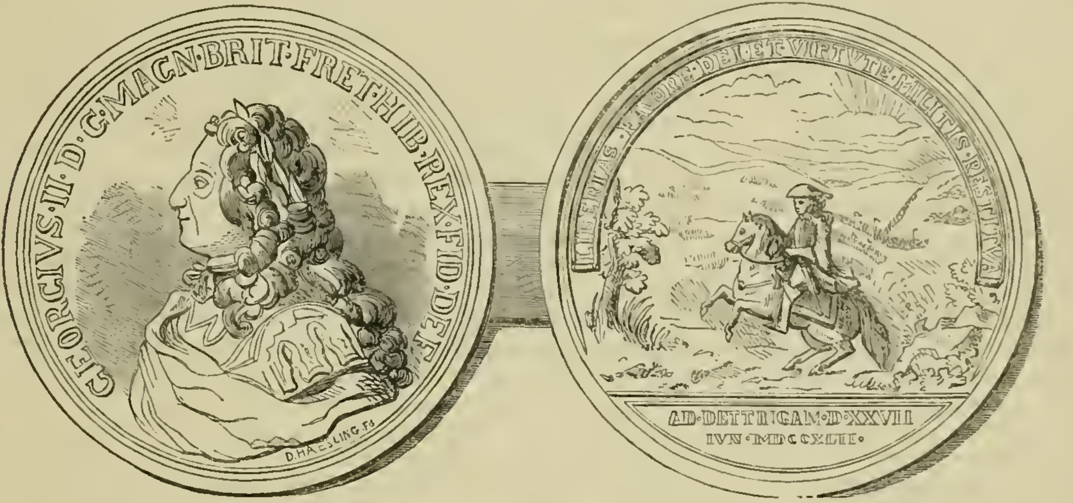
Ministers now saw that, by attempting too much, everything in this case had been lost. They were sacrificing the revenues only to sacrifice the morals and well-being of the people. They determined, therefore, to reduce the licenses from fifty pounds to one pound per annum, and at the same time to retain a moderate duty on the liquor. By this means the fatal compound would remain much at the same price, but the vendors would be induced to take out licenses, and the revenues would be greatly improved, whilst the whole sale of the article would be more under the restraints of law and police. A bill was framed on these principles, and passed rapidly through the commons, but in the lords it encountered a determined opposition. The whole bench of bishops, untaught by what had been so frightfully open to the public notice, contended that ministers, for the sake of revenue, were about to let loose on the poor the most terrible of vices, as if it could possibly reach a greater height than it had raged at for a long time past. Lords Hervey, Gower, and Chesterfield painted the consequences of the measure in the most frightful colours, yet, when the last nobleman saw the whole bench of bishops voting with the opposition on this occasion, he could not help sarcastically exclaiming, "I am in doubt whether I have not got on the other side of the question, for I have not had the honour to divide with so many lawn sleeves for several years." The bill was carried entire, and Smollett adds, "We cannot help averring that it has not been attended with those dismal consequences which the lords in the opposition foretold."

There was another attempt to prosecute the inquiry into the administration of Walpole, but it resulted in showing that the time for this had entirely gone by. Mr. Waller moved for this inquiry, and Sir Watkin Wynn seconded it; but it was rejected by an overwhelming majority. It was next sought to condemn the conduct of Walpole, by bringing in a bill to secure the independence of corporations, on the ground that Walpole had, according to the secret committee, prosecuted and done all that he could to injure mayors of such as had resisted his measures; but this also was rejected.

The business of the session now hastened to its close. Votes were given for forty thousand seamen and eleven thousand marines; for sixteen thousand British troops in Flanders, and twenty-three thousand for guards and garrisons at home. For the year's supplies six millions of pounds were voted, and then parliament was prorogued on the 21st of April. In doing this, George told the houses that he had ordered his army to pass the Rhine to support the queen of Hungary. No sooner had parliament closed, than George, accompanied by his son, the duke of Cumberland, and lord Carteret, hastened off to Germany. The pacific cardinal Fleury had died the preceding January, and that check which he had so long imposed on the martial spirit of France was withdrawn. The young king, absorbed by his own pleasures, left public affairs to his ministers, who were now count D'Argenson, as minister of war, and cardinal Tencin, an ambitious priest of an indifferent character, and who was strongly devoted to the interests of the Stuart family. His sister, Madame de Tencin, who had been a nun, but had soon found conventual restraints totally opposed to her tastes, led a gay and dissipated life, having generally more than one paramour. Chief in her favour had for a long time been Bolingbroke, who was strongly asserted to be, by her, the father of the celebrated revolutionary philosopher, D'Alembert. Bolingbroke had now quitted France and returned to England, where he located himself near Battersea, and still drew round him, and secretly pointed, the efforts of the opposition; but he had long abandoned in disgust the party of the pretender.

Under D'Argensen and Tencin a new stimulus was given to the war. The rebuff which the French arms had met with in Germany, roused them to make fresh efforts. The army of De Broglie, in the command of which he had superseded Maillebois, had retreated to the banks of the Neckar, and their unfortunate ally, the old elector of Bavaria, but now emperor of Germany, a sovereign deprived of his only territory of Bavaria, and destitute of revenue, had taken refuge in the free city of Frankfort-on-Maine. Voltaire, in his "Twelfth Night Verses" for this year, ridiculed the position of the various exiled kings. "The Epiphany; or, Twelfth day," is, in French, called *Le Jour de Rois*, the Day of Kings; and the witty infidel seized on this idea to laugh at the pretender, rejected by England, telling his beads in Italy; Stanislaus, ex-king of Poland, smoking pipes in Austrasia; the emperor beloved of the French living at an inn in Franconia; and the beautiful queen of Hungary laughing at this epiphany.

The forces which France sent under marshal de Noailles to support Broglie, only arrived just in time. Broglie, keenly pursued by the brave Hungarian cavalry, was still in anxious retreat, when a detachment of the troops of Noailles, twelve thousand in number, came up. He then faced about and endeavoured to keep in check the Austrians under prince Charles of Lorraine. The British army, which the king had ordered to march from Flanders into Germany, to aid the Austrians, had set out at the end of February. They were commanded by lord Stair, and on their route were joined by several Austrian regiments under the duke of Aremberg and the sixteen thousand Hanoverians in British pay, which had wintered at Liege. They marched so slowly that they only crossed the Rhine in the middle of May. They halted at Hochst, betwixt Mayence and Frankfort, awaiting the six thousand Hanoverians in electoral pay, and by an equal number of Hessians, who had been garrisoning the fortresses of Flanders, but who were now relieved by Dutch troops. Stair had now forty thousand men, and might easily have seized the emperor at Frankfort. All parties had respected, however, the neutrality of Frankfort, and Stair did the same, probably because the emperor, having no subjects to ransom him, might have proved rather a burden on his hands, than of any advantages in prosecuting the war.


GEORGIVS·II·D·G·MAGN·BRIT·FR·ET·HIB·REX·FID·DEF·
D. HAESLING F.
LIBERTAS·FAVORE·DEI·ET·VIRTUTE·MILITIS·RESTITVTA
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MEDAL STRUCK IN COMMEMORATION OF THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN.

De Noailles, on his part, had sixty thousand men, independent of the twelve thousand furnished to Broglie. He kept an active eye on the motions of the allied army, and as Stair encamped on the northern bank of the Maine, he also passed the Rhine and encamped on the southern bank of the Maine. The two camps lay only four leagues from each other, presenting a most anomalous aspect. There was still no declaration of war. France had still its ambassador at London, and England at Paris, yet they were fighting against each other as auxiliaries. A ridiculous situation, as Horace Walpole truly styled it, saying, "We had the name of war with Spain without the thing, and war with France without the name!"

The genius of lord Stair was anything but military, and soon led him into a dilemma. Instead of waiting, as he had first determined, for the reinforcements of Hessians and Hanoverians, he recalled the forces which he had sent across the Maine, and advanced up the river on the same side as the French, with the intention of drawing supplies from Franconia. He advanced to Aschaffenburg, which he reached on the 16th of June; but Noailles had rapidly followed him, and adroitly seized on the fords of both the Upper and Lower Maine, thus cutting off Stair both from his own stores at Hanau, and from the expected supplies of Franconia. At this critical moment king George arrived at the camp, and found Noailles lying in a strong position near Gross Ostheim, and Stair cooped up with his army in a narrow valley betwixt the wild and hilly forest of Spessart, which extends from Aschaffenburg to Dettingen and the river Maine. To render his case the more desperate, he had quarrelled with Aremberg, who had let him pursue his march alone; and Stair now lay, with only thirty-seven thousand men, in the very grasp, as it were, of Noailles and his sixty thousand men. The Hessians and Hanoverians had now reached Hanau, and had Stair lain still there, he would have had them united to his army. As it was, they were not only prevented joining him, but were in danger of being surrounded and taken by the French. "England is famous for negligence," Marlborough had said in one of his letters, but the fact was never more conspicuous than now. The position of the English army was enough to have driven troops of any less determined nation to despair. They were not only hemmed in between the Spessart woods and the Maine, with a superior army ready to attack them, move which way they would, but they were totally cut off from supplies, and so destitute of forage, that in two more days they must sacrifice their horses.

In this awkward dilemma the king resolved to cut his way through the French, superior as they were, and regain communication with their magazines and their auxiliaries at Hanau. But Noailles was closely watching their movements; and being aware of what was intended, took instant measures to prevent the retreat. He immediately advanced from their front to their rear; threw two bridges over the Maine at Selingenstadt, and dispatched his nephew, the duke de Grammont, to secure the defile of Dettingen, through which the English must pass in their retreat. He also raised strong batteries on the opposite bank of the Maine, so as to play on the English as they marched along the river. These preparations being unknown to the English, and still supposing Noailles' principal force lay betwixt them and Aschaffenburg, instead of betwixt them and Dettingen, on the 27th of June, at daybreak, the king struck his tents, and the march on Dettingen began. George showed a stout heart in the midst of these startling circumstances, and the soldiers, having the presence of their king, were full of spirits. George took up his position in the rear of his army, expecting the grand attack to come from that quarter; but presently he beheld his advanced posts repulsed from Dettingen, and the French troops pouring over the bridge of the Maine. He then perceived that Noailles had anticipated their movements, and galloping to the head of his column, he reversed the order of his march, placing the infantry in front and the cavalry in the rear. His right extended to the bosky hills of the Spessart, and his left to the river. He saw at once the difficulty of their situation. Grammont occupied a strong position in the village of Dettingen, which was covered by a swamp and a ravine. There was no escape but by cutting right through De Grammont's force, no easy matter; and whilst they were preparing for the charge, the batteries of the French on the opposite bank of the Maine, of which they were previously unaware, began to play murderously on their flank. With this unpleasant discovery came at the same instant the intelligence that Noailles had secured Aschaffenburg in their rear, with twelve thousand men, and was sending fresh reinforcements to De Grammont in front. Thus they were completely hemmed in by the enemy, who were confidently calculating on the complete surrender of the British army, and the capture of the king.

George and his soldiers, however, lost no atom of heart; they determined to cut a way through the enemy or die on the ground; and luckily at this moment the enemy committed almost as great an error as Stair had before. Noailles quitted his post in front of the king's army, and crossed the Maine bridge to give some further orders on that side; and no sooner did he depart than his nephew, De Grammont, eager to seize the glory of defeating the English, and not aware that the whole British army were at that moment about to bear down upon him, ordered his troops to cross the ravine in their front, and assault the English on their own side. The order was executed, and had instantly the unforeseen effect of silencing their own batteries on the other side of the river, for, by this movement, the French came directly betwixt their fire and the English, which it had been till that moment mercilessly mowing down.

At this moment, the horse which George II. was riding, taking fright at the noise made by the French in their advance, became unmanageable, and plunged forward furiously, nearly carrying the king into the midst of the French lines. Being, however, stopped just in time, the king dismounted, and placing himself at the head of the British and Hanoverian infantry on the right, he flourished his sword and said, "Now, boys! now for the honour of England! Fire, and behave bravely, and the French will soon run!"

The first charge, however, was not so encouraging. The French made an impetuous onset, and threw the advanced guard of the English into confusion; but the king and his son, the duke of Cumberland, who commanded on the left, and, like his father, took his stand in the front line, displayed the highest courage, and inspired their troops with wonderful courage. The duke of Cumberland was wounded in the leg, but refused to quit the field. The tide of battle was quickly turned, and Noailles, from the other side, saw with astonishment and alarm his troops in action contrary to his plans. He returned in all haste to give fresh support to his soldiers, but it was too late. Gallantly as the French fought, the presence of the king and prince on the other side made the English and Hanoverians irresistible. King, and prince, and army, all showed an enthusiastic courage and steadiness, which bore down everything before it. The dense column of infantry, led on by the king, broke the French ranks, and cut through them with terrible slaughter. Noailles, seeing the havoc, gave a command which completed the disaster. To shield his men, he ordered them to repass the Maine; but a word of retreat, in all such cases, is a word of defeat. The retrograde movement produced dismay and disorder; the whole became a precipitate route. The French were driven in confused masses against the bridges, the bridges were choked up with the struggling throng, and numbers were forced into the river, or jumped in for escape, and were drowned. There was a wild flinging down of arms and a rush to get into the woody hills. Of these fugitives, great numbers were compelled to surrender. The battle, however, did not cease till four o'clock in the afternoon, when the French drew off, leaving the king of England in possession of the field, where he continued till night.

The French had fought with a bravery which must have defeated any but British troops; and their officers, in particular, made stupendous exertions to repair the unfortunate circumstances of the opening battle. The slaughter was therefore in proportion. No less than six thousand on their side were killed, taken, and wounded; amongst them many officers. The allies had betwixt two and three thousand men killed and wounded. Amongst the officers were generals Clayton and Murray killed, the earl of Albemarle and general Huske wounded. Marshal D'Aremberg was also wounded in the shoulder, both he and Stair having shown the greatest bravery during the action. The king was wholly untouched, notwithstanding his unflinching exposure in the very front. Stair, as if to make up for his bad management, was eager to pursue the enemy and complete the route; but the allies had been for some time almost famished. They had neither food, nor drink, nor tents to shelter them, and both they and their horses were in a state of exhaustion, and the French army, as a body, still numerous. It was therefore determined to pursue their way to Hanau, where they had plenty of supplies. In doing this, they were obliged to leave their wounded in the hands of the French, which, notwithstanding their own needs, was not very creditable in conquerors. The French, however, treated them with great humanity.

Such was the battle of Dettingen, equally remarkable for the blunders of the generals and the valour of the men; still more so, as the last battle in which a king of England has commanded in person. At Hanau, the army not only refreshed itself, but was joined by reinforcements, which rendered the allies nearly equal in numbers to the French. Lord Stair, therefore, proposed to pass the Maine, and make a second attack on the enemy. The king, however, would not consent. Stair, with all his bravery, had shown that he was very incautious. He was, moreover, of a most haughty temper, and had quarrelled violently with the Hanoverian officers, and displayed much contempt for the petty German princes. They were, therefore, by no means inclined to second his counsels, though they had fought gallantly at Dettingen. Stair complained loudly of the neglect to follow up the French, and when, some weeks after, Voltaire saw him at the Hague and asked him about the battle, he replied, "I think the French made one mistake and the English two. Yours was, not standing still; and ours—first, in entangling ourselves in a most perilous position; and secondly, in failing to pursue our victory."

The best excuse for George II.'s apparent sluggishness was, that the French were now so closely pressed by concentrating armies. Prince Charles of Lorraine and the Austrians were pressing De Broglie so hotly that he was glad to escape over the Rhine near Manheim; and Noailles, thus finding himself betwixt two hostile armies, followed his example, crossed over the Rhine to Worms, where, uniting with Broglie, they retreated to their own frontier at Lauter, and thus the empire was cleared of them.

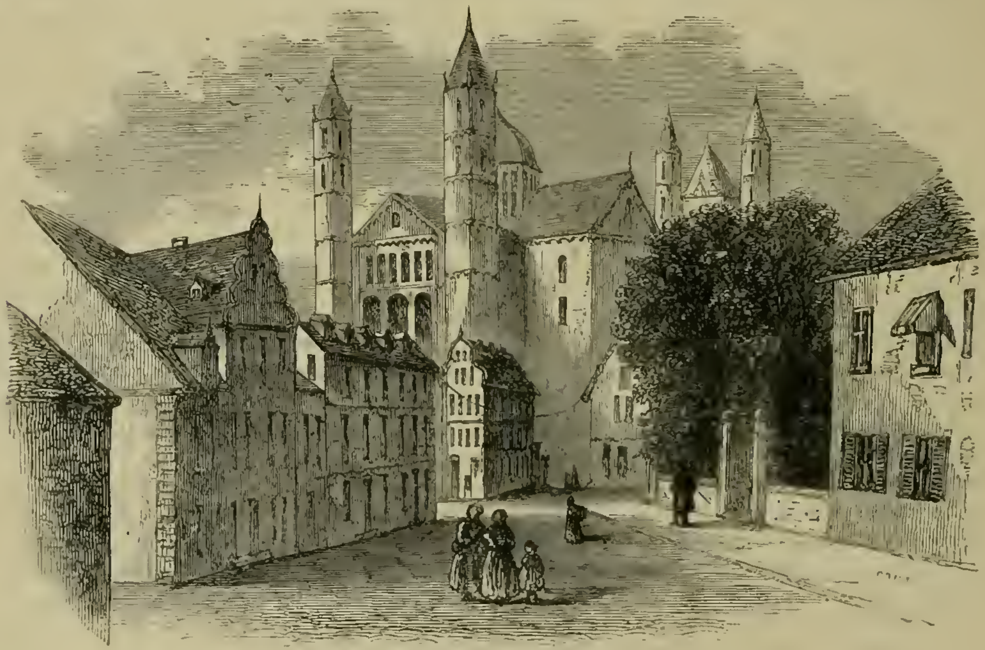
The emperor Charles now suffered the fate which he may be said to have richly deserved, by his long infatuation of aiding the French to commit their depredations, and continue these invasions of his native Germany. He had lost his crown of Bavaria to the Austrians; his title of emperor of Germany was an empty sound; he was left without a friend or ally, except the French, who, themselves in retreat, sent him word that France could do nothing more for him. He was a miserable, deserted object, destitute of the ordinary necessaries of life. Noailles, before retreating farther, had, indeed, made him a passing visit, and lent him forty thousand crowns to keep him from starvation; and Stair also paid his respects to him after the battle. Reduced to extremities, the last spark of spirit which he showed was when De Broglie sent him word that he had better make peace, to which he returned the answer, that he would not be taught how to make peace by those who had shown that they did not know how to make war.

Yet he did, immediately after, solicit for peace from Austria through the mediation of George of England and prince William of Hesse. But Maria Theresa, now helped out of all her difficulties by English money and English soldiers, was not inclined to listen to any moderate terms, even when proposed by her benefactor, the king of England. The emperor was down, and she proposed nothing less than that he should permanently cede Bavaria to her, or give up the imperial crown to her husband. Such terms were not to be listened to; but the fallen emperor finally did conclude a treaty of neutrality with the queen of Hungary, by which he consented that Bavaria should remain in her hands till the conclusion of a peace. This peace the king of England and William of Hesse did their best to accomplish; and Carteret, who was agent for king George, had consented that on this peace England should grant a subsidy of three hundred thousand crowns to the emperor. No sooner, however, did the English ministers receive the preliminaries of this contract, than they very properly struck out this subsidy, and the whole treaty fell to the ground.

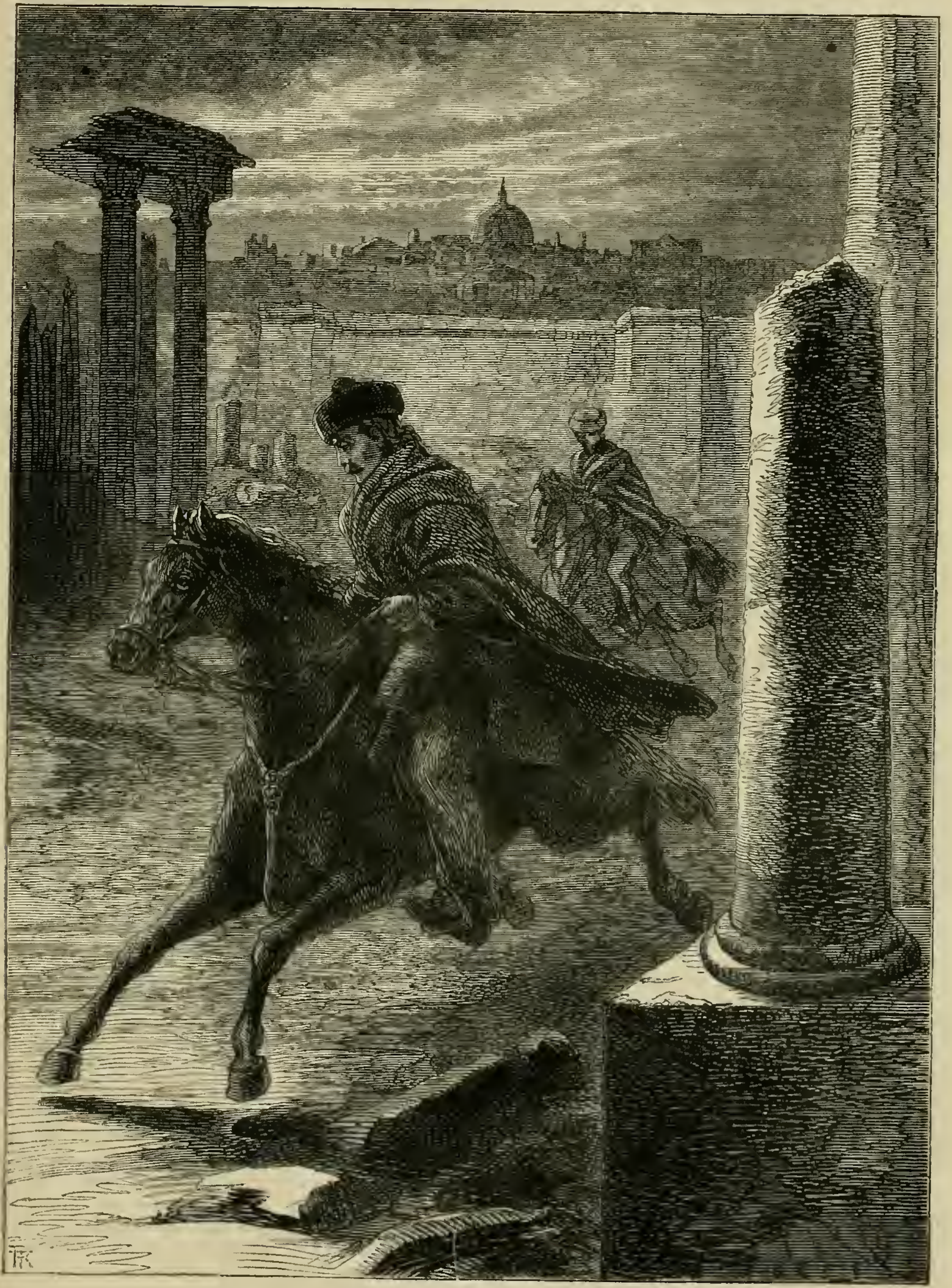
Meanwhile, in the camp of the allies at Hanau, not merely this treaty had been in agitation, but councils of war were held for the prosecution of the campaign. Prince Charles of Lorraine and count Khevenhöller were present, and the arguments of Stair, that the enemy should be briskly pursued, for a time prevailed. The battle of Dettingen had raised the expectations of the allies to a high pitch, and accordingly both the king of England and the prince of Lorraine crossed the Rhine, and took up their separate positions on the left bank of that river, George at Worms and the prince near Breisach. There, however, the difference of councils again prevailed. Stair urged active advance on the French, the German generals advised delay, considering the season too far spent, or the French too strong for any decided advantage over them. This threw Stair into the most violent anger. He complained loudly of the continual disregard of his advice, and he proceeded so far as to address a memorial to the king, asserting that everything was sacrificed to Hanoverian councils, and tendering his resignation. This was immediately accepted, the king showing his indignation at the language of the memorial. The duke of Marlborough, second in command, and other English officers, however, shared the sentiments of Stair, and threw up their commissions in avowed disgust at the selfishness and overbearing conduct, as well as slowness, of the Hanoverian generals, who were all-powerful with the king. These officers hastened home in high dudgeon, and the king did not stay long after them. In this confusion the campaign closed, and the British troops were sent again into Flanders for the winter.

Before quitting Germany, however, George had signed a treaty betwixt himself, Austria, and Sardinia, in which Italian affairs were determined. The Spaniards under count Gages and the infant Don Philip had made some attempts against the Austrians in Italy, but with little effect. By the present treaty, signed at Worms on the 13th of September, the king of Sardinia engaged to assist the allies with forty-five thousand men, and to renounce his pretensions to the Milanese, on condition that he should command the allied army in Italy in person, should receive the cession of Vigevenasco and the other districts from Austria, and a yearly subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds from England. This was also negotiated by lord Carteret on the part of king George, and without much reference to the ministers in England, who, on receiving the treaty, expressed much dissatisfaction, but, as it was signed, they let it pass. But there was another and separate convention, by which George agreed to grant the queen of Hungary a subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds per annum, not only during the war, but as long as the necessity of her affairs required it. This not being signed, the English ministers refused to assent to it, and it remained unratified.

In all these transactions Carteret showed the most facile disposition to gratify all the Hanoverian tendencies of the king, in order to ingratiate himself and secure the premiership at home. But in this he did not succeed; he was much trusted by George in foreign affairs, and in them he remained. Lord Wilmington, prime minister, had died two months before the signing of the treaty at Worms, and the competitors for his office were Pelham, brother of the duke of Newcastle, and Pulteney. Pelham was supported by Newcastle, lord chancellor Hardwicke, and still more powerfully by the old minister under whom he had been trained—lord Orford, who, though out of office, was consulted in everything relating to it. Pulteney and Pelham had both, according to their friends, neglected the necessary steps for succeeding Wilmington. Pulteney had declined any office, vainly hoping that his great popularity would enable him to guide public affairs. His friends reminded him that, had he taken the treasury on Walpole's



VIEW IN THE CITY OF WORMS.



FLIGHT OF PRINCE CHARLES FROM ROME.

resignation, he would now have been still at the helm. Pelham's great adviser, lord Orford, said to him, "If you had taken my advice, and held the exchequer under Wilmington, the whole had dropped into your mouth." Pelham, however, received the appointment from the king, and this was communicated in a letter from Carteret, who candidly told him that, as the old friend and colleague of Pulteney, lord Bath, he had done all in his power to secure the office for him, but now he would support Pelham cordially, notwithstanding.

Pelham was at this period forty-seven years of age, of far inferior talent to Orford, but pursued his cautious principles and acted under his advice. It was necessary for the king at this juncture, when the English generals were incensed against the Hanoverian officers, that he should have a powerful majority in the commons. This he could not expect with the unpopular Pulteney, but Pelham, supported by all the adherents of both Newcastle and Orford, might carry him through. Orford gave Pelham the most able advice. "Gain time," he said, "strengthen yourself, and enter into no hasty engagements." To strengthen himself he found places for his friend Henry Fox, and for lord Middlesex, the friend of the prince of Wales. He bestowed the post of paymaster of the forces, which he now vacated, on lord Winnington, and assuming that of chancellor of the exchequer, he satisfied Sandys, who held it, by a peerage and a place in the household. In December the lords Gower and Cobham resigned in disgust, because the Hanoverian troops were still retained, and Pelham then gave the privy seal, which Gower had held, to lord Cholmondeley, though Bath strained every nerve to procure it for lord Carlisle.

The course of events co-operated with Pelham. At this juncture died lord Hervey and the duke of Argyll, by which the opposition was greatly weakened in the house of peers. Argyll had forfeited much of his once great reputation by his frequent changes, and by his late Jacobite tendencies; but his brother, the earl of Isla, who succeeded him, was a far meaner character. He was of a singularly base mind, and his countenance, according to Sir Hanbury Williams, denoted it.

On the return of the king and Carteret, parliament was opened on the 1st of December. The first trial of the opposition was on the address, on which occasion its real strength was not called forth, and this was carried by two hundred and seventy-eight votes against one hundred and forty-nine. But the subject of Hanoverian troops and Hanoverian measures soon displayed its extent and virulence. There was a vehement feeling against everything relating to Hanover, and Pitt lost no time in denouncing Carteret and his measures in the most bitter terms. On the very first night of the session he declared that he was "an execrable, a sole minister, who seemed to have drunk of the potion which poets described, as causing men to forget their country." On a subsequent occasion he denominated him "the Hanover troop minister," a "flagitious task-master," with the sixteen thousand Hanoverians as his placemen, and with no other party. The thunder of Pitt was echoed by others, and the scene in the commons was described by a spectator as like nothing but a tumultuous Polish Diet.

There was a determined resolve to force the dismissal o the Hanoverian troops, though France, irritated by the treaty of Worms, determined now no longer to act as auxiliaries merely, but to declare hostilities against both Austria and England, and take the field with still increased forces. Night after night the Hanoverian troops and Hanoverian measures were attacked by motions of varied form but like intent, and by speeches of the most outspoken character. The ministerial majorities betrayed a strong feeling on the subject, even amongst the supporters of government, whilst the public out of doors were fiercely inflamed against Hanover, bestowing on that electorate the deepest execrations. Toasts of "No Hanoverian King!" were heard in companies which were usually styled loyal, and Carteret received the full, concentrated abuse of the whole kingdom. He was accused of being a traitor, a drunkard, and a madman. "He is never sober," wrote Horace Walpole, "and his rants are amazing, but so are his parts and his spirit." Carte, the Jacobite historian, wrote to the pretender that Carteret was doing infinite service to his cause, and had been absurd enough to boast openly that it was impossible to govern England except by corruption.

Such was the ferment amid which opened the year 1744. The furious storm which was raging against everything Hanoverian, quailed ministers. Pelham was afraid of standing up for the continuance of the foreign troops, and his brother, the duke of Newcastle, was, from a zealous advocate for them, converted into as zealous an opponent of them. At this crisis lord Orford, roused by the danger, when France was not only preparing for a determined war, but was again encouraging an invasion by the pretender, suddenly quitted his retreat at Houghton, at the urgent request of the king, and appeared in his place in the house of lords. Though he had been a member of that house for some time, he had never spoken there, declaring to his brother Horace that he had left his tongue in the house of commons; he now determined to break silence. It was time; except Carteret, all the other ministers had come to the conclusion that it was necessary to drop all mention of the foreign troops, and to sacrifice the king's honour by leaving unvoted the money necessary for the foreign subsidies. Orford first exerted his influence with the cabinet. He commended the firmness of Carteret, he encouraged Pelham and the rest of the timid members of the privy council. He reminded them of the statement of the king to both houses on the 18th of February; that he had received intelligence of unquestionable truth, that the pretender's eldest son had arrived in Paris, and was concerting an invasion under engagement of the French government, to support him with a fleet. Having revived their drooping courage, he then rose in the house of peers; and though suffering under an acute disease, he spoke with an animation which never was surpassed in his best years. He declared that he could never have believed that it would be necessary for him to appear amongst them on such an occasion as that; that he should be called upon to remind their lordships and the country of their danger, and their obligations to their king and the nation. Nothing but the wind, he declared, had at this moment preserved us from an invasion. "I have indeed," he continued, "particular reasons to express my astonishment and my own uneasiness. I feel my breast fired with the warmest gratitude to a gracious and royal master, whom I have so long served; my heart overflows with zeal for his honour, and ardour for the lasting security of his illustrious house. But, my lords, the danger is common; an invasion equally involves all our happiness, all our hopes, and all our fortunes. It cannot be thought consistent with the wisdom of your lordships to be employed in determining private property when the security of the whole kingdom demands your attention; when it is not known that at this instant the enemy has not set foot on our coast, is ravaging our country with fire and sword, and threatening us with no less than extirpation and servitude."

Walpole never presented so noble and patriotic a figure in the whole long and remarkable career of statesmanship. This speech had an instantaneous effect on the whole house. The prince of Wales, forgetting his deep enmity of many years, quitted his seat, and, taking Walpole by the hand, expressed his gratitude. He declared that had not lord Orford come to town, the foreign troops would have been lost, and the country left exposed to the most imminent danger. Not another word was said, even by the opposition, about the Hanoverian troops; all joined to ward off the common danger. Pitt, who had been so noted, led the way, and voted for measures of defence. The duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding his recent resignation, hastened up to London to move a loyal address in the peers. The earl of Stair forgot in an instant all his complaints, and offered his services in any station; and his offer was met in a corresponding spirit—he was immediately again appointed commander-in-chief. The Jacobites, who were expecting a speedy demonstration of their party, had the sense to avoid any open opposition in parliament, and, in consequence, the supplies were promptly voted. The extraordinary sum of ten millions of pounds was granted for the year, including the subsidies of three hundred thousand pounds to Austria, and two hundred thousand pounds to Sardinia.

Lord Orford, having rendered so great a service to his country, retired again to Houghton, oppressed with disease and anxiety for the fate of the nation. The *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended for two months. A bill was brought in by the opposition, providing that the penalties for correspondence with the pretender should be extended to correspondence with his children; and on reaching the peers two additional clauses were added on the lord chancellor's motion—one to attaint the sons of the pretender in case of their attempting to land, and the other to extend the penalties of the act to the posterity of those who should be convicted under it, during the lifetime of both the young pretenders. Both of these clauses passed, the first unanimously, the second not without strong opposition, especially from the duke of Bedford and lord Chesterfield in the peers, and from Pitt and lord Strange in the commons. The magistrates of Edinburgh offered themselves six thousand pounds for the apprehension of the pretender or his eldest son.

A proclamation was issued, enforcing the laws against papists and non-jurors. Lord Barrymore and colonel Cecil were arrested and examined, but they were soon again released. Troops were sent by forced marches to the southern coast, and an express dispatch to Holland for the six thousand auxiliaries stipulated for by treaty. Loyal addresses poured in from all quarters, but not so the more essential requisite of men. Only seven thousand Englishmen could be assembled in arms for the defence of the capital and the neighbouring counties. On the other hand, the preparations of the Jacobites were never more extensive and complete. A modern historian asserts that the fate of England at this juncture "hung suspended on the winds and waves." Fortunately it depended on a higher Power, whom the winds and the waves obey. And as it was said of the Spanish Armada, so of these dangers—AFFLAVIT DEUS, ET DISSIPANTUR.

Preparations had been making for the invasion of this country for some years. The Scottish Jacobites, disregarding the miserable failure of 1715, had in 1740 entered into an association to promote the return of the Stuarts. Amongst these were the notorious Simon Frazer, called lord Lovat, lord James Drummond, titular duke of Perth, lord Traquair, lord John Drummond, uncle to the duke of Perth, John Stuart, brother to lord Traquair, Sir John Campbell of Auchinbrech, Cameron of Lochiel, Drummond of Bohaldie, and others. This act of association, together with the names of such Highland chiefs as they thought would join the standard of the pretender if accompanied by a French force, was sent by Bohaldie to James, who approved of the proceeding, and sent Drummond of Bohaldie with the papers to cardinal Fleury, urging him to furnish the required aid. Fleury was averse to the enterprise, but two years after, the war on the continent having broken out, and England being active in assisting Austria against France and her allies, the French court showed a decided disposition to undertake it as a means of checking English interference in Germany. Bohaldie was then sent to the Scottish Jacobites, to assure them that if they could satisfy France that the Jacobites of England were as ready as themselves for a demonstration, she would send over thirteen thousand men, three thousand to be landed in Scotland, and ten thousand in England near London, under Marshal Saxe, a natural son of the late Augustus, king of Poland, and one of the best officers in the French service. With him prince Charles, the pretender's eldest son, was to come. Drummond held communication with the noblemen and gentlemen already named, who, joined by others, now styled themselves "The Concert of Gentlemen for managing the king's affairs in Scotland." From them he received the strongest assurances of the support of the scheme on this side of the water; but it does not appear that the English Jacobites were as ready to commit themselves as the Scotch, and nothing came of it during Fleury's life. After his death, however, cardinal Tencin, having come into power, appeared more earnest in the matter. His agents, and those of the Scotch Jacobites, were travelling to and fro betwixt this country, France, and Rome, to hasten the crisis. Tencin sent Murray of Broughton to James in Rome, to desire him to send his eldest son, prince Charles, to France to be in readiness for the campaign of England. The old pretender, who had grown cautious with years, doubted this step till something more decided warranted it. The English Jacobites had, when urged to prepare themselves, given very little assurance of earnestness in the matter; and James wrote to Tencin, saying that, if the French court were bent on the expedition, it would be more prudent to defer the journey of the prince till it was actually ready to set out; otherwise, it would at once excite the attention of England, and induce it to make every preparation to defeat the invasion. This was sound advice, and the French government, accordingly, acted upon it by beginning to draw together at Dunkirk fifteen thousand veterans under marshal Saxe. A great number of transports were collected in the channel, and fifteen ships of the line were ready in the harbours of Rochefort and Brest to protect them. These preparations being notified to James, on the 23rd of December, 1743, he put his signature to various important acts. Amongst these were a proclamation to the British people, to be issued on landing; a commission, declaring prince Charles his regent, with full powers; and a patent, creating lord Lovat duke of Frazer, and royal lieutenant in all the counties north of Spey.

Prince Charles now set out from Rome on the night of the 9th of January, 1744. To escape observation, he gave out that he was going to hunt the boar in the Pontine Marshes and the wilds of the Maremma, as he was used to do at that season. He took with him only one attendant, and, disguising himself as a Spanish courier, he gave to his follower the dignity of a Spanish secretary. It was necessary to use all this precaution, because the king of Sardinia would be ready to seize him on land, and the British admiral, Matthews, by sea. The secret was not even imparted to his younger brother, Henry, for some days. He travelled day and night, reached Savona, and, running in a small boat through the British fleet, in imminent danger of being stopped, he arrived safe at Antibes. Thence he rode post to Paris, where he arrived on the 20th. That same day his father announced the fact of his son's departure and its object at his table, and received the congratulations of his family. On the 29th a secret letter was dispatched to the English government by one of its agents in Rome, giving all the particulars of the prince's departure.

Charles had set out in great exultation, in the assurance that at length France was in earnest in the cause of his family. He was therefore proportionately disappointed and chagrined when, notwithstanding the most earnest entreaties, he was not permitted by the king to have audience of him. Louis, whilst actively moving in his favour, was to the last moment avoiding the appearance of it. He received the best advice, however, of the banished earl marischal, one of the wisest and most zealous of the Stuart supporters, and of lord Elcho, an equally zealous but secret adherent. He then proceeded to Gravelines, to be ready for the expedition. There he for the first time beheld the white cliffs of the glorious island which his family had lost by its bigotry and despotism, and which he now trusted to regain. He was obliged, however, to maintain the strictest incognito, being attended only by Drummond of Bohaldie, and passing himself as the chevalier Douglas. In his letters to his father he describes the anxious secrecy which he maintained, in constant apprehension that some one should recognise his features. "I often think," he says, "that you would laugh heartily if you saw me going about with a single servant, buying fish and other things, and squabbling for a penny, more or less. . . . Everybody," he added, "is wondering where the prince is. Some put him in one place, and some in another, but nobody knows where he is really; and sometimes he is told news of himself to his face which is very diverting." He was soon, however, joined by the earl marischal, who meant to accompany the expedition to Scotland.

The expedition against England was at this moment actually in motion. The squadrons of Brest and Rochefort were already united under the command of admiral Roquefeuille, and sailing up the channel to clear the way for the transports containing the soldiers. Sir John Norris had been appointed admiral of our channel fleet, consisting of twenty-one ships of the line. Norris had, according to the duchess of Marlborough, lingered when ordered to waylay the Spanish West India fleet, but then he had the excuse of bad weather; now, he had no obstacle. He had lain at Spithead, but had quitted that station and sailed into the Downs, where he was joined by other ships from Chatham; and thus was not only superior in number to the French, but had the advantage of being well acquainted with the coasts, he having long been captain of Deal Castle. Roquefeuille sailed right up to the Isle of Wight, and, observing no vessels off Spithead, he, in his French egotism, concluded that the fleet had sought shelter in Portsmouth harbour. He therefore lost no time in dispatching a small vessel to Dunkirk to hasten on his armament. Seven thousand men were instantly sent on board transports, and the prince and marshal Saxe accompanied them. Roquefeuille, meantime, proceeding on his voyage, came to anchor off Dungeness, which he had no sooner done than he beheld the British fleet bearing down upon him in much greater force than his own, for he had only fifteen ships of the line and five frigates. The destruction of the French fleet appeared inevitable, but Sir John Norris this time justly incurred the censure of lingering. He thought, from the state of the tide and the approach of night, it was better to defer the attack till morning; and, when morning came, no Frenchmen were to be seen. The French admiral, much more active than poor old Sir John, had slipped his cables and made the best of his way homewards.

The next day, that Providence which has on so many occasions defeated the attempts to invade "the inviolate island of the brave and free," sent out His tempests and scattered the approaching transports. Sir John thought the storm quite sufficient excuse for not pursuing; but the winds pursued the invaders, and blowing furiously direct from London towards Dunkirk, scattered the French transports, sunk some of the largest of them with all their men, wrecked others on the coast, and made the rest glad to recover their port. Charles waited impatiently for the cessation of the tempest to put to sea again, but the French ministers were discouraged by the disaster, and by the discovery of so powerful a British fleet in the channel. The army was withdrawn from Dunkirk, marshal Saxe was appointed to the command in Flanders, and the expedition for the present was relinquished.

Charles, extremely chagrined at this turn of affairs, dispatched a message to the earl marischal to join him at Gravelines, and there proposed that they should not trouble themselves to wait any longer on French armaments, but should sail together and raise Scotland. The earl marischal was too prudent to consent to any such project; and the prince then, losing all patience, declared that he would not remain idle, but go and fight against the usurper in Flanders. The earl marischal resisted this project more energetically than the former one. He justly represented that entering the French ranks against his own countrymen would for ever ruin all his hopes of regaining them as subjects. This advice, admirable as it was, put the climax to the young man's indignation. He wrote in severe terms to his father of the conduct of the earl marischal, and returned to Paris. Before this he had summoned the duke of Ormonde from Avignon to join the expedition; and the old man, now eighty years of age, was already on his way when the news of the failure met him, and he returned. Charles was directed by the king of France to maintain the strictest privacy whilst in Paris, and he accordingly took a house within a league of the town, where he lived, as he said, like a hermit. His incognito was, nevertheless, soon broken by his gossiping adherents, and he was compelled to seek occasionally the seclusion of Fitz-James, the seat of the duke of Berwick, where he could enjoy field sports.

Soon after the retreat of Roquefeuille, the six thousand Dutch troops landed, fresh troops were raised at home, and the coasts put into a better state of defence. The designs of France, frustrated on land, were still in part prosecuted at sea. It had been arranged that whilst Roquefeuille was engaged with the channel fleet, there should be a union of the Toulon fleet with the French squadron in the Mediterranean against the English fleet there under admiral Matthews. It was hoped by this simultaneous attack to annihilate our maritime power. Accordingly, the French and Spaniards having joined, they came to an engagement with Matthews off Toulon on the 22nd of February. The English were superior in number of ships, but those were foul from the time they had been at sea, and, what was worse, there was a deadly feud betwixt Matthews and his second in command, admiral Lestock. Matthews with his division gallantly bore down on the Spanish flag-ship of one hundred and fourteen guns, and the engagement was continued till night separated the combatants. The Spanish flag-ship was reduced to a mere wreck, the "Royal Philip" was disabled, and the "Padua" was burnt by the English. But all this time Lestock had held himself and his section of the fleet aloof, leaving Matthews to bear the brunt of battle. Matthews loudly complained, and evidently with great justice, of this conduct of Lestock, declaring that it was done purposely and maliciously; Lestock replying that Matthews' signals were so confused that he did not know what to do. The next day the combined squadrons retired, and then Lestock gave chase, followed by the whole fleet; but just as he was coming up with the enemy, Matthews signalled him to give up the pursuit. This Lestock complained, with equal justice, was done by Matthews from jealousy and resentment. Matthews treated Lestock with much indignity—suspended him from his command, and sent him to England for trial. But Matthews himself was very soon summoned to England, and the conduct of both parties subjected to inquiry. The house of commons interfered with the proceedings of the court-martial, where conflicting opinions ran high; but at length the court-martial acquitted Lestock, and declared Matthews for ever incapable of serving his majesty again. Some commanders of ships were also cashiered. To an impartial judgment at the present time, both admirals were culpable, but Lestock the most so, for being the first to sacrifice the interests of his country to his private pique; and this view is confirmed by Smollett, a competent judge, who pronounces Matthews brave, open, and undisguised, but proud, imperious, and precipitate; and Lestock, though brave and cool, yet cunning and vindictive. The English did not alone suffer from the quarrels of their commanders. The Spaniards complained that the French did not properly support them in the engagement. They claimed the honours of the day, both from the French and the English; and conferred on their admiral, Don Joseph Navarro, the title of marquis de la Vittoria. The French, not conceding the honour, also promoted their admiral.

After these transactions there could no longer remain even the name of peace betwixt France and England. Mr. Thompson, the British resident at Paris, made the most indignant complaints of the hostile proceedings of the French fleets and of the encouragement of the young pretender. The reply to this was a formal declaration of war, couched in the most offensive terms, in the month of March, to which George replied in a counter-declaration, equally strong.

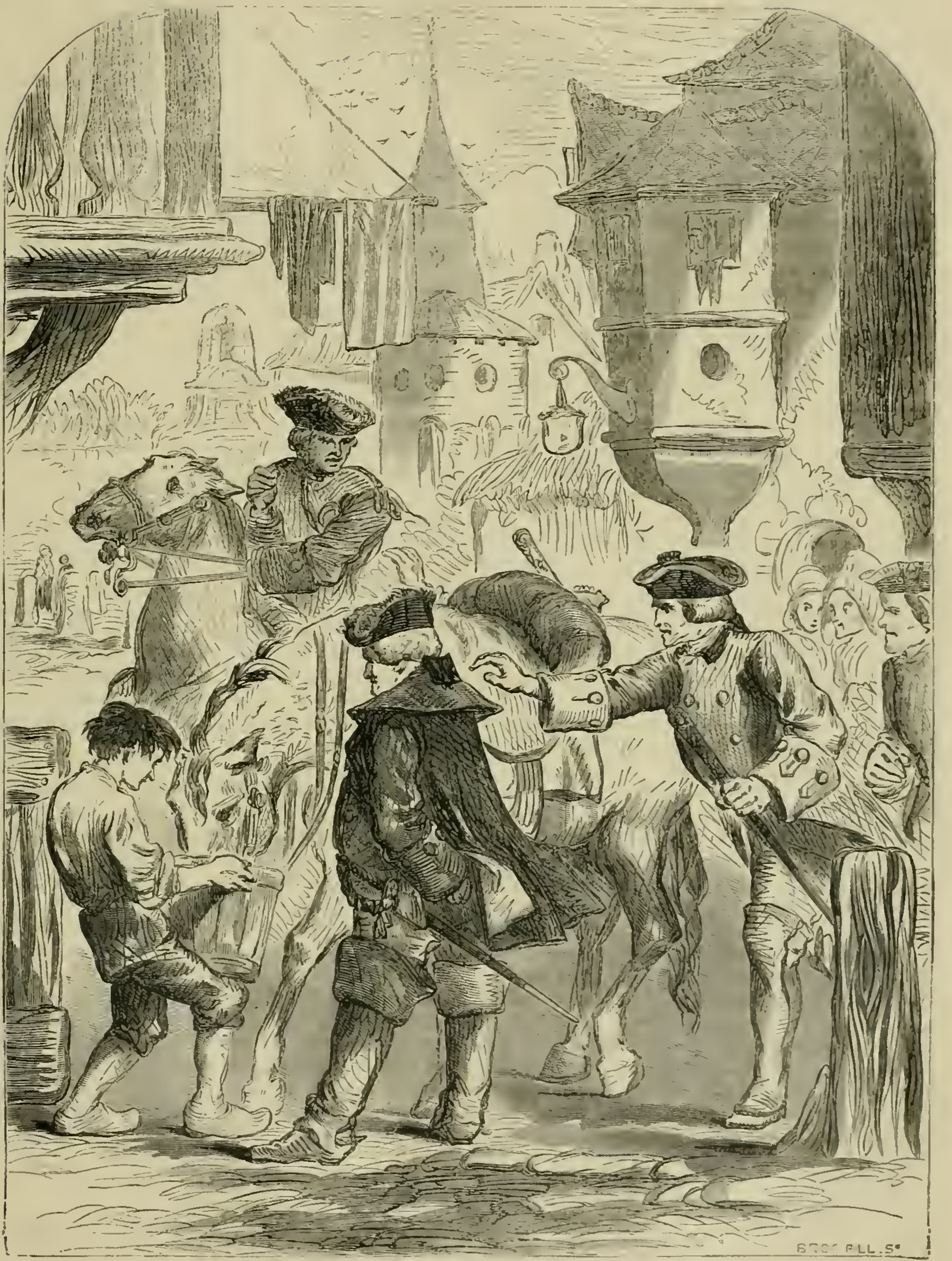
On the 15th of June of this year commodore Anson returned from circumnavigating the globe, and from a voyage in other respects one of the most extraordinary ever made. Having been, as we have seen, sent out to harass the coasts of Chili and Peru, and to co-operate with Vernon for more complete mischief to the Spaniards across the isthmus of Panama, he found his ships not only very unseasonably delayed, but most villanously stored. Those demons in the shape of contractors, commissioners, and others—who have in all ages been the curse of our service, making their infamous gains at the expense of the comfort and lives of our brave seamen—had sent out his squadron in the worst of conditions. In doubling Cape Horn in March, 1741—a season when he had no business in so stormy a region—his store-ship, the "Wager," was wrecked, and the rest of his ships scattered different ways. Anson, however, hardily pursued his way with his only ship, the "Centurion," and in June reached the island of Juan Fernandez, so celebrated as the imaginary scene of Robinson Crusoe's solitary sojourn. The scurvy and other diseases had reduced his crew of nearly five hundred to less than three hundred. At that island he was overtaken by the "Gloucester," a sloop, and a junk laden with provisions. With this small remains of his fleet, and altogether only three hundred and thirty-five men, he pursued his commission and plundered the coasts of the Pacific, burning towns and seizing treasure. As the disasters of Vernon put an end to any operations across Panama, he determined to seize the Manilla galleon, which annually conveyed spices and silver from the Philippine

Islands to Acapulco, in Mexico. For this purpose he had to traverse the whole enormous Pacific, and on the way, finding the "Centurion" and the two other vessels too much for his reduced crews, he destroyed them, and continued his voyage with the "Centurion" alone. After many hardships and adventures he reached China, and anchored at Macao, in the bay of Canton, in November, 1742. He there new-coppered the "Centurion," and at the proper time sailing thence with some fresh seamen, he fell in with the Manilla galleon, and, after a short but sharp contest, took it, though mounting forty guns and carrying six hundred men. The treasure found on board was valued at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds. He sold the ship in China, pursued his way home by the Cape of Good Hope, and after incredible hardships, and passing through the French fleet without seeing it, he reached Spithead on the 15th of June of the present year, 1744. There were great rejoicings on the announcement of his arrival with silver and gold to the amount of a million and a quarter sterling. Anson was made rear-admiral of the fleet; and to show the nation that at length there was a decided triumph over the Spaniards, the whole of this wealth was drawn in procession from Portsmouth to London in thirty wagons, escorted by the ship's crew, preceded by their officers with drawn swords, and with bands playing and flags flying, amongst them those taken from the Spaniards, and conspicuously that of the great galleon itself.

The French having now formally declared war with England, entered on the campaign with Flanders in the middle of May with eighty thousand men, and the king taking the nominal command, in imitation of his great grandfather, Louis XIV. Marshal Saxe was the real commander, and with this able general Louis went on for some time reaping fictitious laurels, as his ostentatious predecessor had done. The king of England expected to see the allies muster seventy-five thousand men—a force nearly equal to that of the French; but the Dutch and Austrians had grievously failed in their stipulated quotas, and the whole army did not exceed fifty thousand. Marshal Wade, the English commander, was a general of considerable experience, but no Marlborough, either in military genius or that self-command which enabled him to bear up against tardy movements and antagonistic tempers of the foreign officers. Wade found all the trying opposition and petty jealousy in the Dutch and Austrian leaders which Marlborough had done, but he had not the patience and firm urbanity by which Marlborough conquered them. Consequently, whilst he had to contend with a very superior force, he was hampered by his coadjutors—lost his temper, and, what was worse, lost battles, too. The French went on, as in Louis XIV.'s time, taking town after town and fortress after fortress. In six weeks they had made themselves masters of Courtray, Menin, Ypres, Fort Knoque, and Furnes, and spread a terrible consternation through the whole of Holland itself.

But this career of victory was destined to receive a check. Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of sixty thousand men, burst into Alsace, and marched without any serious obstacle to the very walls of Strasburg. This diversion was effectual. Louis left Saxe to contend with the allies with half the army, and at the head of the other half marched to the relief of Strasburg. Had the allies been united, they might now have struck a decided blow at the diminished French army; but their feuds were incurable, they continued quarrelling with Wade instead of with Saxe, and thus they did nothing. On the other hand, the hurry of the march towards Alsace overthrew the feeble constitution of the French king. He was seized at Metz with a violent fever, which made so rapid an advance, that in a few days the utmost alarm was entertained for his life. The queen and royal family were summoned in all haste, and expecting scarcely to reach him whilst he was alive, arrived to find the crisis past, and the king recovering. Louis had led a life of mere laziness and voluptuousness, but at the approach of death he became very penitent, dismissed his reigning mistress, Madame de Chateauroux, and promised all sorts of good things to his people. As he recovered, he as quickly returned to the wallowing in the old mire, sent for his mistress back again, and thought no more about the people. The people, who had shown the most sincere concern during his illness, soon came to entertain a juster feeling towards him, and instead of Louis *le Bien Aimé*, as they had called him, grew, as lord Chesterfield observed, to hate and despise him—a thing rarely happening to the same man.

Whilst Louis lay ill at Metz, France received an unexpected relief. Prince Charles was hastily recalled to cope with Frederick of Prussia, who, in violation of his treaty, of public oaths and private promises, had again, in his insatiable cupidity, burst into the territories of Maria Theresa. It is true that this "great" monarch was bound by all the sacred obligations that can be imposed to attempt nothing further against the queen of Hungary; but Frederick was an admiring disciple of Voltaire and the infidel school of France, and on such men all moral restrictions are lost. The successes of Austria had alarmed him, and, apprehensive that Maria Theresa would ere long be attempting to recover Silesia, he, to the delight of France, had made fresh overtures in that quarter, and also encouraged the emperor simultaneously to strike a blow for his lost Bavaria. Frederick burst into Bohemia at the head of sixty thousand men, sending another division of his army into Moravia. He found in Prague a garrison of fifteen thousand men, yet by the 15th of September he had reduced the place, after a ten days' siege. At the same time marshal Seckendorf, the imperial general, entered Bavaria, which was defended only by a small force, and quickly reinstated Charles on the throne of Munich. Vienna itself was in the greatest alarm, lest the enemies uniting should pay it a visit. But this danger was averted by the rapid return of prince Charles of Lorraine from before Strasburg. He had to pass the very front of the French army; nevertheless, he conducted his forces safely and expeditiously to the frontiers of Bohemia, himself hastening to Vienna to consult on the best plan of operations. Maria Theresa again betook herself to her heroic Hungarians, who, at her appeal, once more rushed to her standard; and Frederick, in his turn alarmed, called loudly on the French for their promises of assistance, but called in vain. The French had no desire for another campaign in the heart of Austria. The Prussian invader, therefore, soon found himself menaced on all sides by Austrians, Croatians,



ARREST OF THE DUKE OF BELLEISLE AT ELBINGERODE.

and Hungarian troops, who harassed him day and night, cut off his supplies and his forages, and made him glad to retrace his steps in haste. He abandoned his garrisons at Prague, Tabor, &c., to their fate. That at Prague, under general Einsiedel, would, he imagined, hold out, but they were compelled to march off towards the end of November, pursued and distressed by the enemy. They were obliged to abandon their artillery, and of the eleven thousand men six only reached Silesia in a deplorable condition. Frederick himself had a narrow escape of being made prisoner on his march: he was compelled to take his way through the mountains, insultingly assailed by the people he had invaded, his troops awfully decimated by hardships and the enemy, and reached Silesia in the beginning of December, in a state of befitting retribution for his breach of faith. The defeat, however, had only roused the more doggedly the thirst of revenge and conquest; and whilst his diminished army wintered in Silesia, he hastened to Berlin to raise fresh troops.

A singular fortune befel the two French envoys sent to concert with Frederick of Prussia the plans of war against Austria. On their way they ventured to make a short cut through Hanover, but were discovered and seized at Elbingerode. They turned out to be marshal Belleisle, next to Tencin considered to be the grand promoter of the war, and his brother. They were immediately sent to England, where, refusing to give their parole in the form required, they were committed to close custody in Windsor Castle. The emperor complained of their arrest as a breach of the privileges of the empire, and the prisoners demanded their exchange by cartel, as prisoners of war; but the king declared them to be spies, and detained them as state prisoners. After much negotiation George resolved to refer the question to marshals Stair, Cobham, and Wade, who decided them to be prisoners of war, and they were accordingly exchanged.

The campaign in Italy had been, on the whole, in favour of the French and Spaniards. The prince of Conti entered Piedmont, and joining the Spaniards under the infant Don Philip, they routed the king of Sardinia with great slaughter near the town of Coni. Their success was, notwithstanding, of short duration. They had ruthlessly laid waste the fields of the peasantry, who, burning for vengeance, cut off all their supplies, and attacked them in a desultory but exterminating warfare, which compelled them precipitately to retreat through the Alpine defiles in Savoy. On the other hand, prince Lobkowitz, with thirty-five thousand men, drove the Spaniards from Rimini, and pursued them to the very frontiers of Naples. As they took refuge in the Neapolitan territory, Lobkowitz called on Don Carlos to maintain the neutrality which he had pledged himself to commodore Martin; but Don Carlos, refusing to allow the extermination of his own countrymen, on his side complained of Austrian invasion of his kingdom, and marched twenty thousand Neapolitans to the aid of the Spaniards. The united Spanish and Neapolitan force now considerably outnumbered that of Lobkowitz. The combined army under Don Carlos' own command advanced to Velletri, a large city in the papal territory, where Lobkowitz attempted to surround him, and, if possible, seize his person. On the 10th of August the Austrians set fire to the suburbs of Velletri; but their attack was met with such spirit that they were, the next day, repulsed with great slaughter, and Lobkowitz retreated behind the Po. There he was attacked by famine and malaria, and on the 1st of November recommenced his retreat, pursued by the Spaniards and Neapolitans as far as the Tiber, after which Don Carlos, satisfied with his success, went to pay his respects to the pope, and then marched home again.

In the month of October died the duchess of Marlborough. She had nearly reached her ninetieth year, and had retained all her wit, her causticity, and imperious temper to the last. She had worn out both friends and enemies, and ranked some of her own descendants amongst the worst of them. Pope, who had described her as Atossa, "cursed with every granted prayer, childless with all her children," preceded her to the tomb only by five months. She retained most affection for her dogs, which, she said, had "gratitude, wit, and good sense—things very rare in this country." She bequeathed the mass of her enormous wealth to her grandson, John Spencer, the ancestor of lord Spencer, and also considerable sums to the leaders of the opposition; to lord Chesterfield twenty thousand pounds, and the reversion of an estate at Wimbledon; to Pitt ten thousand pounds, for "preventing the ruin of his country."

On the same day died lady Granville, the mother of lord Carteret, who, by this event, became earl Granville. Carteret—or Granville, as we must now style him—still retained the favour of the king precisely in the same degree as he had forfeited that of the people and the parliament, by his unscrupulous support of all the king's Hanoverian predilections. Elated with the favour of the king, Granville, who was a hard drinker, insisted on exercising the same supreme power in the cabinet which Walpole had done. This drove Pelham and his brother, Newcastle, to inform the king that they or Granville must resign. George, unwilling to part with Granville, yet afraid of offending the Pelham party, and risking their support of the large subsidies which he required for Germany, was in a great strait. He sent for lord Orford up from Houghton, who attended, though in the extreme agonies of the stone, which, in a few months later, brought him to his end. Walpole, notwithstanding the strong desire of the king to retain Granville, and that also of the prince of Wales—who on this and all points connected with Hanover agreed with the king, though on none else—decided that it was absolutely necessary that he should resign; and accordingly, on the 24th of November, Granville sullenly resigned the seals, and they were returned to his predecessor, the earl of Harrington.

The fall of Granville became the revolution of all parties. The Pelhams, in order to prevent his return to the ministry through the partiality of the king, determined to construct a cabinet on what they called a broad bottom—that is, including some of both sections of the whigs, and even some of the tories. They opened a communication with Chesterfield, Gower, and Pitt, and these violent oppositionists were ready enough to obtain place on condition of uniting against Granville and Bath. They agreed that the war should continue, but that some way should be contrived to get rid of directly holding the Hanoverians in pay, on which topic they had been so eloquent. The difficulty was to reconcile the king to them. He had not forgotten Chesterfield's connection with the duchess of Kendal, and his endeavours to bring the suppressed will of his father to light. George would not consent to admit him to any post near his person, but permitted him, after much reluctance, to be named lord lieutenant of Ireland. As for Pitt, he was even more repugnant to the king than Chesterfield, and Pitt, on his part, would accept nothing less than the post of secretary at war. The Pelhams advised him to have patience and they would overcome the king's reluctance; but when they proposed that the tory Sir John Hynde Cotton should have a place, George, in his anger, exclaimed, "Ministers are kings in this country!"—and so they are for the time. After much negotiation and accommodating of interests and parties, the ministry was ultimately arranged as follows:—Lord Hardwicke remained chancellor; Pelham, first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; the duke of Newcastle one secretary of state, lord Harrington the other; the duke of Devonshire remained steward of the household; the duke of Bedford first lord of the admiralty, with lord Sandwich as second lord; lord Gower was made privy seal; lord Lyttleton a member of the treasury board; Mr. Grenville a junior lord of the admiralty; Sir John Hynde Cotton treasurer of the chamber in the royal household, and Bubb Doddington contrived to be included as treasurer of the navy. Lords Cobham and Hobart had also appointments; and the duke of Dorset was made president of the council.

This wonderful coalition being effected, it was surprising with what facility even such men as Pitt could veer round in their opinions, and see the things which had formerly moved their highest indignation in a new and tolerant light. Pitt, not yet in place, but pretty sure of it, was brought to the house, though suffering severely from gout, on the opening of the year 1745, and he then exclaimed, "I perceive a dawn of salvation for my country breaking forth, and I will follow it as far as it will lead me. I should consider myself the greatest dupe in the world if those now at the helm did not mean the honour of their master and the good of the nation." It will scarcely be believed that the occasion of this burst of patriotism and satisfaction with the government was to carry the motion for the continuance of the army in Flanders—the very object which had called forth the perpetual and unmitigated censure of the opposition! There was no opposition now, except from Sir R. Newdigate, who styled it an old measure from a new ministry, and from lord Strange; but Pitt, by his "fulminating eloquence," as it was called, silenced this atom of dissent. In fact, so thoroughly were the old elements of opposition neutralised by the recent appointments, that it was said to the king, "Your majesty may look around the house of commons, and you will find no man of business, or even of weight, left capable of heading or conducting an opposition." And, indeed, so thoroughly was opposition frustrated, that till the death of Pelham in 1754, the debates in parliament dwindled into insignificance.

Granville being got rid of, and the opposition bought up with place, the only difference in policy which had been pursued, and which had been so bitterly denounced by the noblemen and gentlemen now in place, was that it became more unequivocally Hanoverian and more extravagant. "Those abominably courtly measures" of Granville were now the adopted measures of his denouncers. The king had expressed, just before his fall, a desire to grant a subsidy to Saxony; but lord chancellor Hardwicke had most seriously reminded his majesty of the increased subsidy to the queen of Hungary, which made it impracticable: now, both the increased subsidy to Maria Theresa and the subsidy to Saxony were passed without an objection. A quadruple alliance was entered into betwixt England, Austria, Holland, and Saxony, by which Saxony was to furnish thirty thousand men for the defence of Bohemia, and to receive a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, two-thirds of which were to be paid by England, and one-third by Holland. The system of German subsidies, so far from decreasing, now bloomed into almost unlimited favour. Scarcely a petty prince, whether he had men or not to furnish, but asked for money and had it, though it was only to protect his own dominions. The elector of Cologne received twenty-four thousand pounds, the elector of Mayence eight thousand pounds. To make a show of consistency, however, the Hanoverian and Hessian troops were discontinued as English auxiliaries, but they were transferred to the queen of Hungary, and her subsidy was augmented from three hundred thousand pounds to five hundred thousand pounds on that account! To such pitiful and transparent tricks did these great men and eminent patriots, Chesterfield and the immortal Chatham, resort in order to enjoy the sweets of office! Nay, soon discovering that, as there was no opposition, there was no clamour on the subject, they the very next year took the Hanoverians into their direct pay again, and in the succeeding year of 1747 increased the number of them from eighteen thousand to twenty thousand. But such great men were not without a great reason for this conduct. The rebellion of 1745 and 1746 had taken place, and troops were wanted at home. True; but, according to their theory, the foreign war was needless, and mercenaries ought not to have been employed abroad.

Before going to his government of Ireland, Chesterfield was dispatched to Holland to stimulate the sluggish pulses of the Dutch. He was highly popular there, and he succeeded in engaging them, at least on paper, to furnish sixty thousand men for the German campaign. It was agreed that the duke of Cumberland should take the supreme command of the confederate army.

In January of this year died Charles VII., king of Bavaria and emperor of Germany. His life had been rendered miserable, and his kingdom made the prey of war, by his unpatriotic mania of supporting the French in their attacks on Germany. Marlborough had inflicted a severe chastisement on him, entering and ravaging his dominions, and routing him with great slaughter of his troops. But nothing had ever cured him of this madness, and his last years were spent in poverty, and exclusion from his own kingdom. His son and successor showed himself a wiser and a better man. He at once renounced all claims to the Austrian succession, and to the claim on the imperial crown. He agreed to vote for the duke of Lorraine, Maria Theresa's husband, at the next diet, and never to support the French or the Prussian arms. On these terms a treaty was concluded betwixt Austria and Bavaria at Fuessen, and Austria therefore restored to him his rightful inheritance of Bavaria.

At home, in March, and before the close of the session of Parliament, died Robert Walpole, earl of Orford, one of the ablest, and not the worst, minister which this country has had. With all his faults, he had exerted all his power, and for a long course of years succeeded in maintaining peace, and in rendering unnecessary those levied subsidies which were now draining the pockets of the British subjects for the sole benefit of Germany. His most violent traducers he had lived to see perpetrating in a more unblushing and exaggerated style everything for which they had denounced him as the worst of men, and for which they had been lauded as the most patriotic and best. The chief disease of which he died, on the 18th of March, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, was the stone, from which he endured indescribable torments. To still his pain, for six weeks before his death he was kept in a state of stupor by opium; yet, during this condition, he roused himself only a few days before his death to exhibit his still deep insight into the human heart. The king had set his mind on his second son, the duke of Cumberland, marrying a princess of Denmark; but as she was deformed, the duke was steadfastly set against the match. When no arguments or remonstrances on his part had any effect on the stubborn soul of the king, he dispatched Mr. Poyntz, his governor, to consult Walpole on the best means of escaping the marriage. After pausing awhile, Walpole said, "Let the duke consent to the match, on condition that he receives an immediate, separate, and ample revenue and establishment, and, believe me, the match will be no longer pressed upon him." This Walpole said from his intimate knowledge of the avarice of the king. The duke adopted the advice, and heard no more of the marriage.

The campaign in Flanders opened in April. The English faithfully furnished their stipulated number of men, twenty-eight thousand, but both Austria and Holland had most disgracefully failed. Holland was to send fifty thousand into the field, and keep the other ten thousand in her garrisons; but she had sent less than half that number, and Austria only eight squadrons. The French had a fine army of seventy-five thousand men under the able general, marshal Saxe; and the king of France and the Dauphin had come to witness the conflict, which gave a wonderful degree of spirit to their troops. On the part of the allies, the duke of Cumberland was chief in command, but, from his youth, he was not able to set himself free from the assumptions of the Austrian general, old marshal Konigsegg, and the Dutch general, the prince of Waldeck. These officers would have plagued and thwarted a Marlborough, but they assumed a right over the young commander, Cumberland, to dictate and direct. Under such circumstances, any nation but England would have refused to fight another country's battles. It would have insisted that the condition should be kept, or have lain still. To go into action with such odds of numbers, and such mischief of divided command, was only to sacrifice our brave countrymen for the short-comings and insolence of foreigners. The young duke of Cumberland, who had much more martial courage than moral courage and experience, committed the fatal mistake of yielding, and the unfortunate British soldiers paid for it.

The French, confident of victory, on the 1st of May invested Tournay, and the duke of Cumberland was advised to march to the relief of that city. This was a blunder which Marlborough would not have been led into. Tournay was one of the most strongly fortified cities of the Netherlands, abounding with provisions and ammunition, and garrisoned by nine thousand Dutch. It might have stood out for months, and employed a considerable portion of the French army; whilst England insisted on the marching of fresh forces from Austria and Holland, according to compact. As it was, to march against the French before Tournay, was to rush into a certain contest with the whole French army of nearly eighty thousand men, whilst the allies could have only about fifty thousand. Saxe made the ablest arrangements for the coming fight. He left fifteen thousand infantry to blockade Tournay, drew up his army in a very strong position a few miles in advance, and strengthened it by various works.

The allies, on coming near, found Saxe encamped on some gentle heights, with the river Scheldt and the village of Antoin on his right, and a wood named Barré on his left. In front lay a narrow valley, and, as at Dettingen, he had secured the passage of the river by the bridge of Calonne in his rear, defended by a tête-de-pont, and a reserve of the household troops. He had constructed abbatis in the wood of Barré, thrown up redoubts betwixt Antoin and Fontenoy, and strongly fortified those villages themselves. The narrow valley between Barré and Fontenoy was formidably defended by cross batteries, and by the natural ruggedness of the ground; and altogether, the French officers confidently regarded their position unassailable. Yet, inferior as they were in numbers, the allies at once marched and attacked the French pickets and outposts, drove them in, and stood under arms, as it was growing dark, ready to renew the onset at daybreak.

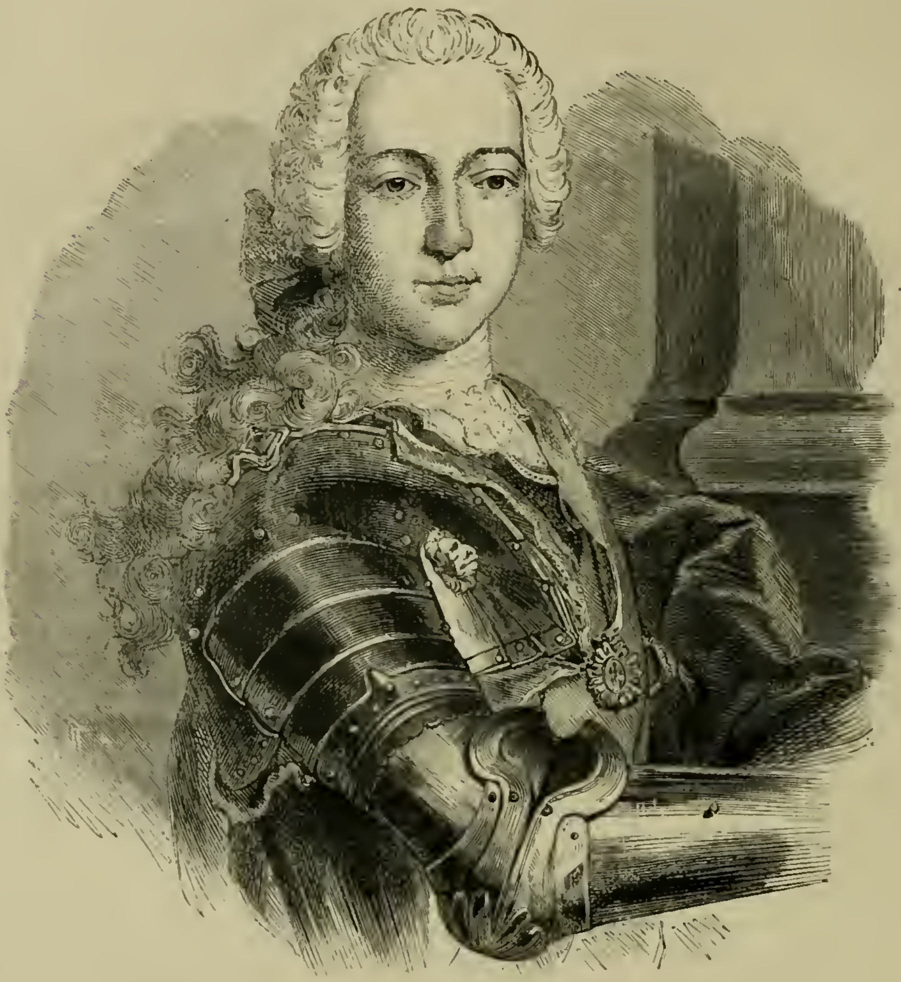
At four o'clock in the morning (the 11th of May) the cannonade began. Prince Waldeck undertook to carry Fontenoy and Antoin with the Dutch, and the duke of Cumberland, at the head of the English and Hanoverians, to bear down on the enemy's left. At the same time, the duke sent general Ingoldsby with a division to clear the wood of Barré, and storm the redoubt beyond. When Ingoldsby reached the wood, he found it occupied by a body of sharp-shooters, and, instead of attacking them vigorously, he paused, and returned to the duke for fresh orders—a great neglect of duty, by which much time was lost, and the enemy enabled to direct their undivided attention on that side to the main body of English and Hanoverians advancing under the duke. On the other hand, the Dutch, finding Fontenoy surrounded by a fosse, and the French mounted with their batteries on the rubbish of houses, which they had demolished for the purpose, were panic-struck, and instead of making a resolute rush to storm the place, having suffered considerably from the French batteries, fell back, and stood aloof, thus leaving the English and Hanoverians exposed to the whole fire of the hostile army. So scandalous was the behaviour of the Dutch, that one of the officers of their mercenaries, colonel Appius, commanding a regiment of Hesse-Hamburgers, galloped off, followed by his regiment, to the town of Ath, fifteen or twenty miles off, where he wrote a letter to the Dutch government, declaring that the whole allied army was cut to pieces, except the regiment which he had had the good fortune to bring off.

Thus shamefully deserted on both hands, Cumberland still led forward his British and Hanoverians against the main body of the French army. The ruggedness of the ground in the narrow valley betwixt the wood of Barré and Fontenoy, compelled them to leave the cavalry behind; but the infantry pushed on, dragging with them several pieces of artillery. Cumberland had the advantage of the advice and spirit of his military tutor, general Ligonier, and, in face of a most murderous fire, the young commander hastened on. The batteries right and left mowed them down, and before this comparative handful of men stood massed the vast French army, in a position pronounced by the French impregnable.

It was one of those occasions on which the English have attempted almost impossibilities, and shown a fearful disregard of their lives. Spite of the murderous fire right and left and in front, they bore on, and soon in close contact with the enemy, they began to commit havoc on them. The front ranks of the French showed terrible gaps as the British advanced on them. Amongst the first who fell was the young duke de Grammont, who had, in his impetuosity, caused the loss of the battle of Dettingen. He was killed by the side of his uncle, general de Noailles, who was assisting Saxe. The dense column of the English, compressed betwixt the wood of Barré and Fontenoy, soon drove the French from their positions, and, still pushing on towards the rear of Fontenoy, threatened to cut off the bridge of Calonne, and with it the enemy's retreat across the river. Both French and English conceived that the battle was decided for the allies. Marshal Konigsegg congratulated Cumberland on their victory, and, on the other hand, Saxe warned Louis XV. that it was necessary to retreat. Louis, however, is said to have protested against giving way, and both French and English soon became aware that the Dutch had deserted their post, and that the right wing of the French army remained wholly unengaged. The British and Hanoverian conquerors on their right, when they mounted the French positions, looked out for their left wing, the Dutch, and, to their dismay, beheld them hanging with cowardly inactivity in the distance. The brave marshal Saxe, at the same moment making the same discovery, called forward the household troops, which had been posted to receive the Dutch, and precipitated them on the flank of the British. Foremost in this charge was the Irish brigade, in the pay of France, who fought like furies against their countrymen. Overwhelmed by numbers, and numbers perfectly fresh, and mowed down by additional artillery, which the default of the Dutch had set at liberty, and unsupported by their own cavalry from the confined and rugged nature of the ground, the brave British and Hanoverians were compelled to give way. But they did it in such order and steadiness, disputing every inch of the ground, as excited the admiration of their opponents. The duke of Cumberland was the last in the retreat, still regardless of his own danger, calling on his men to remember Blenheim and Ramilies; and seeing one of his officers turning to flee, he threatened to shoot him. Thus they gave way slowly, and still fighting, till they reached their horse, which then made a front to cover them, till they were out of the *melée*; their dastardly allies, the Dutch, then joined them, and they marched away in a body to Ath. The English soldiers, boiling with rage and contempt of their traitorous allies, would have liked to turn their arms upon them on the march. "Had the Dutch done their duty in this battle," says Voltaire, "there would have been no resource, nay, no retreat, for the French army, nor, in all probability, for the king and his son."

The amount of the slain told the shameful tale of their dishonour. There were only one thousand five hundred and forty-four Dutch left on the field, whilst the little body of Hanoverians had one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two killed, and the English four thousand and forty-one. The French lost, by their own admission, seven thousand. It was, therefore, rather for the allies a half victory than a defeat. The battle was declared, by an officer present, to have been the most destructive of officers of any in the memory of men. Amongst the British field-officers who fell, were lieutenant-general Campbell and major-general Ponsonby. Tournay, for which the battle was fought, might have detained the French a long time; but here again Dutch treachery did its work. Hertsall, the chief engineer in the Dutch service, betrayed the place to the French, fled to their camp, and then assisted them by his advice. He carried off with him the two persons who had charge of the sluices and reservoirs, having engaged them before to let all the water out. Nor was this the worst of the traitor Hertsall, for he was suspected of having, before his departure, laid a train to a powder magazine, which blew up and destroyed the greater part of a Dutch regiment. Tournay surrendered in a fortnight, and the citadel the week after. Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, and Dendermond fell in rapid succession. Whilst the allies were covering Antwerp and Brussels, the French attacked and took Ostend, again by the treachery of the governor, who refused to inundate the country. Never had the Dutch covered themselves with such disgrace. They could scarcely be recognised as the same people who had stood stoutly both in the cabinet and in the field in the days of William of Orange. They became deeply suspected by the allies of having acted, through the whole shameful affair, under French influences.

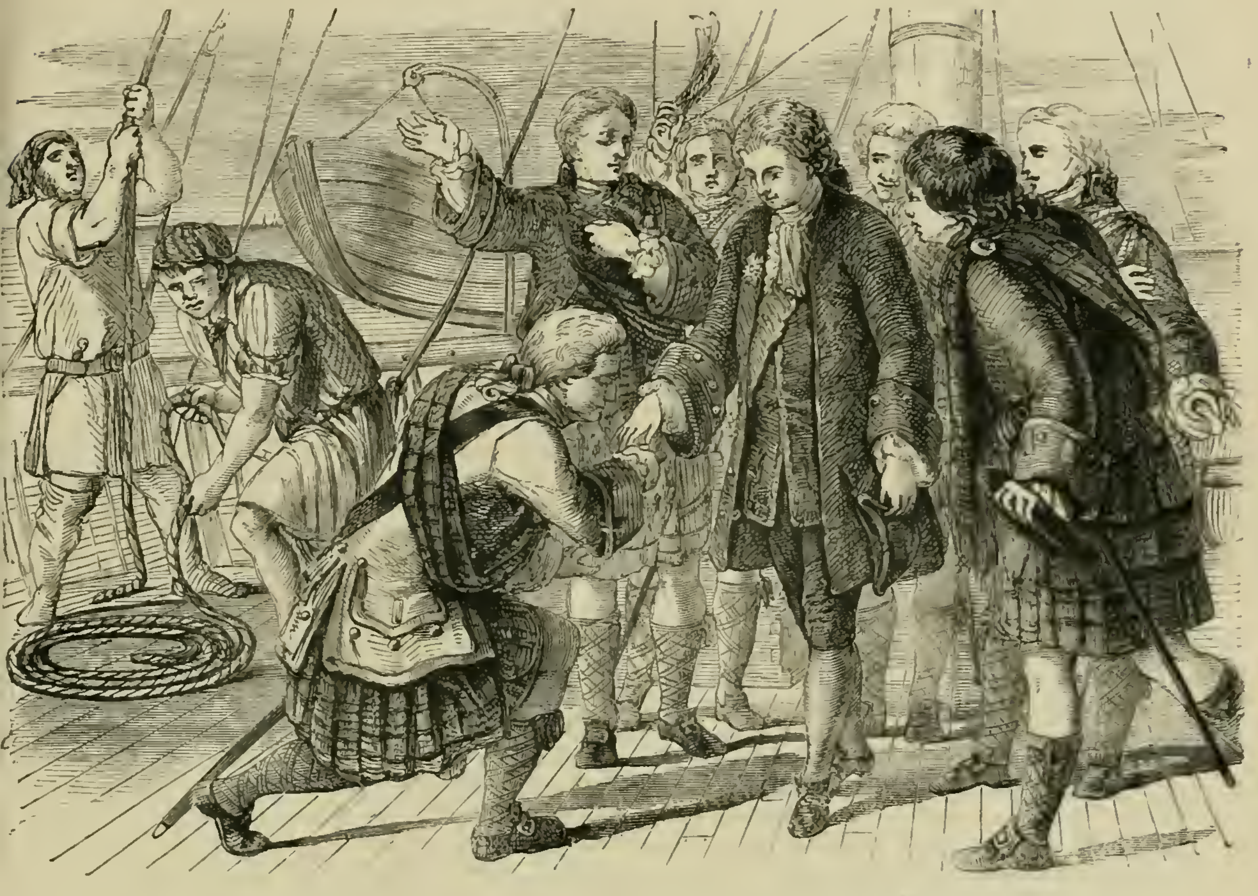
The affairs of England, menaced by invasion, were during this time compelling George to draw part of his forces homeward; it was, consequently, only the approach of winter which saved the towns of Flanders from the French. At the same time, the wily Prussian was in arms again, trusting to seize yet more of the Austrian territories, whilst the powerful ally of Maria Theresa was at once pressed by the fault of the Dutch and Austrians in Flanders, and at home by the pretender. George, who, in spite of all remonstrances, had persisted, notwithstanding the domestic danger, in paying his annual visit to Hanover, was earnestly engaged, through lord Harrington, in endeavouring to ac-



PRINCE CHARLES STUART (THE YOUNG PRETENDER). FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

complish a peace betwixt Prussia and Austria. Neither Frederick nor Maria Theresa, however, were in any haste to conclude peace. Frederick hoped to profit by the engagement of England with the French, and Maria Theresa hung out with some vague hopes of regaining Silesia through the money of England. But Frederick, on the 3rd of June, gained a decided victory over the prince Charles of Lorraine, throwing himself betwixt the Austrians and the Saxons, whom the English subsidy had brought to their aid. In this battle of Hohen Friedberg, the Austrians lost nine thousand men in killed and wounded, and had as many made prisoners. Prince Charles retreated into Bohemia, and was soon followed by Frederick, who fixed his camp at Chlum. Whilst another battle was impending, Maria Theresa, still undaunted, accompanied her husband to the Diet at Frankfort, where she had the satisfaction of seeing him elected emperor of Germany on the 13th of September. From her balcony she was the first to cry "Long live the emperor Francis I.!" which was re-echoed by the acclamations of ten thousand people in the streets. She then hastened to Heidelburg, where she reviewed her army of sixty thousand men, and as she rode by the side of the emperor along the ranks, she raised the enthusiasm of the soldiers by her beauty, her frank demeanour, and by ordering every soldier the gift of a florin. The same month, however, her troops were again defeated by Frederick at Sohr, near the sources of the Elbe. Their defeat this time was owing to their neglect of discipline, and taking to plundering when they should have been fighting. Spite of their being sixty thousand and the troops of Frederick only twenty-eight thousand, Frederick saw his advantage, and snatched a victory from them, to their great amazement. The king of Prussia now offered to make peace, but Maria Theresa rejected his overtures; but another victory over her combined army of Austrians and Saxons, which put Frederick in possession of Dresden, brought her to reason. A peace was concluded at Dresden on Christmas Day, by which Silesia was confirmed to Prussia, and Frederick, on his part, acknowledged the recent election of the emperor Francis. King George had also entered into a secret treaty with Prussia; and Frederick, sending his army into winter quarters in Silesia, returned to Berlin, thence to ponder fresh schemes of aggrandisement.

The campaign in Italy was as successful for the French



YOUNG MOIDART SWEARING ALLEGIANCE TO PRINCE CHARLES STUART.

as that in Flanders. Don Philip and marshal Maillebois, uniting their armies, crossed the Alps. There they were joined by the count de Gages with the Spanish and Neapolitan troops, which had defeated Koblowitz at Velletri. This powerful combined army was further swelled by ten thousand Genoese, who were smarting under the cession of Finale at the treaty of Worms. Admiral Rowley, the English commander in the Mediterranean, did his best to create a diversion in favour of Austria, by bombarding and burning the towns on the Genoese coast, but in vain. The powerful army of Spaniards, French, Neapolitans, and Genoese forced the passage of the Tanaro, and defeated the Austrians and Sardinians, under the king of Sardinia and count Schulemberg, near Bassignano. The Sardinian king retreated to his capital, and Don Philip and his allies entered Milan in triumph, having on the way received the submission of Casal, Asti, Lodi, and other towns. Don Philip already saw himself king of Northern Italy, as his brother, Don Carlos, was of the South. The French were almost everywhere triumphant this year, except on the Rhine, where the prince of Conti, weakened by the draughts made upon him for the army in Flanders, had been compelled to retreat with considerable loss by count Traun. In America, however, a body of four thousand colonists from Boston, aided by a body of marines, and by admiral Warren with ten ships of the line, had invaded and completely conquered the island of cape Breton.

CHAPTER XI.

REIGN OF GEORGE II. (Continued.)

Commencement of the Rebellion of 1745—The Young Pretender embarks at Nantes—Lands with only Seven Companions—Raises the Standard of the Stuarts—Commences his March southwards—Enters Edinburgh—Routs the Royal Army at Preston Pans—The English Parliament suspends the *Habeas Corpus*, and raises Troops—Charles Edward marches for England—Crosses into Cumberland, and summons Carlisle, which surrenders—The Young Pretender evades the Forces of General Wade at Newcastle, and reaches Derby—Council of War there, and Retreat of the Rebels, pursued by the Duke of Cumberland—Skirmish near Clifton Moor—The Rebels re-enter Scotland—Edinburgh shuts them out—Rebels besiege Stirling Castle—Battle of Falkirk—Duke of Cumberland relieves Stirling—Reaches Nairn—Battle of Culloden—Twenty-five Thousand Pounds a-Year granted to the Duke of Cumberland for his Defeat of the Rebels—Flora Macdonald secures the Escape of the Young Pretender to the Western Isles—Flora taken and sent to London—Executions of Colonel Towoley, Earl of Derwentwater, Balmarino, and Kilmarnock—Pretender embarks at Lochnanuagh, and reaches France—Philip V. of Spain dies, and is succeeded by Ferdinand VI.—*Habeas Corpus* further suspended—Lord Lovat beheaded—Flora Macdonald released.

The time for the last great conflict for the recovery of their forfeited throne in Great Britain by the Stuarts was come. The pretender had grown old and cautious, but the young prince, Charles Edward, who had been permitted by his father and encouraged by France to attempt this great object in 1744, had not at all abated his enthusiasm for it, though Providence had appeared to fight against him, and France, after the failure of Dunkirk, had seemed to abandon the design altogether. France, indeed, had now, in its belief, nearly accomplished a far more important object—the subjugation and annexation of Flanders to her empire. The campaign of 1745 had shown her triumphant at Fontenoy, and thrown many fine towns into her power. Austria humbled in Italy, and England deserted by her allies in Flanders, opened an alluring prospect for the next campaign. It would have appeared a most desirable diversion to create a rebellion in Great Britain itself, and thus entirely draw away England from the contest in Flanders; but France had still a presentiment that she would need all her forces to complete her designs on the continent; and there were other reasons which made her cool as to the English invasion at the very time when the battle of Fontenoy awoke the most flattering anticipations of the young pretender. It was of the highest consequence for France to maintain the alliance of Prussia, which so vigorously kept Austria in check; and Frederick, now secretly at peace with England, had remonstrated against the support which France was giving to the Roman catholic party in Great Britain. Other protestant powers, whom it was desirable to keep quiet at this crisis, had made similar representations, and it was therefore unfortunate for Charles Edward that, when every other circumstance appeared to favour his hopes, his grand object of dependence, France, failed him. To his eager statements that now was the time, both on the account of France and his own, to make the long-contemplated descent, Louis turned only a deaf ear. The Irish brigade, which had won so high a character for bravery, and whose country, and religion, and resentments were his own, and which had been proposed for this service, was now destined for Flanders. So indifferent was the court of France become to his cause, that it was only after the most importunate solicitations that he could procure even a little money to keep him from destitution. None of these things, nor all of them together, could, however, damp the ardour of the young pretender. When he received the news of the battle of Fontenoy he was at the chateau de Navarre, near Evreux, the seat of his attached friend, the young duke de Bouillon. He wrote to his father, saying that, whatever he might suffer, he should not regret in the least, so long as he thought it of service for this great object; that he would put himself into the tub of Diogenes, if necessary. He then wrote to Murray of Broughton, in Scotland, to announce his determination to attempt the enterprise at all hazards. He had been assured by Murray himself that his friends in Scotland discountenanced any rising unless six thousand men and ten thousand stand of arms could be brought over; and that, without these, they would not even engage to join him. The announcement, therefore, that he was coming, threw the friends of the old dynasty in Scotland into the greatest alarm. All but the duke of Perth condemned the enterprise in the strongest terms, and wrote letters to induce him to postpone his voyage. But these remonstrances arrived too late, if, indeed, they would have had any effect had they reached him earlier. Charles Edward had lost no time in making his preparations. He had written to his father desiring his jewels to be pawned and the money sent to him. On the 12th of June he wrote again to his father, more distinctly announcing his intentions. He complained of the scandalous treatment of the court of France, and added, "Your majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father. You yourself did the like in the year fifteen. The circumstances are now very different indeed, by being much more encouraging." He then informed him that this letter would not be forwarded till he was on ship-board; that he had sent to Spain to demand assistance from the king and queen; that whatever should happen, the stroke was struck, and that he would stand his ground so long as a single man remained with him. He added, the king would see why he wished his jewels pawned, which he pressingly entreated might be done without delay.

He had been able to borrow a hundred and eighty thousand livres from two of his adherents, had made great exertions to raise arms, and though he had kept his project profoundly secret from the French king and ministry, lest they might forcibly detain him, he had managed to engage a French man-of-war called the "Elizabeth," carrying sixty-seven guns, and a brig of eighteen guns called the "Doutelle," an excellent sailer. He had procured these through Walsh and Rutledge, naturalised French subjects, and merchants of Nantes. Rutledge had got a grant of the man-of-war for the purpose of cruising on the coast of Scotland, and had to go as far north as Charles intended to go. The "Elizabeth" was to carry over the arms and ammunition, or the chief part of them, namely, about one thousand five hundred fusees, one thousand eight hundred broadswords, twenty small field-pieces, with powder, balls, and flints. Charles himself and the gentlemen who accompanied him, only seven in number, were to set sail in the "Doutelle," with the money which he had raised, amounting altogether to about four thousand louis-d'ors. The "Doutelle" lay in the mouth of the Loire, and the place of meeting was Nantes. The seven companions of the young pretender's voyage lodged in different parts of the town, and, when they passed in the streets, took no notice of each other, so as to escape suspicion. Charles himself appeared as a student of the Scotch college at Paris, and let his beard grow. On the 2nd of July the "Doutelle" sailed from St. Nazaire, at the mouth of the Loire, and waited at Belleisle for the "Elizabeth," when they put forward to sea in good earnest. Unfortunately, only four days after leaving Belleisle, they fell in with the British man-of-war the "Lion," of fifty-eight guns, commanded by the brave captain Butt, who in Anson's expedition had stormed Paita. There was no avoiding an engagement, which continued warmly for five or six hours, when both vessels were so disabled that they were compelled to put back respectively to England and France. During the engagement Charles was all on fire that the "Doutelle" should engage in aid of the "Elizabeth;" but Mr. Walsh, who had fitted her out, would not allow him to run the risk; and he becoming importunate, told him that if he persisted he would order him down into the cabin.

With the "Elizabeth" the young pretender lost the greater part of his arms and ammunition. Yet he would not return, but put forward in the "Doutelle" towards Scotland. In two days more the little vessel was pursued by another large English ship, but by dint of superior sailing they escaped and made the Western Isles. It was only after a fortnight's voyage, however, that they came to anchor off the little islet of Erisca, between Barra and South Uist. An eagle approaching and hovering over the ship as she neared the shore, the marquis of Tullibardine, one of Charles's seven co-adventurers, exclaimed, "Behold the king of birds come to welcome your royal highness to Scotland!"

They landed and passed the night there. Young Macdonald of Clanranald informed them that his father, the chief of that cluster of islands, was away on the mainland, but that his uncle was in South Uist. Charles sent a messenger for the uncle, Macdonald of Boisdale, who appeared on board the "Doutelle" the next morning. When the old chief learned that Charles had come with only that little vessel, he pronounced the attempt nothing short of insanity; declared that if Clanranald himself were mad enough to join in such a rash adventure he would not follow him, and put back to his isle deaf to all the entreaties of the prince. Well would it have been for Scotland had all the clan chiefs shown the same prudence.

Charles then sailed into the bay of Lochuanuagh, in Inverness-shire, betwixt Moidart and Arisaig, whence he dispatched a messenger to Clanranald, who came on board with Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart, and several others of the clan. They were equally astounded at the folly of the attempt, and represented that, so far from raising the Stuart standard unsupported by a strong force from abroad being of any use, it would be certain destruction to all who engaged in it. Charles paced the deck with these chiefs, earnestly endeavouring to overcome their coldness by every argument that could awaken slumbering loyalty. Whilst he was on the verge of despair, finding all his representations vain, he noticed a Highlander standing near, armed at all points, who betrayed his increasing agitation as the conversation went on. His eyes flashed fire, his cheeks burned, he could not remain a moment standing still, but had his hand on his sword, and followed the young prince with his glances. He had come on board, not knowing that the prince was there; but when he caught from the conversation that it was not only the prince, but that his kinsmen were refusing to countenance his adventure for the crown, his Highland blood grew more impatient every moment. He was the younger brother of Kinloch-Moidart; and when Charles, perceiving his mood, suddenly turned to him and said, "Will you, at least, not assist me?" the young Ranald exclaimed, "I will! Though not another man in the Highlands draw a sword, I am ready to die for you!" Charles eagerly grasped the young champion's hand, and thanked him heartily for his loyalty, declaring that he only wished that all the Highlanders were like him. The burst of loyalty in the young man had, however, fired the latent spark in the bosoms of the two chiefs. They declared, come what would, they would follow him, and do all in their power to raise the Highlands.

Whilst this had been passing, the rest of the Macdonalds who had followed their chiefs had been kept in a tent at the other end of the deck with Charles's followers. They could scarcely help, however, divining the real facts of the scene; and one of them, to whose journal we are indebted for an account of these events, says, "There entered the tent a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt, not very clean, and a cambric stock, fixed with a plain silver buckle; a fair, round wig out of the buckle; a plain hat with a canvas string, having one end fixed to one of his coat-buttons; he had black stockings, and brass buckles to his shoes. At his first appearance I felt my heart swell to my very throat; but we were immediately told that this youth was an English clergyman, who had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders." The blind must, however, have been but too transparent, and sufficient to restrain any demonstration rather than to convince. And here we may give a general idea of the person and character of this young man, who was destined to bring the long-contended claims of the Stuarts to an eternal close.

Charles Edward, at the time of his landing in Scotland, was in person tall, well-formed, and accustomed to active pursuits in the woods and wilds of France and Italy. In the chase he had acquired the athletic vigour and elastic endurance necessary for the fatigues of war. He was in countenance handsome, and in manners graceful, open, and attractive. The blood of the Sobieski had softened the harshness and blackness of the Stuart feature. He is described as having an oval contour of face and a fair complexion; his eyes light blue, and his fair hair generally worn naturally —contrary to the fashion of the times, which was all for wigs. He was cordial and gay in his demeanour, and frank and insinuating at the same time in his conversation with all classes. Those who saw him in the brief court of Holyrood describe his handsome person, his elegant yet dignified manners, with enthusiasm. In the campaign which he conducted he certainly displayed all the enthusiasm, the courage, and the perseverance which became the leader of such an enterprise. Spite of some charges of cowardice against him, had he been able to carry out all that he dared and all that he planned, the invasion of England might have had a different termination. He was overruled by the Highlanders, on whom his whole chance depended. Nor was the interior unworthy at that date of the pleasing exterior. He was generous, daring, affectionate in his domestic relations, showing a zealous sympathy for his followers both in their trials and their sufferings. But these fine qualities had never been cultivated to the splendour which they might have acquired. His qualities were native and unimproved; his education had been grossly neglected. Whilst his father, who could not act with any heroism or decision, could write with the most striking wisdom and grace of style, Charles, who could both act and dare, could scarcely spell. He wrote a vile, straggling hand, his knowledge in every department was scanty, and in some essentials totally wanting. He spelt a sword, "sord;" humour, "umer;" and his own father's name, "Gems." This was the disgrace of his father rather than his own. Whilst his orthography and his prosody, too, were grievously defective, there lacked no evidence of mind and spirit in his letters, showing that, with proper culture, Charles Edward would have made not only a brilliant but an admirable character. He had all the elements of a fine prince but education, or, rather, the want of it, and failure ruined him. He was accused of being penurious; but when we consider the mean resources with which he undertook this most stupendous enterprise, we see causes enough for care and economy; whilst, on the other hand, he suffered the sharpest evils by refusing to get into debt, to the probable ruin of his friends. "I never love to owe," he says in his letters; "but, on the contrary, I will deprive myself of little inconveniences rather than run into debt."

Such were the qualities of the young prince, which enabled him to land in the most powerful kingdom of Europe with one little vessel and seven followers, raise the Highlands, pour down like an avalanche upon the whole country, defeat the arms of the English at Falkirk and Preston Pans, advance like a rushing torrent into the very heart of England, affrighting the capital and paralysing the court, and being only turned back again by the less enduring spirit of his mountain followers.

Failure, disappointment, and despair of ever reaching the highest goal of his ambition, converted him in after years into a drivelling sot, querulous and ill-tempered, tyrannical to his dependents, and acrimonious to his wife; gradually sinking into imbecility and a premature old age. So striking in contrast were the beginning and end of the young pretender! We know what the ruin of his hopes made him; but who shall say what success might not have raised him into? It is certain that he displayed more honour towards his enemies than they did towards him. A price was set upon his head, and every inducement held out to his assassination; yet in no case would he listen to such proposals in return, but always insisted that, should his cause triumph, the "elector," as his partisans always styled king George, and his whole family, should be treated with respect, and suffered to retire to their German patrimony. Even in his last and worst days, the memory of his romantic expedition and of his companions in arms and in suffering could raise all the ancient fire in his soul and throw him into convulsions. Such was the man who, in the pride of his youth, undertook the hopeless task of conquering England, deserted by France, and supported only by a handful of brave but impulsive and unstable Highlanders. The story of his adventures seems more like a romance than an episode of grave history.

The seven persons who accompanied Charles Edward on this expedition, and who became widely celebrated as "the seven men of Moidart," were the marquis of Tullibardine, who was out in 1715 under the old pretender, and was now nearly exhausted by age—he was called the duke of Athol by the Jacobites, for such he would have been but for the attainder of 1716; Sir Thomas Sheridan, the tutor of Charles, who had so shamefully neglected his culture, and yet was high in his regard; Sir John Macdonald, who had been engaged in the Spanish service; Kelly, the nonjuring clergyman, who had been concerned in Atterbury's plot; Francis Strickland, an English gentleman; Æneas Macdonald, a brother of Kinloch Moidart, and banker in Paris; and Buchanan, the messenger formerly sent to Rome by cardinal Tencin, to demand the prince for the enterprise of last year.

Charles landed in Lochnanuagh on the 25th of July, o.s., and was conducted to a farm-house belonging to Clanranald. He then dispatched letters to the Highland chiefs who were in his interest. Principal amongst these were Cameron of Lochiel, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Macleod. Lochiel was as much confounded at the proposal to commence a rebellion without foreign support as the Macdonalds. He set out, however, to meet the prince at Borrodale, the farmhouse already mentioned, and on his way called on Cameron of Fassefern, who gave him the sensible advice to write his reasons for not assenting to the scheme, but by no means to go, declaring that he knew Lochiel better than he did himself, and that, if he once came within the fascination of the royal presence, he would go, spite of himself. Lochiel neglected the advice, and the result was precisely what Cameron predicted. For a long time Lochiel stood out, and gave the strongest reasons for his decision; but Charles exclaimed, "I am resolved to put all to the hazard. I will erect the royal standard, and tell the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, or to perish in the attempt. Lochiel, who, my father has always told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince." "Not so!" instantly replied the impulsive Highlander; "I will share the fate of my prince, whatever it may be, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power."

The decision of Lochiel determined the whole Highlands. The Macdonalds of Skye held back when sent for, but numbers of others were immediately influenced by the example of Lochiel. Macdonald of Keppoch, Macdonald of Glengarry, and numbers of others sent in their adhesion. The 19th of August was fixed for the raising of the standard, and Charles meanwhile exerted himself to win over the people by the adoption of the Highland costume, by learning a few phrases of Gaelic, and by making himself as agreeable as possible. He landed his little stock of arms and money, and sent back the "Doutelle" to France, with letters to his father in Rome, painting his prospects in glowing colours, and requesting him to confer on Mr. Walsh the patent of an Irish earldom, with which James is supposed to have complied. Charles then removed to Kinloch-Moidart, the residence of the chief of that name, where he was joined by Murray of Broughton, who brought with him from the south the manifestos of Charles ready printed. Charles appointed him his secretary, which post he continued to hold during the expedition.

On the 16th of August a party of English soldiers, sent by the governor of Fort Augustus to reinforce the garrison at Fort William, were assailed by a number of Keppoch's Highlanders in the narrow pass of High Bridge. They attempted to retreat when they found they could not reach their antagonists in their ambush, but they were stopped by a fresh detachment of the followers of Lochiel, and were compelled to lay down their arms. Five or six of them were killed, and their leader, captain Scott, wounded. They received the kindest treatment from the conquerors, and as the governor of Fort Augustus refused to trust a surgeon amongst them to dress the wounds of captain Scott, Lochiel immediately allowed Scott to return to the fort on his parole, and received the rest of the wounded into his house at Auchnacarrie. At the news of this first success, trifling as the affair was, the Highlanders began to flock to the raising of the standard, which took place at Glenfinnan, a gloomy and desolate valley, through which the river Finnan runs, betwixt craggy and lofty mountains, the valley being closed at each end by a lake, or loch, as the natives term it. Charles proceeded from Kinloch-Moidart to this wild and nearly inaccessible spot, lying about fifteen miles from that place, and as many from Fort William. He expected on his arrival to find the glen swarming with Highlanders, but it lay in its melancholy solitude, and he entered a hut to await the arrival of the clans. For above two hours not a soul appeared, but then the sound of the bagpipe was heard, and Lochiel and his Camerons were seen descending the hills, marching in two lines of three men each, and between them the two English companies taken prisoners on the 16th. The Camerons were about six hundred men, but only partly armed, and other clans made up perhaps eight hundred.

A knoll in the middle of the valley being selected, they proceeded to erect the standard. The marquis of Tullibardine, as highest in rank, though feeble and tottering with age, was appointed to unfurl the banner, supported on each hand by a stout Highlander. The colours were of blue and red silk, with a white centre, on which, some weeks later, the words TANDEM TRIUMPHANS were embroidered. Tullibardine held the staff till the manifesto of James, dated Rome, 1743, appointing his son regent, was read; and as the banner floated in the breeze, the multitude shouted lustily, and the hurrahs were boisterously renewed when Charles made them a short address in English, which few of the common class understood. Notwithstanding, they flung their bonnets into the air, and made the welkin ring. Captain Swettenham, an English officer, who had been taken on the day before the skirmish, as he was travelling to take command at Fort William, was a spectator of the scene. He had been rudely handled by the common men, but, as soon as he reached the gentlemen, they treated him with much courtesy, and Charles now liberated him, telling him that he might "go and tell his general what he had seen, and add that he was coming to make war on him."

Scarcely was the ceremony over, when Keppoch arrived with three hundred of his clan, and other smaller parties came in, amongst them some of the Macleods, who enrolled themselves, declaring their chief a coward and a traitor, and offering to return to Skye and raise the clan. The little army encamped that night in Glenfinnan; O'Sullivan, an Irish officer, was appointed quartermaster, and the next morning they commenced their march. Charles was joined, on the way to Auchnacarrie, the house of Lochiel, by Macdonald of Glencoe with one hundred and fifty men, by the Stuarts of Appin, under Ardshiel, with two hundred, and Glengarry the younger with about the same number, so that he soon had about one thousand six hundred men.

The slowness with which the government became aware of these proceedings is something astonishing in these days of telegraphs and railroads. Though Charles sailed on the 2nd of July, N.S., it was not till the 30th of the same month, O.S., that lord Tweeddale, the Scottish secretary of state in London, was informed even that he had left Nantes. He had actually been in the country five days before it was known that he had left France. Even then the report was received with incredulity. The English government sent a dispatch to Edinburgh, immediately to announce the fact; but on the 8th of August, three weeks after Charles's arrival on the coast, the lord president wrote back discrediting the information. "I consider," he said, "the report of the sailing improbable, because I am confident the young man cannot with reason expect to be joined by any considerable force in the Highlands." Six days only after this, the adherents of the young man had surprised and taken prisoners two companies of his majesty's troops, and only nine days after the standard of rebellion was erected in the presence of these troops amid eight hundred armed enthusiasts, and with the contagion of insurrection flying with the fiery cross through the Highlands. This is the more extraordinary, as the lord president, Duncan Forbes, was one of the most active and intelligent, as well as most able and public-spirited, men in Scotland. His seat was at Culloden House, near the very heath which so soon was to become famous for the great battle which extinguished the Stuart struggles for ever. On receiving the news, however, he hastened up to his Highland residence, to render any service to the established government which his influence and office enabled him.

Sir John Cope was the commander of the forces in Scotland, and he immediately gave orders for drawing together such troops as he had to Stirling. These were extraordinarily few. There were two regiments of dragoons, Gardiner's and Hamilton's, but both recent in the service; and the whole force at his disposal, exclusive of garrisons, did not amount to three thousand men. It is amazing, indeed, to consider how poor and insignificant was the whole body of troops then maintained in England, notwithstanding the critical state of affairs both at home and abroad, and the amount of expenditure for them. There were several companies of a Highland regiment, under the command of the earl of Loudon, lying at Inverness, that is, in the very quarter to march down on the embryo rebellion and tread it out. But these could not be trusted. Had they attempted to lead them against Charles Edward, they would probably all have disappeared, like one of their own mists, amongst the mountains, and reappeared only beneath the standard of the Stuart.

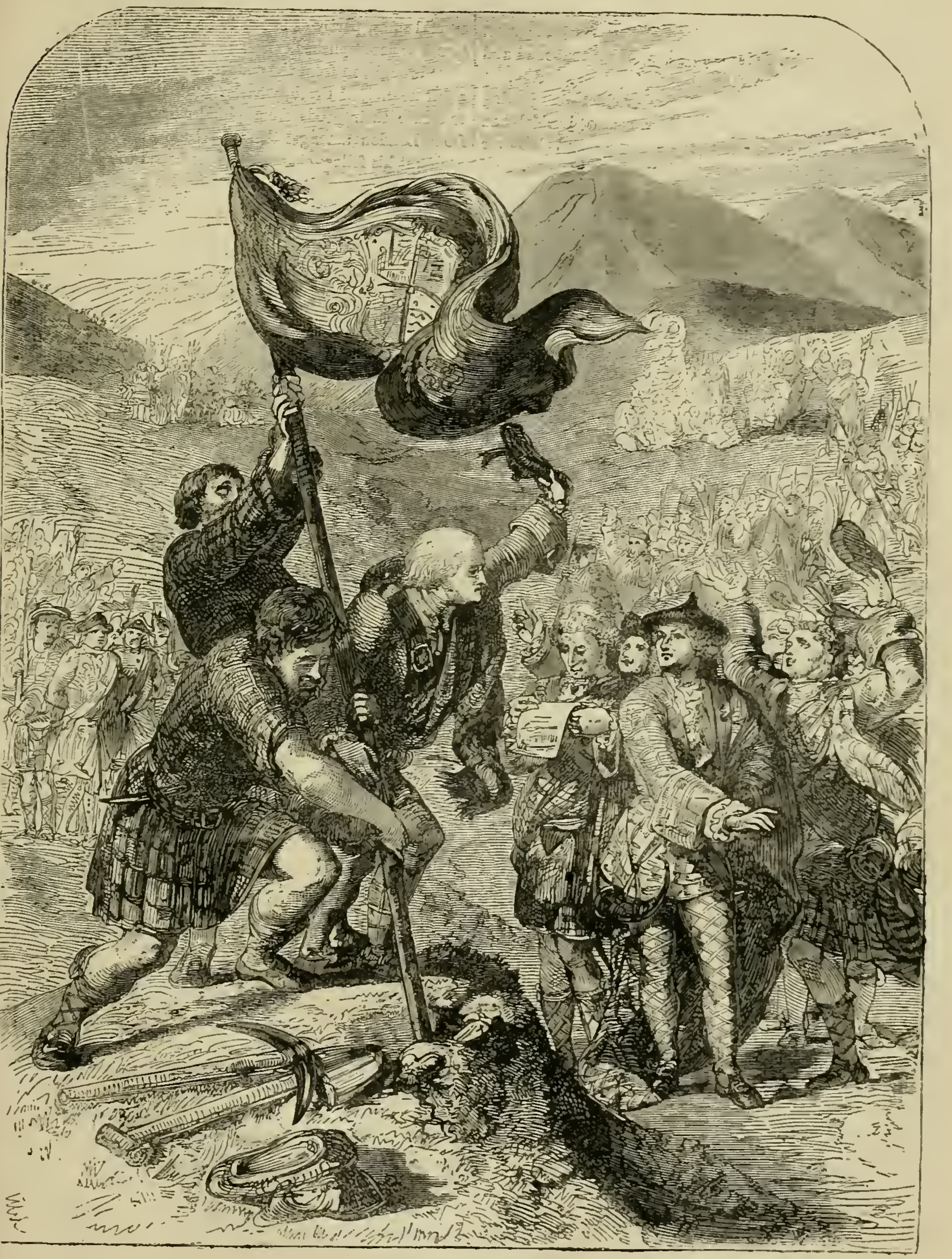
Cope was eager enough to march into the Highlands, even with such forces as he had, and crush the insurrection at once. He proposed this apparently active and judicious scheme to the lords justices in England, George II. himself being at Hanover, and they warmly approved of it, and issued their positive orders for its execution. It was, in truth, however, the most fatal scheme which could be conceived. The spirit of rebellion was fermenting in every glen and on every hill, and for regular troops to march into these rugged fastnesses, was only to be shot down by invisible marksmen on all hands, and reduced to the extremity of the two companies already captured. The plan was to have secured all the passes into the Lowlands, to have drawn his forces to the feet of the mountains wherever a descent could be made, and blockade the rebels in their own mountains till they could be reduced by gradual approaches and overwhelming numbers. Famine, indeed, would soon have tamed any large body of men in those sterile regions. But Cope was a man of willing mind, but of no military talent. He was wholly unfit to cope with such a difficulty as lay before him, and should have been superseded by some more competent commander.

Carrying with him a proclamation by government, offering thirty thousand pounds to any person who should secure and deliver up the pretended prince of Wales, Sir John marched out of Edinburgh for the north on the very day that the standard of the Stuarts was erected in Glenfinnan, the 19th of August. On the following day he continued his route from Stirling, accompanied by one thousand five hundred foot, leaving, very properly, the dragoons behind him, as of no service in the mountains, nor capable of finding forage there. He took with him, however, a large drove of black cattle to kill for food, and abundance of baggage, besides a thousand stand of arms to distribute amongst the people whom he expected to flock eagerly to his assistance. When he arrived at Crieff, and not one such patriotic volunteer had presented himself, Sir John had learned his first unpleasant experience, and sent back seven hundred muskets to Stirling. He then continued his march towards Fort Augustus, which he hoped to make the centre of his operations, and then to strike a sudden and annihilating blow on the handful of rebels. As he proceeded he was harassed and bewildered by the most contradictory accounts in anonymous letters, sent for the very purpose of mystifying him. One statement was, that Charles had landed accompanied by ten thousand Frenchmen; another, that he was not come at all; a third, that he was come, but was hurrying back as fast as he could go; another, that he was not in the Highlands, but had landed at Leith, and encamped on the banks of the Goose Dubb, a pool under the walls of Edinburgh. Amid pretendedly serious intelligence and palpable ridicule, Sir John marched on with his four field pieces and his ponderous baggage, till he met Captain Swettenham at Dalnacardoch, on the 25th of August, from whom he learned the reality of the capture of the two companies sent to reinforce Fort William, and of the raising of the standard on the 19th. Captain Swettenham estimated the rebels, when he left, at one thousand four hundred, but he had learned a day or two before at Dalwinnie, that they now mustered six thousand, and that they meant to dispute the passage at Corry Arrack, a huge, wild mountain lying directly in the line of his march towards Fort Augustus. This Corry Arrack had been made passable by one of general Wade's roads, constructed after the rebellion of 1715, to lay open the Highlands. The road wound up the mountain by seventeen zig-zags or traverses, and down the other side by others, called by the Highlanders the Devil's Staircase; but it traversed several torrents, which came thundering down deep and craggy ravines, which were crossed by narrow bridges. Three hundred men were capable, much more three thousand, to stop an army in such a situation; and Cope, instead of deciding what he should do under the circumstances, adopted the resource of weak commanders, and called a council of war. There the whole of the officers decided against attempting to cross Corry Arrack, or on keeping their ground near Dalwinnie. One only voted for returning to Stirling. At length it was agreed that they should take a side route, and endeavour to reach Inverness and Fort George. Before Cope would even act on this conclusion, he made the officers give their recommendation of it in writing with their signatures. The resolve was a fatal one, for it gave the appearance of a flight to the army, and left the road open to Stirling and the Lowlands.

Charles, on his part, had determined to occupy Corry Arrack. For that purpose he had made a forced march, disencumbered himself of all possible incumbrances by burning his own baggage, and encouraging his followers to do the same. On the morning of the 27th he stood on the north side of Corry Arrack, and, as he put on his brogues, he is said to have exclaimed, with exultation, "Before these are unloosed, I shall be up with Mr. Cope." To his great astonishment, however, when he reached the summit, all was one wild solitude — not a man was visible. At length they discerned some Highlanders ascending, whom they set down for part of lord Loudon's regiment, forming the English vanguard. They turned out to be only some deserters, who informed them of the change in Cope's route.

At this news, the Highlanders were filled with exuberant joy. They demanded permission to pursue and attack Cope's soldiers; but the chiefs saw too clearly the grand advantage offered them of descending suddenly into the Lowlands by the road thus left open. Whilst Sir John was making a forced march to Inverness, which he reached on the 29th of August, the Highlanders were descending like one of their own torrents southwards. In two days they traversed the mountains of Badenoch; on the third they reached the vale of Athol. The Grants of Glenmoriston, one hundred men, had joined him at Corry Arrack. and, as they proceeded, others swelled their ranks, issuing from their respective glens as they passed.

In one quarter Charles had not succeeded as he expected: this was with the wily and hardened villain, lord Lovat — a man covered with almost every crime, and with complicated treasons. Charles had sent him his patent of *duke* of Frazer, and his commission of lord-lieutenant of all the northern counties; and Lochiel had personally waited on him. At the same time, Duncan Forbes, the lord president, and Robert Craig, the lord advocate, were pressing him to join the royal army. Lovat still lay waiting to see what party was likely to succeed before he committed himself, and, endeavouring to draw all present advantage that he could, he gave to both parties hopes of joining them, but represented to the representatives of king George that he had been so ill-used by that government, that though he, in spite of all this, retained the most unabated zeal and loyalty, and could bring one thousand two hundred men into the field, he was totally destitute of arms. He therefore earnestly entreated that arms for that number should be delivered to him forthwith at Inverness, and then, he declared, they should see how he would exert himself in the king's service; that, if they did not get these arms immediately, they should be certainly undone. The wise Duncan Forbes was induced to join in the demand for the supply of



ERECTING THE STANDARD OF THE YOUNG PRETENDER.

these arms to Lovat, who, if he had got them, would, as it turned out, have used them against the giver. Lovat, in his letters to the lord-advocate and to Forbes, used the most hypocritical language. He said he heard that that mad and unaccountable gentleman (the young pretender) had set up a standard at Glenfinnan, that chief after chief were joining him, that he regretted that his dear cousin Lochiel had joined in the mad enterprise, that he had prayed God ever since he had had his reason that they might have no civil war in Scotland; and in every letter he still pressed for arms, or his clan, he said, would be extirpated, who, otherwise, were, by their valour and situation, capable of saving the king and government. All this time the old miscreant was writing to Lochiel, "My service to the prince; I will aid you what I can, but my prayers are all that I can give at present."

Macpherson of Cluny, the son-in-law of Lovat, and head of a powerful clan, played the same game. He was appointed by the government captain of a company, but in an attack of the rebels on the barracks of Ruthven, he was taken prisoner, according to general opinion a very willing one, and, after some consultation with Charles, agreed to return to his district, and raise it in his favour. He declared that even an angel could not have resisted the fascinating solicitations of the prince; in fact, the Highlanders were all delighted with Charles. He was a fine, well-made man, taller than any of the Gaels, and did everything in his power to ingratiate himself with him. He introduced the few Gaelic phrases that he had learned on every opportunity, dressed in their costume, ate their country dishes with an assumed relish, and partook of all their fatigues, at night rolling himself in his plaid on the open heath, and there sleeping like the rest of them.

On the 30th of August they reached Blair Castle. The duke of Athol, the proprietor, fled at their approach, and old Tullibardine resumed his ancestral mansion, and gave a splendid banquet there to Charles and his officers. He also feasted and entertained them for a couple of days, praising the alterations and improvements which his younger brother had made during his exile, and especially the growth of pineapples, which were the first Charles Edward had ever tasted. During the stay there, Mr. Oliphant of Gask, Mr. Mercer of Aldie, Mr. Murray, the earl of Dunmore, lord Strathallan, with his son, and lord Nairn, the son of the peer of that name, who was attainted and condemned in 1716, came in. On the third day they resumed their march, and reached Perth on the 4th of September, which the prince entered on horseback, amid loud acclamations. Instead of taking up his residence, as his father had done in 1715, at the ancient palace of Scone, he went to another house of lord Stormont's in the town, where he gave a ball to the ladies, but astonished them by only dancing one measure, and then hurrying away, saying it was absolutely necessary for him to visit his sentry posts.

In fact, all his time was required to bring his army into some order and to recruit his finances. The four thousand louisd'ors which he brought from France had already disappeared, except a solitary one, which he showed to one of his followers. He therefore sent out parties, through Angus and Fife, to proclaim James VIII.; to enlist men, and to levy contributions. The city of Perth furnished five hundred pounds, and his partisans in Edinburgh sent him several sums, partly as loans, to be repaid when the restoration was accomplished. Some few men and a little money were brought in from the country round; but as there was a fair holding at Perth, Charles sent the traders passports to secure their goods from plunder; and, seeing a draper from London amongst them, he bade him, on his return, acquaint his fellow-citizens that he hoped to see them at St. James's in a couple of months. He spent his time in actively drilling his troops, and bringing his raw recruits into some degree of order.

Whilst at Perth, he received two valuable accessions to his party—the titular duke of Perth, who brought with him two hundred men, and lord George Murray, the brother of the duke of Athol and of Tullibardine. The duke of Perth had been taken to France, on the death of his father, by the duchess, and educated there. He was young, well disposed, but of little skill or ability. Horace Walpole calls him a "silly, race-horseing boy." When Charles landed, the government sent a captain Campbell to arrest him at Drummond Castle; but he made his escape, and hastened to the rebel camp. Lord George Murray was a man of maturer age. He had been in the insurrection of 1715 with his brother, Tullibardine; had fought at the battle of Glenshiel, and afterwards served some years in the Sardinian army. Receiving his pardon, he had lived quietly in Scotland with his family, and might, probably, have continued loyal, had he not been refused a commission in the British army. He was the ablest general in the rebel army; but he was of a blunt and impatient temper, and haughty in his address, which injured his influence. He recommended Charles not to spend too much exertion on the formalities of discipline, for perfecting which there was no time, but to trust rather to the national impetus and mode of warfare of the Highlanders. Unfortunately, a rivalry immediately sprang up betwixt him and the duke of Perth, which continued to augment to the end, and did immense mischief to the cause of the pretender. In all these broils Mr. Secretary Murray took the part of the duke against lord George, as hoping to obtain more power over the weak duke than the able and self-sufficient lord Murray. Lord George did not the less incur the enmity of Sir Thomas Sheridan, the prince's tutor, whose notorious ignorance of our laws and constitution he never omitted to notice and deride.

Charles wrote from Perth to lord Barrymore, in London, entreating him to urge forward the arrangements of the Jacobites there. He was importuned to issue a proclamation in retaliation of the government one, offering thirty thousand pounds for his head. At first he refused; then said he would only offer thirty pounds; but, at length, when weary of refusing, he only consented to offer the same sum for the head of the elector of Hanover, by accompanying the offer with the remark that he trusted no follower of his would ever attempt to obtain the reward; that it was a practice unusual amongst Christian princes; and by adding to the proclamation the words—"Should any fatal accident happen from hence, let the blame lie entirely at the door of those who first set the infamous example." It is but justice to Charles to say that he carried this abhorrence of assassination with him to the last, and showed the utmost reluctance to punish such attempts on his own person.

Having heard that General Cope, having seen his blunder in leaving open the highway to the Scottish capital, after having reached Inverness, began a rapid march on Aberdeen, trusting to embark his army there and reach Edinburgh in time to defend it from the rebel army, Charles marched out of Perth on the 11th of September, his little army having been increased by one hundred Highlanders, under Robertson of Strowan, besides the two hundred under the duke of Perth, and a few Lowlanders. On the road, he was joined by two hundred and fifty men under Macgregor of Glenguile, and sixty Macdonalds under their chief. He reached Dumblane that evening, and on the 13th he passed the fords of Frew, about eight miles above Stirling, knowing that several king's ships were lying at the head of the Frith. On their approach, Gardiner retired with his dragoons from the opposite bank. These dragoons had boasted that they would cut the rebels to pieces; but they made no attempt to prevent their crossing, but rode away after Hamilton's, and the other body of them left by Cope at Stirling, which, some days before, had retreated to Leith. Stirling, being deserted by the troops, was ready to open its gates; but Charles was in too much haste to reach Edinburgh. As his troops marched, on the 14th, within a mile of Stirling, the soldiers in the castle fired one or two cannon shots at them. Traversing the field of Bannockburn that evening, the prince took up his quarters for the night at Callendar, the seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock, and the army was disposed of in the broom fields near Callendar House, and in the town of Falkirk. Hearing that Gardiner, with his dragoons, intended to dispute the passage of Linlithgow Bridge, Charles sent on one thousand Highlanders, before break of day, under lord George Murray, in the hope of surprising them; but they found that they had decamped the evening before, and they took peaceable possession of the town and the old palace. The prince himself came up on the evening of that day, Sunday, the 15th, where the whole army passed the night, except the vanguard, which pushed on to Kirkliston, only eight miles from Edinburgh.

The consternation of the city may be imagined. The inhabitants, who had, at first, treated the rumour of the young pretender's landing with ridicule, now passed to the extreme of terror. The Jacobites had purposely fostered that contempt, by laughing at the enterprise as absurd, and at all measures taken against it as utterly needless; but the news that Cope had marched towards Inverness, instead of blockading the way of the rebels towards the south, and that Charles was marching down upon them, and had already entered Perth, threw the capital into a wild panic. The Edinburgh *Evening Courant* (says Mr. Chambers, in his History) still endeavoured to ridicule the Highlanders, as good for nothing but to talk of *snishing* (tobacco), king *Jamesh*, *ta rashant* (the regent), *plunter*, and new *progues*; but the authorities began, in a confused hurry, to make preparations for defence. The state of the fortifications of this northern capital, which was sure to be early attacked, on any Jacobite invasion, and of the soldiers, regular and irregular, however, showed the gross neglect of the government. Never was a place, or an army of defence, in so disgraceful a condition. Nothing that we have ever read of the improvident abandonment of all means of resistance, and all military discipline, in Spain or Portugal, exceeded that of Edinburgh and its garrison. Whilst we had been spending millions upon millions of money, and tens of thousands of lives, on the continent—in simple fact, only to protect Hanover—not a thought appears to have existed for the defence of Scotland and its capital.

The authorities were tossed about betwixt the conflicting news of the approach of prince Charles on the one side, and Cope on the other. Whilst the citizens were sent to work to strengthen their crumbling ramparts, and barricade the city gates, one of Sir John Cope's captains arrived, demanding transports to be instantly sent to Aberdeen, to bring in his troops. These transports were dispatched on the 10th of September, and the citizens, says Mr. Home, afterwards the author of the popular tragedy of Douglas, in the "History of the Rebellion," passed their time in anxiously looking up at the vanes and weathercocks, in terrible suspense as to whether the winds would bring their friends before the arrival of their enemies. The prince did not leave them long in doubt; news arrived that he was within a few miles of the city. The castle was safe in its own strong position, and with a small, but sufficient garrison, commanded by a bold and experienced officer, general Guest; but as for the town, it was surrounded only by an old ruined wall, in some places twenty, in others, not more than ten feet high; and which, though it had parapets, they were, in most places, too narrow to mount cannon upon them. As for the forces to defend the city, there were the two regiments of Cope's dragoons, which had already fled at the first sight of the enemy. They were now to be drawn up at Corstorphine, about three miles north of the city. To support them, it was determined that the city guard should march out, and also a band of volunteers. What service the city guard was likely to render, might be augured from their conduct in the Porteus riot. The volunteers never exceeded five hundred; they had been only embodied a few weeks, and were in the rudest condition of discipline. They included a considerable number of students, full of courage but destitute of training, and of still more citizens, trembling for their shops and families. Besides, there were some bands of militia, styled the Edinburgh regiment, which had never been called out since 1715, except for a parade, and a dinner annually on his majesty's birthday. Such were the defenders of the capital of North Britain. The command of all these unorganised troops was intrusted to the lord provost, Archibald Stewart, who had as little military knowledge as any of his men; and instead of regular engineer officers, the preparation of the new fortifications was thrown on professor Maclaurin, a famous mathematician, who could, no doubt, have drawn out able diagrams on paper, but who had neither experience, time, nor materials for the necessary work.

To add to the alarm, it was resolved to call out the city guard for their march to Corstorphine, whilst they were at church on Sunday, and by the ominous sound of the fire-bell. The sound of the bell, only tolled in moments of terror, instead of awaking a martial spirit, sunk the hearts of all who heard it. Still, the guardsmen hurried to the muster, the volunteers also assembled, and as Hamilton's regiment of troopers just then appeared, marching through the city to their post at Corstorphine, the volunteers waved their caps and loudly cheered them, which compliment the dragoons returned by hurrahs equally loud, and by clashing their swords. At this sight, the wives, mothers, and sweethearts of the city guard and volunteers surrounded them with tears and embraces, imploring them not to hazard their precious lives outside the walls. Captain Drummond and two hundred and fifty volunteers declared that they would march out and fight. The entreaties of the women were strongly seconded by Dr. Wishart, the principal of the university, and several clergymen, who declared that the volunteers ought to remain within the walls and defend the city. This, for such rude soldiers, was certainly the best advice. If they had mounted their walls and manned the windows of lofty houses, they might have given the assailants a warm reception; but the determination to march out being persisted in, captain Drummond gave the word and led the way, only to find, on getting outside the gate, that he remained the commander of about forty men! The rest had too faithfully obeyed the entreaties of their female relatives, and oozed away through side streets and narrow wynds as they approached the city gate. Captain Drummond returned into the city with his valiant party, and the lord provost, saying he was glad to see them back again, ordered ninety of the town guard, with some of the Edinburgh regiment, to join the dragoons instead of the volunteers.

Home, who was one of the volunteers, says that the corps to which he belonged giving up their muskets, bayonets, and cartridge boxes, to be kept safe at the castle, he and twenty others, in disgust, marched away, with their arms in their hands, to join Cope on his landing. As for the town soldiery sent on to Corstorphine, colonel Gardiner no sooner saw them than he ordered them back again, as worse than useless; but the troopers did not cut a much better figure themselves. Gardiner, on Sunday evening, left a detachment of dragoons at Corstorphine, and retreated with the rest to a field betwixt Edinburgh and Leith. That night brigadier Fowkes arrived from London to take the chief command of the cavalry.

On Sunday night the Highlanders lay between Linlithgow and the city, and on Monday morning Charles sent forward a detachment, which, on coming in sight of the picquets, discharged their pistols. The dragoon picquets did not wait to return the fire, but rode off towards Colt-bridge, nearer to Edinburgh, where Fowkes and Gardiner lay with the main body of horse. No sooner, however, did those commanders perceive the advancing Highlanders, than they also gave the order to retreat, and the order was so well obeyed, that from a foot's-pace the march soon quickened into a trot, then began a gallop, and the inhabitants of Edinburgh saw the whole force going helter-skelter, without order or sense of shame, through the lanes of Barefoot's Park, and over the ground where the New Town now stands, towards Leith, where they drew bit; but one of the men going in quest of forage after dark, fell into a pit full of water, and calling to his comrades for help, the alarm was given that it was the Highlanders coming, and the valiant troops mounted again and galloped to Preston, six miles farther, some of them, it was said, not stopping till they reached Dunbar. This "Canter of Colt-bridge," as it became called in derision, left the city wholly at the mercy of the Highlanders, except for about six or seven hundred men mustered from the city guard, the volunteer corps, and some armed gentlemen from Dalkeith and Musselburgh, who took post at the different gates.

The sight of the flying cavalry was rendered more alarming by a report brought in by a Mr. Alves, who stated that having accidentally been taken by the Highlanders, and conducted to the duke of Perth, that nobleman had desired him to go and inform the citizens of Edinburgh that they had only to open their gates, and their persons and property should be protected; resist, and they must expect military execution; and that a young man, whom the duke addressed as his royal highness, had confirmed this. This message Alves publicly delivered, for which he was suspected of treason and committed to prison; but his report had cast a terrible damp on the city, and it was thought by the people best to surrender. The magistrates, however, summoned by the lord provost to a meeting in the Goldsmiths' Hall, resolved to send a deputation to the prince, desiring that he would cease hostilities till they had had time to decide what they should do.

Scarcely had the deputies set out, when news came that the transports, with Cope's army on board, were seen off Dunbar, the wind being unfavourable for making Leith, and that his troops would soon be landed, and in full march for the city It was now determined to recall the deputation, but that was found to be too late, and general Guest was applied to to return the muskets, bayonets, and cartridge boxes which had been given up to him. Guest very properly regarded men who had thrown up their arms in a panic as unfit to be trusted with them again, and advised that the dragoons should be ordered to unite with Cope's infantry, and advance on the city with all possible speed.

About ten o'clock at night the deputation returned, having met the prince at Gray's Mill, only two miles from the city, who gave them a letter to the authorities, declaring that they had a sufficient security in his father's declarations and his own manifesto; and he only gave them till two o'clock in the morning to consider his terms. The situation was embarrassing. Cope was still thirty miles off, and the Highlanders, whom a gentleman galloping through the city declared to be sixteen thousand strong, were just upon them. Nothing occurred to them but to send a fresh deputation, in order to gain time; but Charles refused to admit these messengers to his presence. The deputation returned in the utmost dejection, little deeming that the prince had taken such measures as should render them the means of surrendering the city. But Charles had dispatched Lochiel and Murray of Broughton with eight hundred Camerons, to watch every opportunity of surprising the town, carrying with them a barrel of gunpowder to blow up one of the gates. This detachment had arrived, and hidden themselves in ambush near the Netherbow Port. The deputation passed in with their coach by another gate, and the ambush lay still till the coachmen came out at the Netherbow Port to take his carriage and horses to the stables in the suburbs. The ambush rushed upon the gate before it could be closed, secured the sentinels, rushed forward to the other gate, and secured its keepers also. Others ran to the guard-house, and secured the city guard and the watchmen. The whole was effected with the utmost silence, and when the inhabitants rose in the morning they were astonished to find the city in possession of the Highlanders.

Meantime, Charles, apprised of the success of his ambush, commenced his march towards the city at ten in the morning, accompanied by the duke of Perth and by lord Elcho, the son of the earl of Wemyss, who had joined him in the night. To avoid the fire of the castle he made a circuit, and entered the King's Park by a breach that had been made in the wall, and halted his men in the hollow of the hills at the foot of Arthur's Seat. There Home, the historian, who was on the way with his companions to join Cope, stopped to observe them. He described Charles as tall and handsome, fair of complexion, and in Highland costume. He wore a light brown periwig, with his own hair combed over the front. His Highlanders he calculated not to exceed two thousand hardy-looking and active fellows, and appearing bold and confident in their manner. They appeared destitute of artillery except one small piece of cannon without a carriage, but drawn in a cart by Highland ponies. About three-fourths of them were armed with broadswords and firelocks, the latter being of all makes and sizes, and amongst them many fowling-pieces. Some carried firelocks without swords, some swords without firelocks. The swords were not Highland broadswords, but French ones, and one or two companies were merely armed with scythes fixed into long shafts.

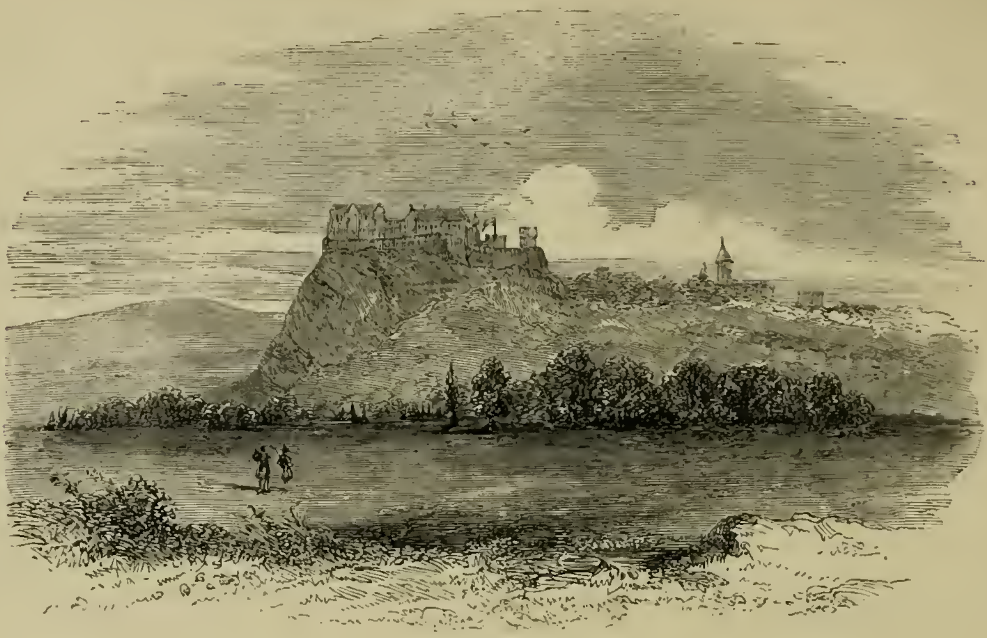
As Charles advanced along the Duke's Walk—so called from having been the favourite walk of his grandfather, James II., when duke of York, and resident in Scotland—he was compelled to mount a horse to make his way through the crowds which pressed around him, eager to kiss his hand, or even to touch his clothes. This 17th of September was a day of wonder to the Jacobites, who seemed to see all their hopes realised. They declared that Charles resembled Robert Bruce in person as well as fortune, and they could discover other likenesses to the portraits of his ancestors in Holyrood, who lived long before any one was capable of painting their real features. He rode on amid the loudest acclamations, and with the people kissing his boots and wetting them with their tears.

As he entered the court of Holyrood House, general Guest sent him a welcome from the castle in the shape of a cannon-ball, which struck the tower of James V. and fell into the court, bringing with it a heap of rubbish. Charles, disregarding the danger, passed on, and was entering the porch when James Hepburn, of Kirk, who had been out in 1715, drawing his sword, stepped from the crowd, and led the way upstairs.

Lochiel, having secured the arms and guards in the city, had drawn up his Camerons at the Old Cross, and kept them in good order, the men refusing even the temptation of whisky, which was offered them by the people. At noon the heralds and pursuivants, in their ancient and showy costume of office, were called upon to march in procession to the Old Cross, where the clans stood under arms, and there to proclaim king James VIII., and to read the royal declaration issued at Rome, the commission of regency, and the manifesto of Charles. All this was done amid the music of bagpipes and the waving of white handkerchiefs by Jacobite ladies from the neighbouring windows and balconies. Mrs. Murray of Broughton, a lady of remarkable beauty, sate all the time on horseback near the cross, with a drawn sword in one hand, and with the other distributing white ribands, the tokens of the house of Stuart.

After this triumphant day, Charles in possession of the ancient capital of his ancestors, and of their ancient palace, gave a ball, where the Jacobite ladies admired the handsome and gracious young prince for his dancing as much as they had done for his masterly horsemanship.

There was little time, however, for festivities. The English army was approaching, and it was necessary to assert his right by hard blows as well as by proclamations. A number of distinguished men had flocked to his standard since it had waved over his ancestral towers—the earl of Kellie, lord Balmerino, Sir Stewart Threipland, Sir David Murray, Lockhart of Carnwath, the grandson of Carnwath, the old pretender's stanch friend, and several Lowland gentlemen. Charles had all quarters of the city searched for arms, and from the government magazines and other quarters mustered about one thousand muskets, which, nevertheless, were not sufficient to supply all his soldiers. He levied contributions, also, on the city for tents, targets, shoes, and canteens. The citizens stood aloof from his standard; but lord Nairn arrived most opportunely from the Highlands with five hundred of the clan Maclauchlan, headed by their chief, and accompanied by a number of men from Athol. These swelled his little army to upwards of two thousand five hundred, and Charles declared that he would immediately lead them against Cope. The chiefs applauded this resolution, and on the morning of the 19th he marched out to Duddingstone, where the troops lay upon their arms, and then he summoned a council of war. He proposed to continue the march the next morning, and meet Cope upon the way. The chiefs approved the plan, and assured him that though their men had seen no battle, yet the officers would soon be amongst their enemies, and the soldiers would as certainly follow. Charles declared that he would lead the charge himself; but this produced a universal outcry that that would ruin all, for, if he fell, the war was at an end. Charles persisted, when the chiefs declared that if so they would all march home again, and he consented to lead the second line only. Early on the following morning, the 20th, they continued their march in a single narrow column, confident of victory. Charles put himself at their head, exclaiming, as he drew his sword, "Gentlemen, I have flung away the scabbard!" to which they gave answer by loud hurrahs. Their cavalry, which consisted of gentlemen and their retainers, only amounted to about fifty. Their artillery consisted of the sole cannon carried in the cart, and dragged along by Highland ponies. Charles desired that it might be left behind, as an incumbrance; but the chiefs declared that the men had so much faith in the "musket's mother," as they called the cannon, that it would be prejudicial to go without it, and accordingly it followed the troops. Besides the royal standard, different clans had their own banners, emblazoned with

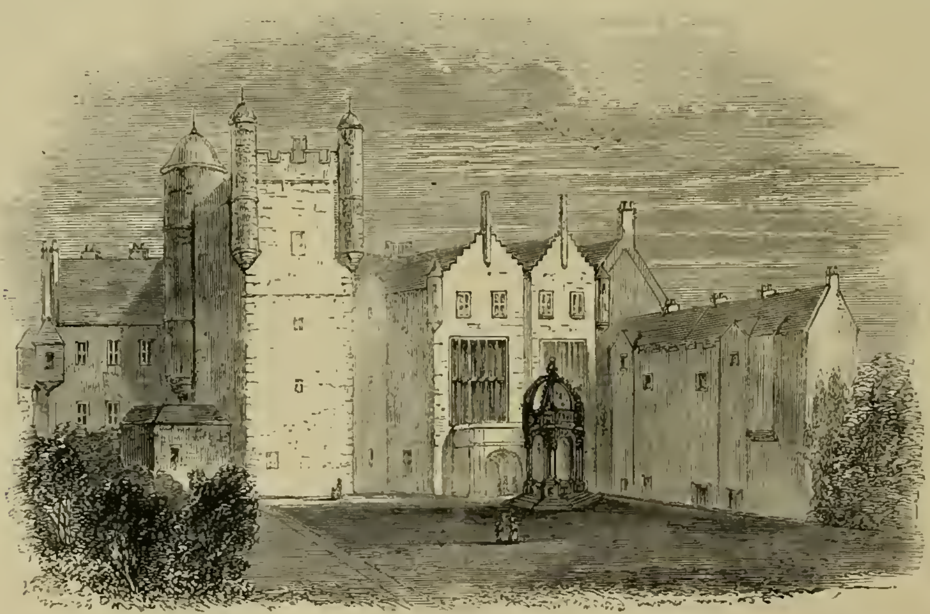


STIRLING CASTLE.

Highland mottoes. In the highest spirits the clans marched on through Musselburgh, and over the heights at Carberry, where Mary of Scots made her last unfortunate fight, nor did they stop till they came in sight of the English army.

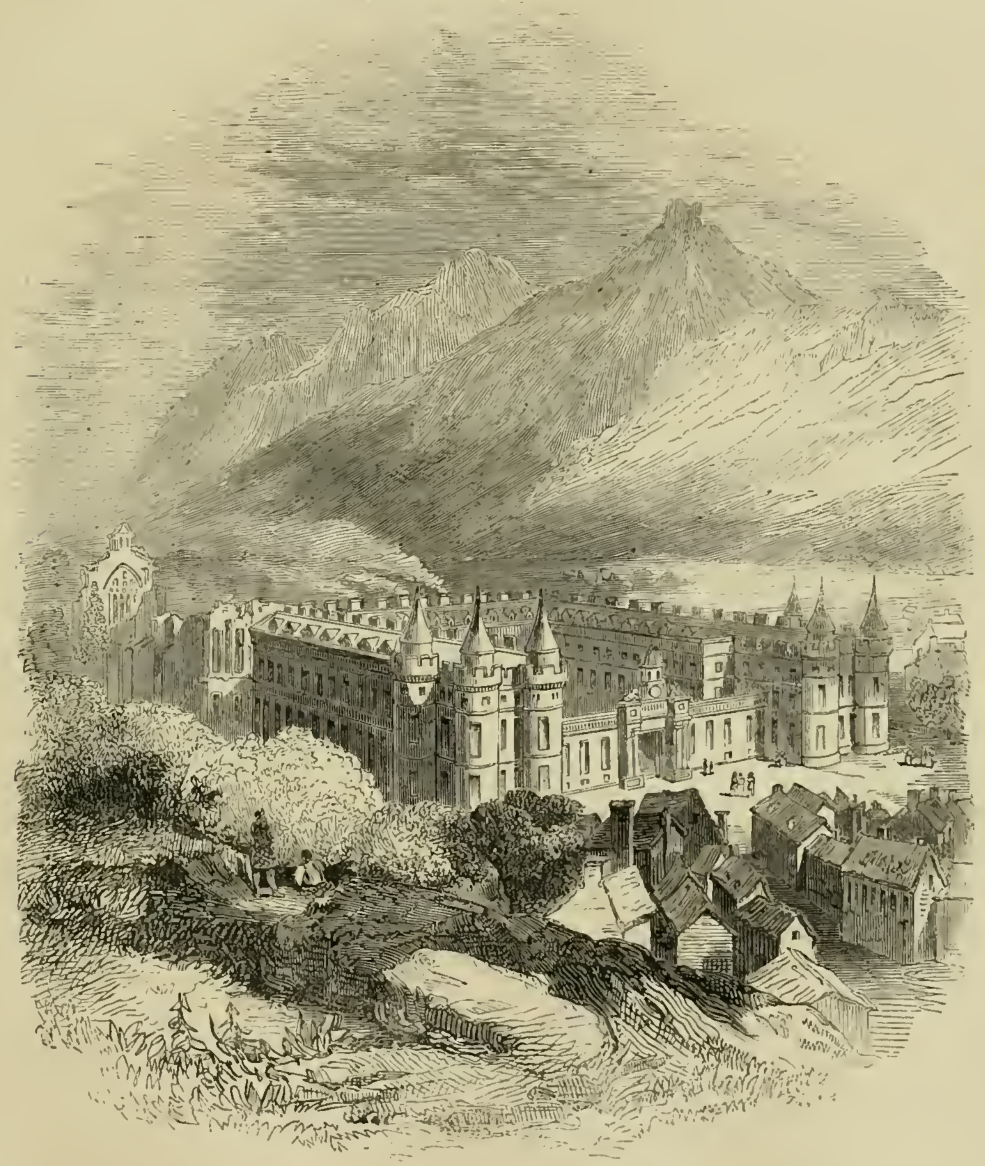
Cope had landed his force at Dunbar on the very day that the prince entered Edinburgh. His disembarkation was not completed till the 18th. Lord Loudon had joined him at Inverness with two hundred men, and now he met the runaway dragoons, six hundred in number, so that his whole force amounted to two thousand two hundred men—some few hundreds less than the Highlanders. At Dunbar a few volunteers came in, but without followers. The earl of Home, whose ancestor had gone out to meet Charles I. at the head of six hundred well-mounted men, made his appearance in Cope's army with two followers—a proof of the decline of the feudal influence in the Lowlands, and also of the decline of the Jacobite influence too.

The dragoons tended more to weaken Cope than tc



PINKIE HOUSE.

strengthen him by their discouraging account of the force of the Highlanders. Nor did the sight of the judges and crown officers who had fled out of Edinburgh at the approach of the Highlanders tend to revive their spirits. Sir John took the level road towards Edinburgh, marching out of Dunbar on the 19th of September. He does not appear to have sent before him reconnoitring parties, like a good general, to scour the hills, and enable him to assume more commanding ground should they have taken that way, in which case, by being on the heights and morasses in front, they could give battle, or delay it, at pleasure. There were two or three divergent paths along the plain, and these he did reconnoitre, sending two young volunteers on horseback along each road. These young men kept ahead, and returned at midnight, reporting all quiet. Others were then sent to look out till the dawn, two of whom never came back, being tempted by sherry and oysters at a country public-house, and there taken prisoners by an attorney's clerk, a mere lad. On the following morning Sir John quitted the high post-road near Haddington, becoming aware that his cavalry could not act if entangled amongst the defiles and inclosures around him. He took the lower road by St. Germains and Seaton. Home says that the spirits of the royal troops now became as unduly elevated as they had before been depressed, the country people who flocked from all sides to see the army declaring that there would be no battle—the Highlanders would run as soon as they saw them; and some of the officers themselves talked in this strain.



HOLYROOD HOUSE, EDINBURGH.

Lord Loudon, who acted as adjutant-general, now rode forward with a reconnoitring party, and soon came back at a smart trot to announce that the rebels were not approaching by the road and the open country to the west, but along the heights to the south. Sir John, therefore, altered his route, and pushed on to Prestonpans, where he formed his army in battle array. He placed his foot in the centre, with a regiment of dragoons and three pieces of artillery on each wing. His right was covered by Colonel Gardiner's park wall, and the village of Preston; his left extended towards Seaton House, and in his rear lay the sea, with the villages of Prestonpans and Cockenzie. When the hostile vans descried each other they set up a loud shout. The armies halted at about a mile apart, and then Charles sent forward Ker of Gradon to ascertain whether there was any obstacle to an immediate advance upon the enemy. Ker, mounted on a small white pony, proceeded to execute his commission with the utmost coolness. He rode over the ground in front of the enemy, paying no attention to various shots fired at him, and on coming to one or two stone walls he deliberately pulled down a gap in each to pass through. He at length returned, announcing that there was a morass in front of the English army of such a formidable character, that to attempt to charge across it would risk the loss of his whole army. This compelled them to defer the onset, much to the discontent of the men, who were afraid of the enemy escaping again, as they had done at Corry Arrack; nor were they satisfied till lord Nairn, with five hundred men, was dispatched to the westward to prevent Cope stealing away towards Edinburgh.

On the other hand, the troops of Cope were equally damped by the appearance of thus only standing on the defensive. Colonel Gardiner urged the importance of an immediate attack, but Cope did nothing more than discharge a few cannon-shots to drive a party of Highlanders out of Tranent churchyard. The night was cold, and the two armies lay on the ground. Cope retired to comfortable lodgings at Cockenzie; but Charles, after dining with the duke of Perth and another general, at a little inn, on a pound of meat, and the kail or broth which it was boiled in, with only two wooden spoons and one butcher's knife amongst the three, slept in a heap of pease in a pea field. In the evening, numbers of the Highlanders who had come with lord Loudon's regiment from Inverness, stole away to their countrymen in the prince's army; and in the middle of the night Anderson of Whitburgh, a gentleman, whose father had been out in the 'Fifteen, and who knew the country well, suddenly recollected a way across the bog to the right. He communicated this to Hepburn of Keith and lord George Murray, who went to waken the prince, who, sitting up in his heap of pea-straw, received the news with exultation. He started up, a council was called, and as it drew towards morning it was resolved to follow Anderson as their guide immediately. An aide-de-camp was dispatched to recall lord Nairn and his five hundred, and the army marched after Anderson in profound silence. It was not without some difficulty that they crossed it, after all; some of the soldiers sank knee-deep, and the prince himself stumbled and fell. When they reached the firm ground the mounted picquets heard the sound of their march, though they could not see them for the thick fog. The dragoon sentinels demanded who went there, fired their pistols, and galloped off to give the alarm.

The Highland army was now hastily formed into order of battle. As on all occasions with the clans, there was some controversy which should take the right; it was claimed by the Macdonalds, and finally yielded by the Camerons and Stuarts. The first line consisted of six regiments, with the Clanronalds, the men of Glengarry and Keppoch on the right, the Macgregors and the duke of Perth's men in the centre, and the men of Appin and Lochiel on the left. Behind this first line stood the men of Athol, the Robertsons of Strowan, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and the Maclauchlans, all commanded by lord Nairn. Charles placed himself at the head of this second line, and said, "Follow me, gentlemen, and, by the blessing of God, I will this day make you a free and happy people."

On the other hand, Cope maintained the order of battle arranged the day previous, except that he turned the men's faces towards the east instead of the west, to meet the new position of the enemy. His infantry was posted in the centre; Hamilton's dragoons were on the left, and Gardiner's, with the artillery in front, on the right, leaning on the morass. The mass of the infantry consisted of four regiments, Lees's, Guise's, Lascelles', and Murray's. There was no body of reserve, but they still had Preston in their rear, with Prestonpans and some strong stone walls. Their baggage was left in the village of Cockenzie. As the sun rose the mists rolled away, and revealed the two hostile hosts in their positions. There lay between them a level and naked plain, without bush or tree—in fact, it was a stubble-field. The Highlanders no sooner saw the enemy than, taking off their caps, they uttered a short prayer, and pulling their bonnets over their brows, they rushed forward in their separate clans with a yell that was frightful. The stubble rustled under their feet as they ran, and there was a deep murmuring of their voices, as they all continued talking as they went. The cannon, consisting of seven pieces and four cohorns, fired upon them, but did little execution, and rushing up to their muzzles they took them by storm. Till then the Highlanders had had a great terror of artillery; from that moment they acquired a contempt of it. The men who served the guns were not regular artillery-men, but seamen, whom Cope had brought from the fleet. They fled at the furious onset of the Gaels, and left the guns in their possession.

Colonel Gardiner now endeavoured to charge the advancing enemy with his dragoons; but it was in vain that he attempted to animate their craven souls by word and example—at the first volley of the Highlanders they wheeled and fled. The same disgraceful scene took place on the left, at nearly the same moment. Hamilton's regiment of horse dispersed at the first charge of the Macdonalds, leaving the centre exposed on both its flanks. The infantry made a better stand than the cavalry; it discharged a steady and well-directed volley on the advancing Highlanders, and killed some of their best men, amongst others a son of the famous Rob Roy. But the Highlanders did not give them time for a second volley; they were up with them, dashed aside their bayonets with their targets, burst through their ranks in numerous places, so that the whole, not being able to give way on account of the park wall of Preston, were thrown into confusion, and at the mercy of the foe.

The brave colonel Gardiner made a vain effort to continue the fight, and thereby lost his life. Seeing a party of the foot battling bravely, but without any officer to direct them, he exclaimed, "These brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander!" and galloping up he cheered them on to the charge. In a few moments, however, he was cut down by the scythe of a Highlander, and fell, pierced by a number of wounds, close to his own park wall. Thus fell the only officer who had shown any bravery in the English army, and one of the best and most pious men of the age. He was carried into the manse, and was buried by the side of his children in his own village church, just by.

Never was a battle so instantly decided—it is said not to have lasted more than five or six minutes; never was a defeat more absolute. The Highlanders were hewing down the English mercilessly, and especially venting their fury on the few horses that they could come near, having a notion that they were trained to kick and bite in the battle. Charles, who in the second line had not had the opportunity to strike a single blow, rushed forward, and did his utmost to restrain the murderous fury of his soldiers, and thus to rescue the vanquished. He continued till midday on the field, taking measures for the wounded of both parties without distinction. On no occasions did the prince show more favourably than in his humanity to friend or foe, presenting a striking contrast to the conduct of both Cumberland and the British government afterwards.

Of the royal army four hundred fell, and of the infantry not more than a hundred and seventy, escaped death, or being taken. Of the rebels there were only twenty killed, and seventy wounded. The Highlanders, according to their established plundering propensities, no sooner were victors, than they commenced stripping the slain and ransacking the living. The standards, the cannon, and the military chest, containing two thousand five hundred pounds, were given up to the prince; but everything else they appropriated themselves. They were speedily loaded with spoil, and about as quickly hundreds of them were on their way towards their mountains to deposit their booty. Some of the luxuries which they found they did not comprehend the use of, and chocolate was soon after cried in the streets of Perth as "Johnnie Cope's salve." One man exchanged a horse for a horse-pistol; and another, selling a watch for a trifle, said he "was glad to be rid of the creature, for she lived no time after he caught her"—the fact being that he did not understand winding it up.

The dragoons, which from first to last had displayed the most dastardly conduct of any in English history, fled partly to Edinburgh, but by far the greater proportion southwards. A hundred of them presented themselves at the gates of Edinburgh Castle, as well as sundry stragglers from the foot, and sought admittance as the only place of refuge; but the brave general Guest bade them begone, as cowards who had deserted their colours, or he would open his guns upon them; and in terror they galloped off westward. Sir John Cope, or Johnnie Cope, as he will be styled in Scotland to the end of time, by the assistance of the earls of Loudon and Home, collected about four hundred and fifty of the recreant dragoons, and fled to Coldstream that night. There not feeling secure, they continued their flight till they reached Berwick, where Sir Mark Kerr received Cope with the sarcastic remark, that he believed that he was the first general on record who had carried the news of his own defeat.

Charles lay that night at Pinkie House, and the next day returned to Edinburgh in triumph, with flags flying, the trophies of victory displayed, and bagpipes playing the old cavalier tune, "The king shall enjoy his own again." In their wild exultation the Highlanders fired their pieces into the air, and one of them slightly wounded in the forehead a young Jacobite lady, Miss Nairn, who was watching the procession from a balcony. She thanked God that the accident happened to a Jacobite, for, had a whig been hurt, it would have been said to have been done on purpose.

Charles was anxious to follow up his victory by marching directly into England, trusting to the effect of this signal triumph to bring all inclined to the Stuart dynasty to his standard. He was confident that if he met with anything like success on the way, a rapid march would put London in his possession. And, in truth, such was the miserably misgoverned condition of the country at the time, that, had he come with a tolerable French army, nothing could have prevented him making himself master of the kingdom. Never was England so thoroughly exposed to foreign danger, so utterly unarmed and unprotected, whilst it had been sending such armaments to the continent. Nothing but Providence was left to watch over the land, and by Providence alone was it saved. Henry Fox, at that time writing to a friend, said, "England is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the six thousand Dutch and the ten battalions of English we have sent for from Flanders, or five thousand French or Spaniards, will be here first, you know our fate." And on the 19th of September he added to the same friend, "The French are not come, God be thanked! but had five thousand landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle." Fortunately, the French had not supported the pretender on this occasion, as they had promised, and as fortunately, when Charles came to review the army with which he proposed to enter England, there only remained of it one thousand four hundred men. The rest had gone home with their booty; nay, some had gone and were returning, not to fight, but to carry up more which they had concealed.

Accordingly, Charles could do nothing but maintain his position for the present in Scotland, and send off a messenger to France to announce his wonderful success, and to urge that now was the moment to hasten over troops and supplies, and secure the crown and the friendship of England for ever. He sent over Mr. Kelly to the French court and to his father, and for a moment there was a lively disposition at Versailles to strike the blow. The king immediately dispatched some supplies of money and arms, some of which were seized by English cruisers, and some of which arrived safely. There was also a talk of sending over Charles's brother, Henry, duke of York, at the head of the Irish regiments and of others, and active preparations were made for the purpose at Dunkirk. But again this flash of enthusiasm died out, and Charles, three weeks after Kelly, sent over Sir James Stewart to aid him in his solicitations. But all was in vain. The French again seemed to weigh the peril of the expedition, and on their part complained that the Jacobites showed no zeal in England, without which the invasion would be madness. Thus the time went by, till the Dutch and English troops landed in England, and the opportunity was lost.

Meantime, Charles, compelled to wait the course of events in Edinburgh, endeavoured to render himself popular by his moderation and magnanimity. He displayed the utmost affability to those who visited him in the ancient palace of Holyrood, but he forbade all public rejoicings for his victory, because, he said, it was a victory over his father's misguided subjects. He was master of all Scotland, except some districts north of Inverness, the Highland forts, and the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. He ordered the proclamation of James VIII. to be read in all the Scottish towns, and he levied on the wealthy and anti-Jacobite city of Glasgow five thousand pounds for his necessary expenses. In Edinburgh, on the contrary, his treatment was liberal, and intended to be reassuring. The bankers had fled into the castle, and the clergy had abandoned their pulpits in terror. He invited them to return and pursue their usual offices and duties, but none of the bankers and only one of the clergy availed himself of the proclamation. Mac Vicar, the minister of the West Church, reappeared in his pulpit and prayed for king George. The prince was urged to punish him, but he refused; and then Mac Vicar, softening a little, added to the prayer for George these words:—"And as for the young man who has come among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech thee in mercy take him to thyself and give him a crown of glory."

To reduce the castle, Charles determined to blockade it and starve it out; but Guest sent word that he would in that case bombard the city and lay it in ruins. The threatened blockade was, in consequence, waived; but, some few days after, the Highlanders firing on some people coming up to the castle with provisions, the governor commenced a brisk fire on the town, which soon brought a message from the prince that the passage of the supplies should not again be interrupted, and the firing ceased.

Charles continued during his stay in Edinburgh to display the same humane character. His chief advisers proposed that he should send one of the officers taken at Preston to London to demand of the government a cartel of exchange of prisoners, and to announce that, if this were denied, and the prince's adherents were put to death as rebels when they fell into the hands of the enemy, the prince would treat his prisoners the same. To have obtained such a cartel would have been of the greatest advantage to the prince, as his partisans would have far more readily embraced his cause if they were assured of their lives in case of capture; but nothing would induce Charles to consent to such a proposal. He declared that he never would put them to death in cold blood, and to menace such a thing without meaning it was unworthy of a prince. As to the prisoners taken at Preston, he showed them the greatest clemency. He almost immediately liberated the officers on their parole, and allowed them to live at large in the town, and much freedom was extended to the common men. But this liberality was soon abused: an officer broke his parole, and betook himself to the castle; whereupon both officers and men were sent to Perth, and for a time carefully guarded. But the prince's followers were too few to maintain the onus and expense of such surveillance; they were soon released on taking an oath not to serve against the house of Stuart for a twelvemonth, except a few who entered into the prince's army.

On the 9th of October Charles issued a fresh proclamation. In this he declared the English parliament summoned to meet in Westminster on the 17th "a pretended parliament," declaring it high treason to attend it. On the day following he issued a still longer one, declaring the Act of Union, which he found everywhere most unpopular in Scotland, would never be ratified by his father; that he came to restore not only the king but the kingdom of Scotland. All other acts passed since the revolution he declared would be duly considered, and, if found for the public good, would be confirmed. He denied the frequent assertions that the Stuarts, if restored, would abolish the national debt and the national church. He repelled the aspersions on himself and his father as blood-thirsty tyrants; appealed to facts, and to the solemn declarations of his father that all existing rights and properties should be sacredly respected. He observed that if his ancestors had given just offence to the nation by any arbitrary acts, the family had now expiated their offences by an exile of fifty-seven years; and he demanded whether the new dynasty, which a fraction of the community had placed on the throne, had done anything to win a more favourable estimation than to load the nation with an awful amount of debt for objects in which the nation had no concern. As to the fears of him or his father bringing in with them the French and Spaniards, he said all the world saw that he had brought none, whilst the elector of Hanover had introduced Dutch, Danes, Germans, and Swiss. Was that being independent of foreign powers? He concluded by challenging the elector to send away all his foreigners, and let him depend upon the English people alone, and the question would speedily be decided.

This well-devised proclamation was not without its effect. Volunteers began to flock to his standard, the chief cause, however, being, no doubt, the *prestige* of his victory. Fresh reinforcements poured down from the Highlands. Lord Ogilvie, the eldest son of the earl of Airlie, brought six hundred men; Gordon of Glenbucket another regiment of four hundred from Aberdeenshire; Macpherson of Cluny, who had engaged to raise his clan, came down with three hundred; lord Balmerino, who had been out in 1715, a rough, old, hard-drinking Highlander, again took up arms; lord Lewis Gordon, brother of the duke of Gordon, declared for the Stuarts, and engaged to raise his clan. Besides these, lord Pitsligo, who was reckoned a very cautious, prudent man, but who was old and infirm, came, followed by a hundred and fifty cavalry, consisting of the gentlemen of Banffshire and their retainers, and by six companies of infantry. Altogether, Charles's army now amounted to nearly six thousand men. It would have amounted to ten thousand had the Macdonalds and Macleods of Skye and lord Lovat joined him. But though Charles sent a Macleod of Skye over to the island chiefs, urging them now to join his standard as certain of victory, they refused to move. He then went over from Skye to castle Dounie to stimulate lord Lovat, but that deceitful old miscreant was still playing the double game, and waiting to see which side would be the strongest. He had been so elated with the battle of Preston, he declared there was nothing like it in history; but all the time he was in correspondence with Duncan Forbes, complaining of his son-in-law, Macpherson of Cluny, seducing the Frazers from their allegiance, and then of his eldest son, the master of Lovat, being so mad as to follow the example of his brother-in-law. As for himself, he represented that he was dying of a horrible stitch in his side, of shortness of breath, and of grief at the conduct of his children and his vassals, of whom he wished every fifth man hanged. He deplored his misfortunes and welcomed the approach of death, as it would prevent him seeing the destruction which his mad and obstreperous son "was bringing on the honest family of Lovat." Amid all these hypocritical whinings, the base old man, though afraid of risking his own neck, was really encouraging his own son to do so. This the son, who was a very different man, and afterwards became the much-esteemed general Frazer, came to see, and to feel great disgust at. The duplicity of Lovat did not prevent government contemplating his arrest, and he made the most creeping and fulsome appeals to Duncan Forbes and lord Loudon to intercede to prevent it.

Disappointed in these very important quarters, Charles actively exerted himself to organise and drill his army at Duddingstone. He supplied all the soldiers with tents, either from requisitions on Edinburgh, or from the plunder of Cope's camp, though the mountaineers had much rather have lain in the open air. He went daily amongst them to see that they were all properly attended to, and frequently passed the night in the camp, sleeping in his clothes. He divided his cavalry into two troops of guards, under the command of lords Elcho and Kilmarnock, besides the little company of lord Pitsligo. He took care that the rations and pay of the soldiers were regularly supplied. After all, if we are to believe the report of a spy sent from England, who had the audacity not only to enter the camp as a partisan, but to obtain an audience of the prince himself, and to give him much pretended information as to the state of the troops and of public feeling in England, the rebel camp must have presented a strange sight. "They consist," he wrote, "of an odd medley of grey-beards and no-beards; old men fit to drop into the grave, and boys whose swords are nearly equal to their weight, and, I really believe, more than their length. Four or five thousand may be very good, determined men, but the rest are mean, dirty, villanous-looking rascals." Charles managed to keep these rude materials in tolerable order, however, for, though some of them would present their muskets at well-to-do citizens, when asked what they wanted, they would answer, "A baubee," that is, a halfpenny.

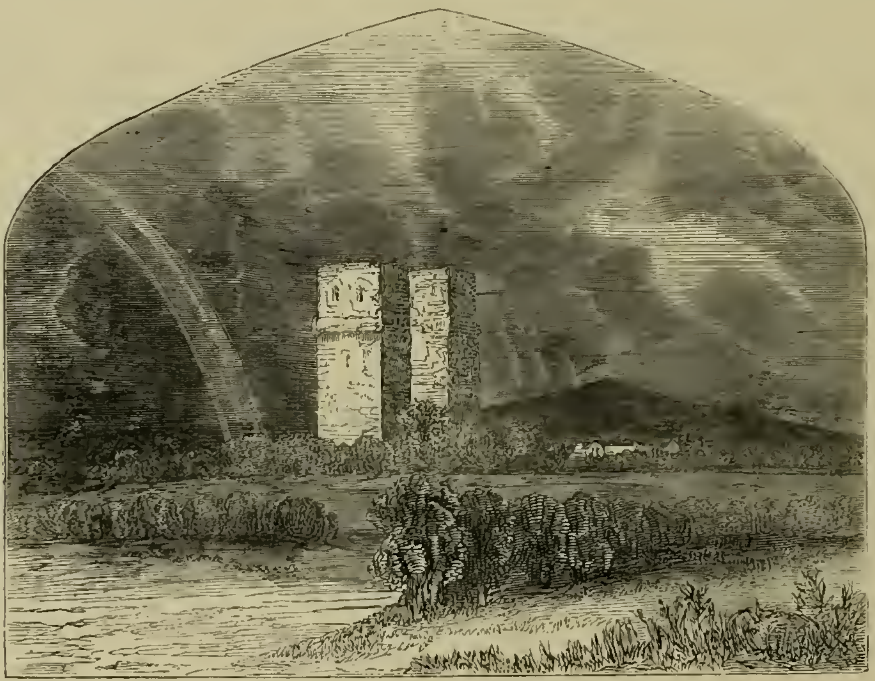
The military chest of the young pretender was better supplied than his camp was with soldiers. Those who were too old or too cautious to join him sent in money instead—the earl of Wemyss, for example, five hundred pounds. The revenues of the king's land rents were levied throughout Scotland as of right, and all arrears of them called in; the factors of the estates forfeited in 1718 were ordered to pay over their balances under threats of military executions. Forced loans, like that in Glasgow, were demanded from the towns, and the goods in the custom-houses at Leith and the other ports were seized and sold. Meantime the pretender and his agents were importuning all the catholic continental powers to assist by money or men this great enterprise; and though Louis of France could not be roused to make such an effort as would have carried all before it, he yet sent various ships with arms and money. One landed at Montrose brought five thousand pounds; three others brought one thousand pounds more, as well as five thousand stand of arms, six field-pieces, and several French and Irish officers. With these came M. de Boyer, styled the marquis D'Eguilles, and brother of the marquis D'Argens, who brought a letter of congratulation from Louis XV. Charles received M. de Boyer with studied ceremony, accosting him as Monseigneur de Boyer, as the accredited ambassador of France, and he persuaded the Highland chiefs that Louis was going to send over a powerful army. He dispatched a messenger to the French court to urge such an armament, as equally for the interests of France as for his own, and as certain now to drive the Hanoverian house out again. He solicited, also, fresh subsidies.

Whilst he waited for these, he maintained all the princely state that his circumstances allowed him. He established a council, consisting of the two lieutenants-general, the duke of Perth and the lord George Murray; the quartermaster-general, O'Sullivan; lord Elcho, colonel of the horse guards; his secretary, Murray of Broughton; lords Ogilvie, Nairn, Pitsligo; Lewis Gordon, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and all the Highland chiefs. The council met in his drawing-room every morning at ten o'clock, where Charles first propounded his own opinion, and then heard that of the rest *seriatim*. Lord Elcho says, however, that he was much more inclined, like all his family, to follow his own notions than those of anybody else; that the deliberations were anything but unanimous, and greatly embittered by the rivalries betwixt the Scotch and Irish officers. Bearing in mind that lord Elcho wrote this after he had irreconcilably quarrelled with the prince, we can still suppose this to have been very much the case from what became too apparent afterwards. At the same time Elcho informs us that about one-third of the council were thorough divine-right men, whose principle was that kings can never do wrong, and that they always supported the prince's opinions. After the council he dined in public with his principal officers, and then rode out with his life guards to the camp at Duddingstone. In the evening he gave a drawing-room to the ladies, and frequently a ball, where he appeared to the greatest advantage, calling alternately for Highland and Lowland tunes to prevent heart-burnings, and charming the ladies especially by his gaiety and affability.

But his army now had received the last reinforcements that he expected, by the arrival of Menzies of Sheen with a considerable body of men, and he was impatient to march southwards. He was the more ready to quit Scotland because lord Lovat had now sent him word that though h could not, from the state of his health, join the march into England, both he, and the Macdonalds and the Macleods of the Isles were prepared to defend his interests in the Highlands. The greater part of this intelligence was false, entirely so as regarded the Isles-men, and it was now well known that the English government had got together twelve thousand veteran troops, besides thirteen regiments of infantry and two of cavalry newly raised. The Highland chiefs, therefore, strenuously opposed the march till they should receive the reinforcements which he had promised them from France, as well as more money. Others contended that he ought not to invade England at all, but to remain in Scotland, make himself master of it, and reign there as his ancestors had done. But it was not merely to secure the crown of Scotland that he had come; it was to recover the whole grand heritage of his race, and he determined to march into England without further delay. The Highland chiefs, however, resolutely resisted the proposal, and at three successive councils he strove with them in vain to induce them to cross the border and fight the army of marshal Wade, which lay at Newcastle, consisting of Dutch and English troops. At length Charles said indignantly, "Gentlemen, I see you are determined to stay in Scotland; I am resolved to try my fate in England, and I go, if I go alone."

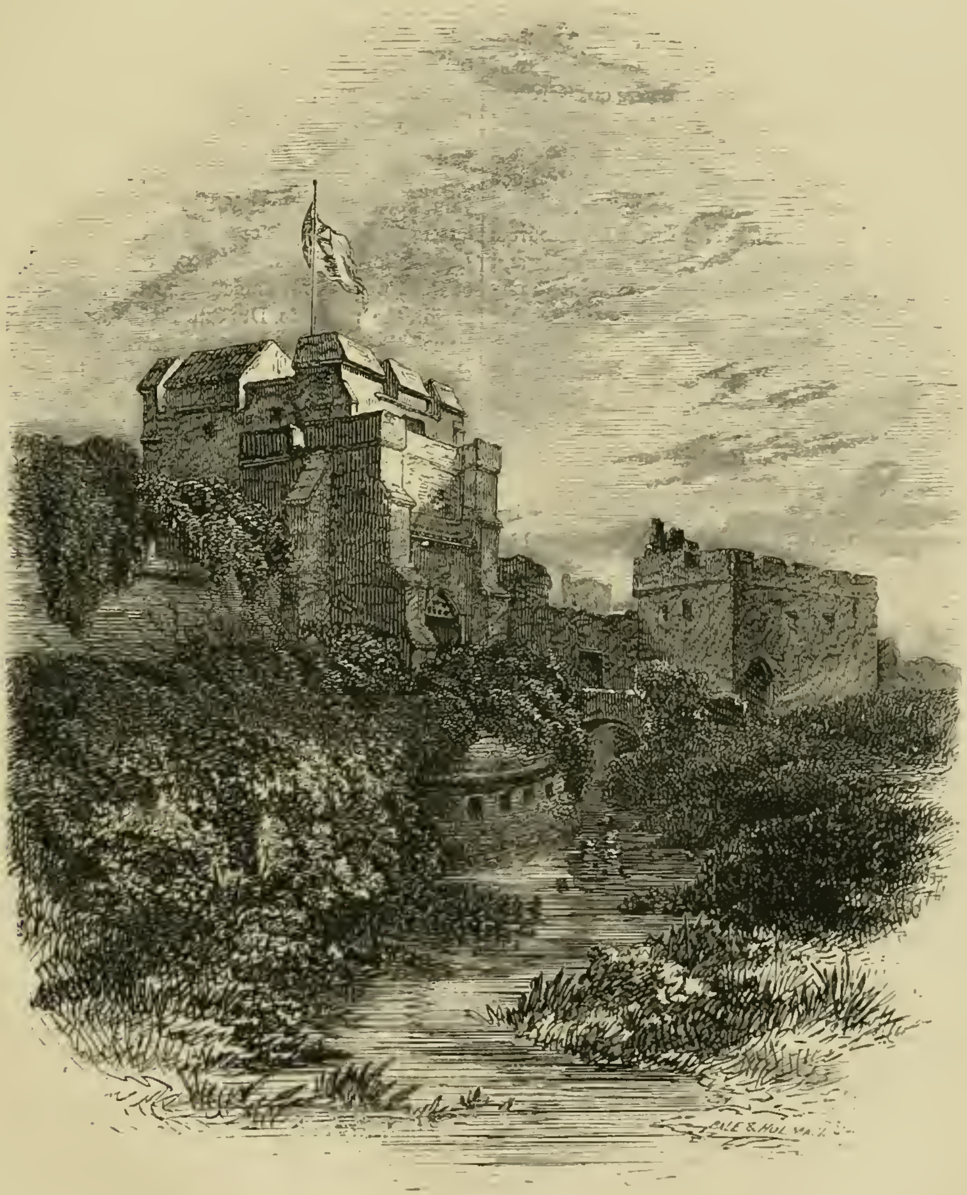
Lord George Murray then said that, as they needs must go, he proposed that they should enter England on the Cumberland side, so as to harass Wade's troops, if he marched across to meet them. The idea was adopted as a great improvement; it was kept a profound secret. Still further to mislead the English, lord George proposed another plan, which was also adopted—to divide the army into two columns, to march by two different routes, but to unite at Carlisle. One of these was to be led by the prince himself by Kelso, as if intending to march directly into Northumberland, the other to take the direct road through Moffat. It was resolved to leave lord Strathallan to command in Scotland, to take up his head-quarters at Perth, receive the expected succours from France, and all such reinforcements from the Highlands as should come in.

These arrangements being complete, Charles lay at Pinkie House on the 31st of October, as he had done after the battle of Prestonpans, and the next day, the 1st of November, he commenced his march. Each of the two columns was preceded by a number of horsemen to act as scouts. The pay of a captain was fixed at half-a-crown a day; that of a lieutenant two shillings; of an ensign eighteenpence; the privates received each sixpence, except the first rank of each regiment, which consisted of such as ranked as gentlemen, and were better armed, all having targets, which many of them had not; these tacksmen and dunie-wassails received a shilling a day each. In the day of battle each company of a regiment furnished two of its best men to form the body-guard of the chief, who usually took his post in the centre, and was surrounded by his brothers and cousins, with whom it was a point of honour to defend the chief to the death. So set forward the Highland army for England, and it is now necessary to see what preparations England had made for the invasion.



FIELD OF PRESTONPANS.

At the time of the landing of prince Charles in Scotland, never was a country left so utterly unprotected, so utterly uncared-for as that country; as though, instead of being the very point to which the exiled dynasty would direct their first efforts in any attempt at recovering the throne, it had been a part of the kingdom the most remote from his designs. Besides the handful of troops under the incompetent command of Sir John Cope—troops as destitute of discipline as they were scanty in number—there was scarcely an English soldier north of the Tweed. Nor was this the worst feature of this astounding neglect of the danger in that quarter. From the date of the rebellion, nothing had been done to put a check upon the Highland clans, except to make military roads across the mountains, and to build two or three forts. These, moreover, were deemed amply sufficient to keep the Highlanders in subjection. As for conciliation, or for winning over those clans by making it their interest to be loyal, such matters, though urged by one or two good and far-seeing men, were treated with contempt. The Highland clans were of three classes. First, there were the whig clans, the Campbells, the Grants, the Munros, Mackays, and Sutherlands. Had these powerful and numerous clans been armed and encouraged, they would of themselves have been able to put down any insurrections in the Highlands, for they were by far the most numerous and powerful, and well affected to government, and jealous of the Jacobite clans. There would have needed few English troops in Scotland; but on an emergency, with the assistance of a body of English troops, all opposition would have been hopeless. But all the Highlanders had been dis-



CARLISLE CASTLE.

armed by an act of George I., which had operated to strengthen the enemies of government, and bring them no friends. The friendly clans had, in obedience to it, given up their arms, and were helpless. The hostile, or Jacobite clans, had concealed, and thus retained theirs. The Jacobite clans were dividable into two classes:—the Camerons, Macdonalds of Keppoch, Clanronald, and Glengarry, who were now out with Charles, and those who had been out in 1715, the chief of whom were the Gordons, and the Macdonalds, and Macleods of the Isles, who now professed to be friendly. These last received a severe lesson in the former rebellion, and the clans who were out were not amongst the most powerful clans.

Since the rebellion of 1715, the population of the clans had greatly increased, but the means of existence had not increased with it. Poverty, therefore, deep and severe, prevailed throughout the Highlands. There were no resources of trade there—the people were averse to sea-faring life and to manufactures. Nothing was done by government to improve the condition of the mountaineers, whilst all other classes of the kingdom had been rapidly advancing in wealth and comfort. It was this grinding poverty which was now driving the hostile clans into the train of the invading Stuart, in the hope of plunder. All this had been foreseen and strongly represented to the English government, long before the outbreak. Seven years before, the able and patriotic Duncan Forbes had formed a plan for employing the Highlanders as soldiers in the continental wars which were then raging. This was an occupation perfectly in keeping with their genius and their ambition. Wherever they had been so employed in Flanders, they had proved themselves of the most intrepid and efficient character. In the recent battle of Fontenoy, they had shown themselves a match for the picked regiments of France. Here, then, was a mode by which the Highland pressure of population would be relieved, and the Highlanders converted into the most loyal subjects of the crown. Duncan Forbes hastened with this brilliant idea to the equally patriotic and able justice-clerk, Andrew Fletcher, lord Milton. Lord Milton was charmed with the idea. The lord-president, Forbes, wrote down his scheme, and Fletcher submitted it to the earl of Islay, then brother of the duke of Argyll, but, at the outbreak of the rebellion, duke himself. Islay hastened to town with it. Sir Robert Walpole declared that it was the most sensible and practical scheme that he had ever seen, and wondered that nobody had thought of it before, though, in fact, a plan very like it had been submitted to William III. in his time. A council was called to consider the lord president's plan, but there it was at once swamped. It was denounced as a scheme which the opposition in parliament would at once represent as a plan for extinguishing English liberty by a standing army of the Highlanders. Sir Robert shrunk at the very idea of this outcry. But there was a still more fatal obstacle to the adoption of the plan — it would at once extinguish the king's favourite practice of employing his own Hanoverians and the Germans. To secure Hanover and aggrandise it, both Hanoverians, Hessians, and other Germans, must be employed, and paid, and subsidised; and thus the Highlands of Scotland and the security of the realm were sacrificed to these German interests. Instead of five regiments of infantry, which the lord-president proposed should be raised, only one was formed, the forty-second, then called the Black Watch, which were chiefly raised from the Campbells and the clans favourable to the house of Hanover. Had the whole grand scheme been carried out—had the Highlanders of all clans and parties been brought into profitable and honourable service—the kingdom would have possessed a body of the bravest troops in the world, and troops most reasonably maintained. Invasion then, or rebellion, as Duncan Forbes truly observed, would have become an impossibility.

But even now, at the arrival of the young pretender, had the government actively sent arms to the well-affected clans, and invited them to join the troops of Cope, no such disgraceful scenes as took place could ever have occurred. In vain, however, did lord Milton urge that measure in earnest letters to the marquis of Tweeddale, the secretary of state in London for Scotland. The cool reply was, that the forces of Cope were amply sufficient, and the result was soon seen.

Still the patriotic Duncan Forbes and lord Milton continued their entreaties to the government to arm the friendly clans. The lord-president remained in the north about Inverness and Fort George, endeavouring to raise the friendly clans, and so that they might take the rebels in the rear. Lord Islay, now duke of Argyll, was anxious to come and lead out his clans, and all that bore the name of Campbell were ready to enrol themselves and fight for king George, if they were enabled to do it. But in vain did the lord-president and lord justice-clerk repeat their applications for muskets and bayonets. The duke of Argyll himself went up to London to second these applications in person. He complained of the grievous manner in which Scotland had been neglected, and urged that instant means should be forwarded to the friendly clans to enable them to support the government. He found the heads of other clans jealous of the supreme command being conferred on him. The dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, Buccleuch, and Montrose; the marquis of Lothian, the earl of Marchmont, and lord Dumfries, had all their petty interests and jealousies to serve; and thus, betwixt the imbecility and selfishness of government, and the factions of a proud and jobbing aristocracy, Scotland remained prostrate and helpless.

The news of the invasion brought George from Hanover. He arrived in London the last day of August, at which time the young pretender was already festively entertained by lord Tullibardine at Blair castle; but he seemed to entertain no great alarm. He thought the forces of Cope were sufficient to compete with the insurgents, and lord Granville and his party did their best to confirm him in this opinion. On the 20th of September three battalions of the expected Dutch forces landed, and received orders to march north. But what contributed more than anything to the security of the kingdom, was the activity of the fleet. The seamen all round our coasts showed as much spirit and life as our soldiers had shown cowardice. Privateers as well as men-of-war vied with one another in performing feats of bravery. A small ship off Bristol took a large Spanish ship, bound for Scotland, with arms and money. Another small ship took the "Soleil," from Dunkirk, carrying twenty French officers and sixty men, to Montrose; and a small squadron of privateers, who volunteered to serve under a brave naval captain, took a vast number of French vessels, and drove still more upon their own coasts. In the following spring, Horace Walpole mentions that two of these privateers met eight-and-twenty transports carrying supplies to the Brest fleet, and performed the almost unexampled prodigy of sinking ten, taking four, and driving the rest on shore. Such was the daring intrepidity and alertness of our seamen of all kinds, that the French government declined to put out to sea; and it was only by a rare chance that any succour could reach the young pretender. Charles's younger brother, Henry, was waiting to bring over the Irish regiments to his aid, but Louis would not hazard their appearance at sea in the face of such a dangerous fleet. Charles made an attempt to corrupt captain Beavor, of the "Fox," man-of-war, by offering him splendid rewards in case of his success, but the gallant officer sent him word that he only treated with principals, and that, if he would come on board, he would talk with him.

In London, notwithstanding, there was considerable alarm, but rather from fear of the papists and Jacobites at home than of any danger from abroad. Every endeavour had been used, in fact, to revive the "old popery" alarm. There were rumours circulated that the papists meant to rise, cut everybody's throats, and burn the city. There was a murrain amongst the cattle, and it was directly declared that the papists had poisoned the water. A lady wrote and published a pamphlet, exciting the worst fears of assassination of the children and dishonouring of the young women. The city gates were closed at ten o'clock at night, and not opened till six in the morning. The Tower was shut up several hours earlier than usual, and numbers of people were arrested in the streets because they looked miserable, and, therefore, suspicious. There was a fear of a run on the Bank of England, but the merchants met at Garraway's coffee-house, and entered into engagements to support the bank. They also opened a subscription to raise two hundred and fifty thousand pounds to enlist troops, and many of them gave as much as two thousand pounds a-piece. A camp was formed in Hyde Park of the household troops, horse and foot, a regiment of horse grenadiers, and some of the battalions that came over from Flanders. In the provinces many of the great nobility proposed to raise regiments at their own expense, and this act of patriotism was loudly applauded. In some instances the patriotism was real. The archbishop of York, Dr. Herring, roused the gentry in that quarter, both by a most animated speech and by deeds corresponding. Under his management and example, bodies of both foot and horse were speedily raised in Yorkshire. In Lancashire and Cheshire the case was the same, and lord Onslow displayed a similar spirit in Surrey. In many of these districts the catholics were as zealous as the protestants. But the great body of the whig nobility and some others cut a very different figure. No sooner did parliament meet on the 18th of October, and whilst the Jacobites were in the highest spirits, and opposing both the address and the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, than the dukes of Devonshire, Bedford, Rutland, Montague, the lords Herbert, Halifax, Cholmondeley, Falmouth, Malton, Derby, and others, moved, contrary to their noble promises, that their regiments *should be paid by the king!* and should be put upon the regular establishment. The public was taken strangely aback by this shameless display of selfishness, after such magnificent offers; but the aristocracy were united upon it, and the monstrous job was carried. These nobles had taken care to name their relations and dependents as the officers, and these officers were to take rank in the old and regular army with those gallant men who had grown grey amid powder and ball. The king was as much disgusted with the proposition of this equality of rank as the most independent of his subjects, but he found himself unable to prevent the measure. He trusted that the commons would take fire at so gross and unblushing a job, and, by a strong address, enable him to refuse his assent; but there were too many in that house interested in the matter to allow of such a protest. Horace Walpole says—"The Jacobites and patriots, and such as are not included in the coalition, violently opposed the measure themselves; so did Fox in a very warm speech, levelled particularly at the duke of Montague, who, besides his old regiments, had one of horse and one of foot on this new plan. Pitt defended them as warmly, the duke of Bedford, lord Gower, and lord Halifax being at the head of this job. At last, at ten at night, thirteen regiments of foot were voted without a division, and two of horse carried by a hundred and ninety-two to eighty-two. Then came the motion for the address (*i. e.*, that his majesty should not grant rank, &c., to the new officers), and in an hour and a half it was rejected by a hundred and twenty-six to a hundred and twenty-four. . . . The fourteen lords threaten to throw up unless their whole terms are complied with; and the duke of Bedford is not moderately insolent against such of the king's servants as voted against him. I should be sorry, for the appearance, to have the regiments given up, but I am sure our affair is over if our two old armies are beaten and we should come to war these new ones, four only of which are even pretended to be actually raised."

Such was the patriotism of our nobles on an occasion when the very overthrow of the crown was menaced. They could only think of aggrandising themselves, and saddling the country with the whole batch of their relations. These "regiment-factors," as they were called, thus loaded the army-list with a swarm of lordlings and lazy young fellows of high family, who were of no use, and whom the men in various cases refused to follow into the field. The only sensible result was an enormous increase of expense to the public. In Ireland, on the contrary, the protestant nobles and gentry displayed a patriotism as zealous and disinterested as that of the English nobles was base and spurious. There, however, when the earl of Kildare, afterwards duke of Leinster, offered to raise a regiment really at his own expense, so striking a contrast to the conduct of the aristocracy on this side of the water caused the splendid offer to be declined.

At length the duke of Cumberland arrived from Flanders, and foreign and English troops were collected in the midland counties; marshal Wade had also ten thousand men collected at Newcastle-on-Tyne. The duke of Cumberland was appointed commander-in-chief, and the brave soldiers who had fought under him at Fontenoy were ready to follow him, in the highest confidence of making short work with the Highlanders.

Those Highlanders commenced their march into England with no predilection for the adventure. The warfare of Scotland was familiar to them; in all ages they had been accustomed to descend from their mountains and make raids in the Lowlands. But England was to them an unknown region; they knew little of the dangers or the perils before them; they knew that in the whiggish clans of the west they left powerful enemies behind them. No sooner did they lose sight of Edinburgh than they began to desert. Charles led his division of the army across the Tweed at Kelso, and sent on orders to Wooller to prepare for his reception, thus keeping up the feint of marching eastward; instead of which, he took his way down Liddesdale, and on the 8th of November crossed the Eske, and encamped that night at a place called Reddings, on the Cumberland side. There an incident, trivial in itself, but rendered powerful by the superstition of the Highlanders, greatly depressed his followers. On stepping upon English soil they drew their claymores and hurrahed; but Lochiel, in drawing his sword, chanced to cut his hand; and the Highlanders, deeming this an evil omen, were alarmed at the sight.

The next day the other column, which had marched through Moffat, came up, and the united army advanced towards Carlisle. They were perceived as they were crossing a moor on the 9th, about two miles from Carlisle, by the garrison, which began to fire their cannon upon them, and kept it up actively for some time. On the 10th Charles sent a letter summoning the garrison to surrender, but the garrison returned no answer, except by its cannon. This garrison consisted only of eighty invalids, but in the town lay the whole militia of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, amounting to about one thousand six hundred men. The wall of the town was old and crumbling, but the castle was strong. The forces were commanded by colonel Durand, and the mayor, who sent them word that he was no Paterson of Scotland, but Pattieson, a true-born Briton, determined to hold the town to the last. They expected that marshal Wade would soon march to their relief, whence their courage; and, indeed, the prince heard that Wade was on the way by Hexham, and, instead of waiting for him, he went to meet him at Brampton, in the forest of Inglewood, seven miles from the town; but, finding he had been deceived, he sent back part of the troops to commence the siege of Carlisle in form. The duke of Perth conducted the operations, he and Tullibardine working in the trenches without their coats, to encourage the men. Lord George Murray lay at Harraby, on the high road to Penrith, and Glenbucket at Rickerby, on the north side of the river, thus covering the besiegers, the prince still maintaining his post at Brampton. As the batteries began to rise, the courage of the commanders in the town began to fail, and they offered to capitulate; but the prince declined any terms but surrender of both town and castle, the troops being allowed to retire without their arms on engaging not to serve against Charles for twelve months. These terms were accepted on the 15th, and the prince made a triumphant entry on the 17th, at which time Wade, in reality, had commenced his march against him; but hearing of the surrender, he returned to his post at Newcastle. The Highlanders had only one man killed and another wounded in this investment of the town; but few or none of the inhabitants showed any affection for their cause.

The prince's interests, however, received a wound in a violent quarrel which had here broken out betwixt the duke of Perth and lord George Murray. Murray was supposed to be jealous of the duke's command, and of his success in the siege. Many of the Highlanders were protestants, and lord Murray, whilst offering to resign his own commission, managed to have a requisition got up, requesting the prince to dismiss from his councils all papists, the duke of Perth and Sir Thomas Sheridan being of that religion. Charles was inclined to support Perth, but the duke, to put an end to the discord, resigned in favour of Murray, who, in reality, was the most able commander.

The town, the castle, the arms, horses, and military stores being surrendered to the prince, and the militia and invalids having marched out, a council of war was called to determine future proceedings. Some proposed to march against Wade and bring him to action, others to return to Scotland, where affairs had, immediately on their quitting it, assumed a lowering aspect. Strathallan had been joined at Perth by the master of Lovat, the earl of Cromarty, the Macgregors of Glengyle, and other small detachments, so that his force amounted to between two and three thousand men; lord Lewis Gordon had also raised three battalions in Aberdeenshire. But, on the other hand, the friends of government had been active in their exertions. In the north, lord Loudon and the lord-president Forbes had gathered a considerable force behind them at Inverness; and the whigs in the west had been mustering their militia. Glasgow did not forget the five thousand pounds which had been extorted from it, and Paisley and Dumfries, as well as the great manufacturing city, were strongly in arms. At Dundee, and even at Perth, in the very face of Strathallan, the inhabitants had insisted on celebrating the birthday of king George, and had exchanged blows with the soldiery. No sooner had the prince quitted Edinburgh than the judges and government officers had fled back thither. Levies had been raised to defend the town, and general Wade had sent them two regiments of cavalry. Charles had sent the chief of Maclauchlan to Strathallan, to order him to march with all speed to the army in England; but, under these circumstances, Strathallan pleaded his utter inability to comply.

Notwithstanding all these unfavourable circumstances, Charles still insisted on marching forward. Lord George Murray was the only one who at all seconded him, and he did not recommend marching far into England without more encouragement than there yet appeared; but as his royal highness was anxious to ascertain that point, he said he was sure his army, small as it was, would follow him. Charles declared his conviction that his friends in Lancashire waited only for their arrival; and the marquis D'Eguilles declaring his expectation of a speedy landing of a French army, under this assurance the council consented to the advance.

On the 20th of November this memorable march commenced. For the convenience of quarters, the two divisions of the army were still maintained, the first led by lord

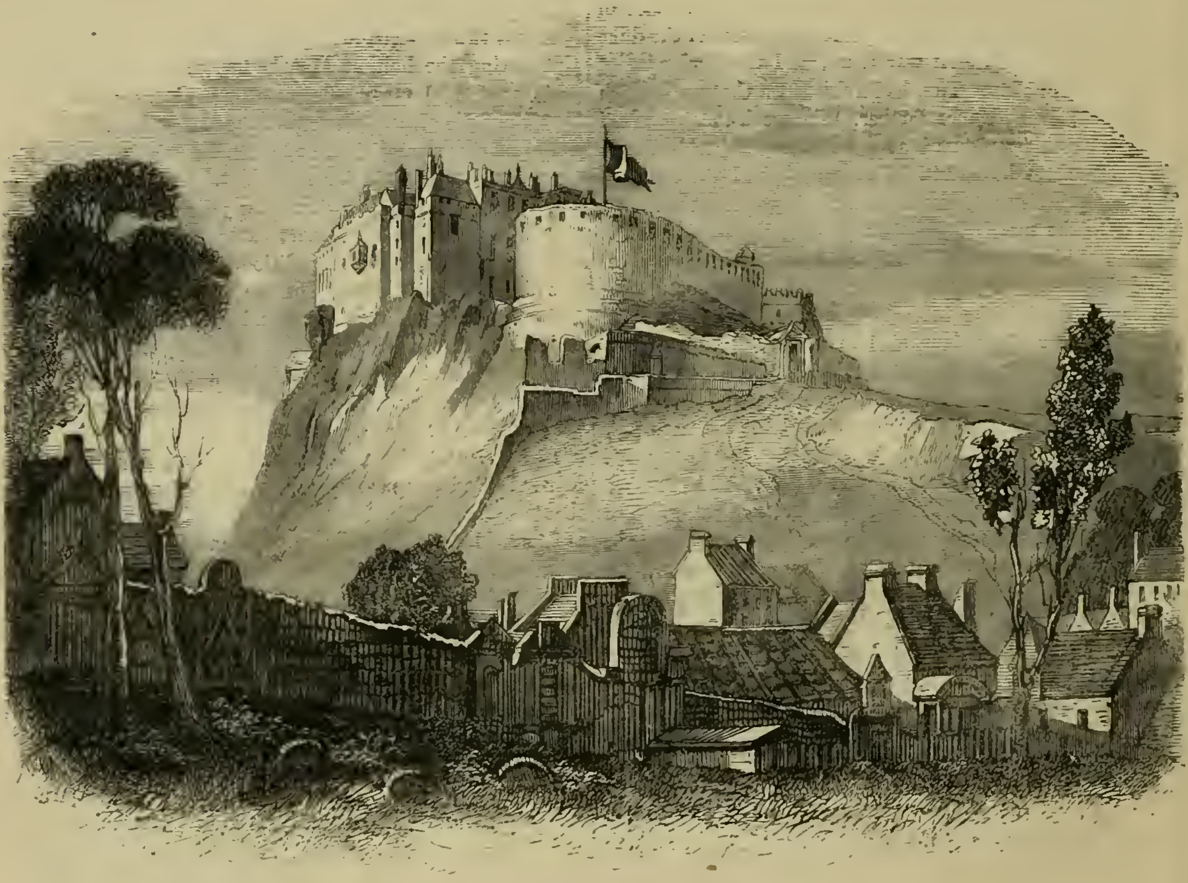
George Murray, the second by the prince himself. They left a garrison of two hundred men at Carlisle, though, on a muster, it was discovered that above a thousand men had deserted since they left Edinburgh, and that they had now only four thousand five hundred to attempt the conquest of England with. At Penrith the whole army halted for a day, hearing that Wade was coming against them; but finding, on the contrary, that he was gone back, they pursued their route by Shap, Kendal, and Lancaster, to Preston, where they arrived on the 27th. On the way, so far from meeting with any signs of adhesion, the farmers from whom they had taken horses congregated and pursued them on other horses, dismounted some of their cavalry, and carried their horses away again. Preston was a place of ill omen to the Highlanders ever since the defeat of the duke of Hamilton in the civil war there, and the surrender of Mackintosh in 1715. They had a fixed idea that no Scottish army could ever advance farther. To break this spell lord George led his vanguard at once over the bridge, and quartered them beyond it. The army halted there a day, and then proceeded to Wigan, which they entered the next day. On the march Charles showed every attention to the comfort of his meanest followers, and very little to his own. He insisted on the old and infirm lord Pitsligo occupying his carriage, whilst he himself marched on foot at the head of one or other of the clans, clad in the Highland costume, and his target slung on his shoulder. His shoes were so worn down that he was obliged to get a blacksmith to put a thin plate of iron on part of one of his soles. He often took but one hearty meal in the day, and that in the evening, and threw himself down in his clothes to sleep. Till he reached Preston, however, he received no tokens of sympathy. The most horrible ideas were entertained of the Highlanders, the women believing that they ate children. At Preston, for the first time, he received three hearty cheers, and a few men joined his standard. On the road from Wigan to Manchester the expressions of good-will increased; throngs of people collected to see him pass, but none would consent to join them. At Manchester the approach of the army had been heralded by a Scotch sergeant, a drummer, and a woman, the men in plaids and bonnets exciting great astonishment, and bringing together thousands of spectators. They announced the prince for the morrow, and began recruiting for his service. They offered a bounty of five guineas, to be paid when the prince came. A considerable number enlisted, receiving a shilling in token of engagement. The prince entered amid great crowds, great acclamations, and the ringing of bells. The people assumed white cockades in his honour; there was an illumination in the evening, and crowds flocked to kiss his hand and offer their services.

A letter of the time says:—"The Highlanders do not appear such terrible fellows as has been represented. Many of the foot are diminutive creatures, but many clever men amongst them. The guards and officers are all in the Highland dress, a long sword, and stuck with pistols; their horses of all sizes and colours. The bellman went to order all persons charged with excise, and innkeepers, forthwith to appear, and bring their last quittance and as much ready cash as that contains, on pain of military execution. It is my opinion that they will make all haste possible through Derbyshire, to evade fighting Ligonier. I do not see that we have any person in town to give intelligence to the king's forces, as all our men of fashion are fled, and all officers under the government. A party came in at ten this morning, and have been examining the best houses, and fixed upon Mr. Dicconson's for the prince's quarters. Several thousands came in at two o'clock; they ordered the bells to ring; and the bellman has ordered us to illuminate our houses. The chevalier marched past my door in a Highland dress, on foot, at three o'clock, surrounded by a Highland guard; no music but a pair of bagpipes. Those that came in last night demanded quarters for ten thousand to-day." This was to create an idea of their force being double what it really was.

About two hundred men joined the standard of insurrection during the halt at Manchester. But these were the mere scum and ragamuffinism of the place; so much so, that the duke of Perth was provoked to declare, that if the devil had come recruiting, and offered a shilling more than the prince, they would have taken it. This was an appalling change since 1715, when nearly the whole Lancashire population was for the Stuart cause, and when thousands were ready to join the expedition. This miserable squad was dignified with the name of the "Manchester regiment," and was put under the command of Francis Townley, a catholic of an ancient Lancashire family, nearly the only gentleman who joined the rebels in that county. The Highland chiefs were so disappointed by this revelation of the real state of the Stuart interest in England, that they again strenuously demanded a retreat. They represented that marshal Wade was now actually marching against them; that the duke of Cumberland was waiting to intercept them at Lichfield with eight or ten thousand men, and that the king was ready to take the command of the army at Finchley in person; that the bridges over the Mersey and some other rivers in front were broken down by order of the duke of Cumberland, and that as to any army landing from France to aid them, there was not the slightest chance of it; that admiral Vernon cruised in the channel with a formidable fleet, and Byng with another on the east coast of Scotland; that the militia of different counties was called out; Liverpool was closed against them by the spirit of the inhabitants, and Chester by the earl of Cholmondeley and his regiment.

These certainly were considerations enough to impress prudent men, but they made no impression on Charles. He still contended that they should find friends ahead, and was as determined as ever to go on. The chief officers then remonstrated with lord George Murray, representing that to advance farther in the face of these obstacles was an act of madness. Lord George was in a dilemma betwixt the sentiment of the chiefs and the resolute determination of the prince; but he assured the officers that if they would consent to go on as far as Derby, and if, by that time, they were not joined by the English Jacobites, he would pledge himself then to insist on a retreat. On these conditions only the chiefs consented to proceed. On the 1st of December the army resumed its march. They immediately found the effect of Cumberland's measures; they had to ford the Mersey near Stockport, and to carry the baggage and artillery over a rude wooden bridge, consisting of the trunks of trees thrown across, at Chorlton. That evening they reached Macclesfield. On the Cheshire bank of the Mersey Charles found a few country gentry waiting to pay their respects to him, and amongst them an enthusiastic old lady, a Mrs. Skyring, who, as a child, had witnessed the landing of Charles II. at Dover, and exclaimed, on seeing the prince, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace!" It is said that on hearing, a few days after, of the retreat, the old lady died of the shock.

Notwithstanding this greeting, no one there joined the prince. Lord George pushed on with his division to Congleton, whence he sent on colonel Kerr, who met and routed a small body of the duke of Kingston's horse, and drove them towards Newcastle-under-Lyne. Kerr seized captain Weir, well known as one of Cumberland's principal spies; and, by threatening him with the gallows, drew from him the particulars of the duke's numbers and position. It appeared that the duke was under the impression that the prince was directing his march towards Wales to join his partisans there, and having encouraged this notion by this advance, and led the duke to proceed as far as Stone, lord George suddenly altered his route, and got to Ashbourne and thence to Derby, thus throwing the road to London quite open, and being two or three days' march in advance of the duke. Charles entered Derby the same day, the 4th of December, and took up his quarters at a house belonging to the earl of Exeter, at the bottom of Full Street. Charles entered Derby as he had done all the other towns on his route, on foot, and surrounded by his guards, commanded by lord Elcho. An eye-witness, an inhabitant of Derby, describes the prince as tall, straight, slender, and handsome, dressed in a green bonnet laced with gold, a bob-wig, a Highland plaid, and with a broad-sword; that his guards were fine fellows, well dressed, but their horses very jaded; that the main body of the army marched in six or eight abreast—a mixture of all sizes, from mere childhood to old age, from the dwarf to the giant, tired, dirty, and many ragged in their dress. They carried eight standards, white with red crosses, and had no music but bagpipes; they planted their artillery on Nun's Green, and then dispersed themselves through the town for quarters; they demanded billets for nine thousand men, and called for the magistrates, but were told that they had fled; they, however, found alderman Cooper, who was lame, and could not run away, and compelled him to proclaim James VIII. The Highlanders then began to help themselves to clothes, of which they stood in great need, paying for some, but omitting to pay for more; they demanded, according to their practice, the land-tax, excise, and other taxes, and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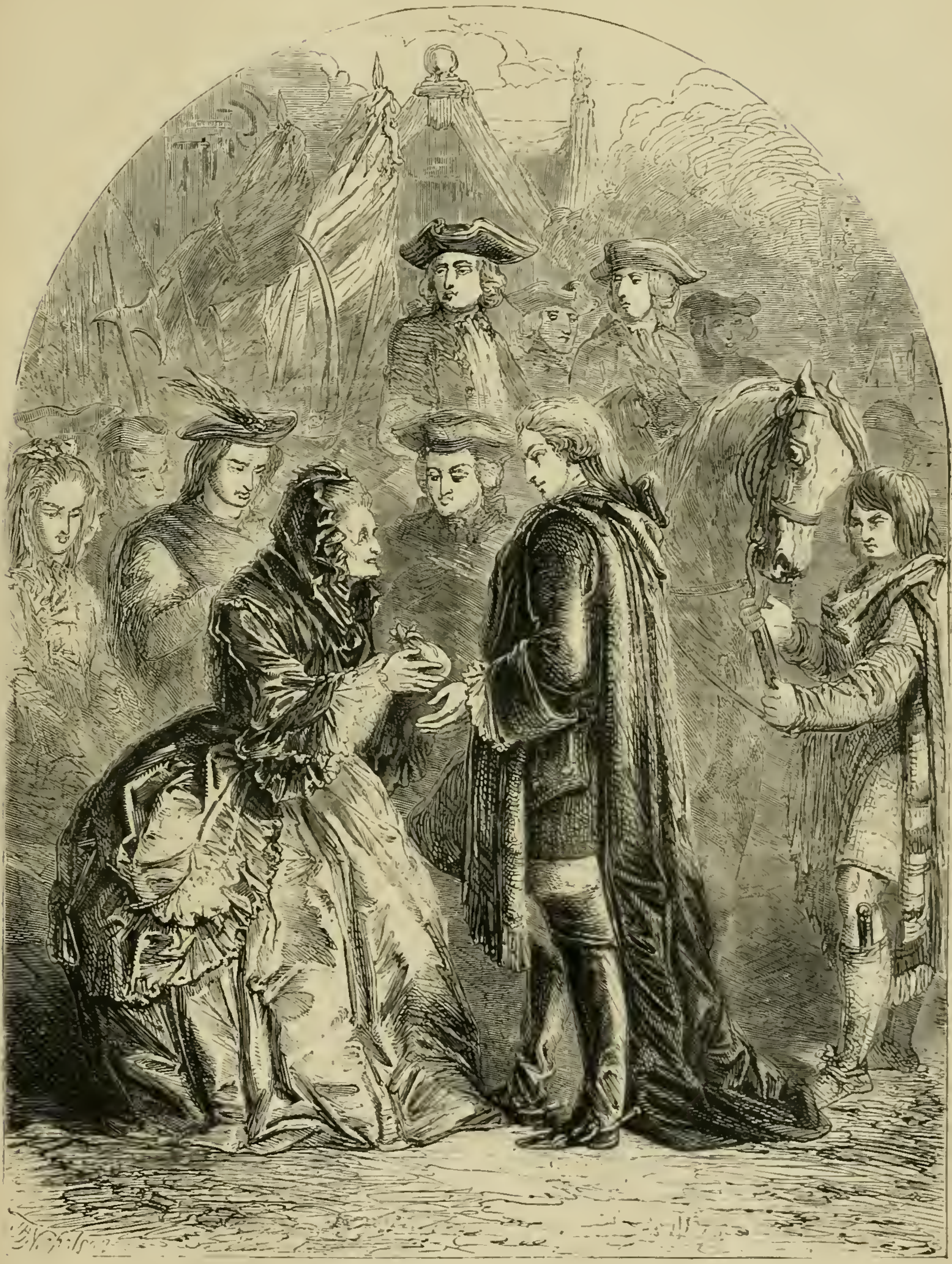


MRS. SKYRING WELCOMING THE YOUNG PRETENDER.

raised two thousand five hundred pounds; they demanded one hundred pounds from the post-office, but not getting it, they took away a post-chaise.

They were now only one hundred and twenty-seven miles from the capital, both Wade and Cumberland behind them, and Charles, notwithstanding the conditions on which they had come on from Macclesfield, still confidently and enthusiastically dwelt on the onward march to London, and his certain success. He dwelt buoyantly on this topic after supper, but found no response from his chief officers. Still, the next day recruiting for volunteers was active, and drummers and sergeants were in every quarter of the town beating up for them; but the only men they got amounted to three—an itinerant blacksmith, a butcher, and a stocking-maker. Whilst this was going on, Charles and his officers attended service at All-Saints' Church, and one Coppock, whom Charles had made bishop of Carlisle, preached before them. In the morning a council was held, when lord George Murray reminded the prince that he had engaged to the chiefs, that if they received no reinforcements before they reached Derby, they would commence a retreat. He appealed to the prince whether they had received the least accession of strength, the least sign of encouragement; whether he had even received a single letter promising assistance, or advising their advance? Such being the case, what hope was there for them in proceeding? They had barely five thousand men to contend against three armies, amounting at least altogether to thirty thousand. If they got to London before Cumberland, and if they managed to elude the army at Finchley, they had scarcely numbers to take quiet possession of London. But were they forced to fight the king and his army under the walls of the metropolis, they could not do it without loss; and then, supposing Wade and Cumberland to unite behind them, as they certainly would do, how could they hope to contend against them? Assistance from France, as they had pointed out, was hopeless, whilst the English had such a force in the Channel. The only possible result was, that they should be surrounded and destroyed by overwhelming numbers, whilst the prince, and such of his followers as might be taken alive, had nothing but an ignominious death to expect at the hands of their blood-thirsty enemies. On the other hand, if they made their way back to Scotland, as they very well could, by dispatches just received by the prince they were informed that lord John Drummond had landed at Montrose with the regiment of Royal Scots and some picquets of the Irish brigade, so that lord Strathallan would then be able to join them with at least four thousand men. With ten thousand men in Scotland, where they had numerous friends, they could make a great stand, and give time for some of the chances of war falling in their favour. Lord George assured him that these were the unanimous sentiments of the chiefs, and they confirmed that assertion.

Charles listened to these arguments with undisguised impatience. He set his mind on achieving this grand enterprise, and would not suffer himself to contemplate anything short of it. Though the country had not responded to his call, he had, in a most daring and extraordinary manner, beginning with only seven adherents, marched thus into the very heart of England. Wherever he had encountered the royal forces he had defeated them; in all other cases he had outmanœuvred them, and to him nothing seemed easier than, by a bold and rapid advance, to strike terror into his enemies, and secure the long-anticipated crown. It was a certain fact, too, of which he was well aware, that the inferior officers and all the common men were as much bent on the march to London as himself. They entertained no fears, they admitted of no misgivings; they had yet seen no army on the road which they had not readily routed, and all that day had been taking the sacrament at the different churches, and sharpening up their swords at the different smiths for the decisive blow at London.

Charles dwelt confidently on these facts, and on his unshaken trust in Providence, which had thus far led him, as he contended, by so clear and strong a hand. He admitted that there were dangers in advancing, but he demanded whether there were no dangers in retreat; besides which, retreat was disgraceful. He contended that, spite of all that had been said, only let them succeed in gaining London, and both French and English succour would pour in. The French would land in Kent or Essex, the friends of their cause would then come out in all their force, and their enemies, confused by the boldness and daring of their enterprise, would become divided and helpless. He appealed to them whether they would desert their prince in the very moment that he was about to seize the long-contested prize?

It must be confessed that the language of Charles Edward was, what his conduct had been from the first, that of a hero, who scorns difficulties, is not appalled by the most formidable dangers, and thinks nothing impossible to a brave commander with even a mere handful of brave and determined men; and the probability is, that, had his officers been willing to follow him, and live or die in the enterprise, he would have seized London, and accomplished one of the most brilliant exploits in history. It is true that George II. was also a brave and stanch commander, prepared to die on the spot rather than yield, as he had shown at Dettingen. But the greater part of his forces at Finchley were raw levies, and might not have stood better than the troops had done in Scotland. There was a terror of the Highlanders, even in the army; and as for London itself, the panic, when it was heard that they had got betwixt the duke's army and the capital, was, according to Fielding, who was then in London, incredible. There was a frantic rush upon the Bank of England, and it is said that it must have closed, had it not gained time by paying in sixpences. The shops were shut, business was at a stand; the ministers were in the utmost terror, and the duke of Newcastle was said to have shut himself up for a day, pondering whether he should declare for the pretender or not. The king himself was by no means confident of the result. He is said to have sent most of his precious effects on board a yacht at the Tower quay, ready to put off at a minute's warning. The day on which the news of the rebels being at Derby reached London, was long renowned as BLACK FRIDAY. In such a state of terror, and the army at Finchley inferior in numbers, and infinitely inferior in bravery, who can doubt that Charles would for a time have made himself master of the metropolis? It could, however, have been but for a time. The united armies of Wade and Cumberland would soon have been down upon him, the spirit of the nation would have risen against the Stuart and popery, and the issue was certain. No bravery, however chivalrous, can avail when the heart of a people is not with the aspirant; and, notwithstanding the faction of the Jacobites was still numerous, the coldness with which the young prince had been received on his whole march, demonstrated that the Stuart dynasty could never more take root in England. The brave little army of Highlanders would have suffered the fate which lord George portrayed, and a more bloody tragedy than that of Culloden would have darkened the annals of England.

Charles, wrought up to the highest pitch of agony at the prospect of being compelled to abandon the splendid design of entering London in triumph, continued to expostulate and entreat the whole day. The duke of Perth and some of the Irish officers, moved by his distress, gave way, and called on the other chiefs to yield; but they remained immovable, and the prince, seeing the case hopeless, at length gave up the contest, and, in deep dejection, assented to the retreat. But, as if he deemed the relinquishment of the march on the metropolis the ruin of the whole enterprise, he declared that henceforth he would summon no more councils; being accountable only to God and his father, he would not again either seek or accept their advice.

The next morning, the 6th of December, the retreat commenced; but the soldiers and the inferior officers little dreamed that it was a retreat. They imagined that they were going to fight the duke of Cumberland, and marched out in high spirits. The morning was foggy, and for some time the delusion was kept up; but when the fog cleared away, and they perceived that they were retracing their former route, their disappointment and rage became excessive. "The grief," says Chevalier Johnstone in his "Memoirs," "could not have been greater had we been beaten." The men continued their march in sullen anger and loud denunciations of the shameful retreat, as they deemed it. They ceased to observe that strict discipline and that regard to property which they had maintained in coming; they began to plunder, to seize horses for their own convenience, and commit many acts of outrage. As for Charles, he showed in his whole aspect and demeanour the bitter disappointment which had thus overtaken him. The most splendid vision which could illumine the hopes and fascinate the imagination of a high-spirited prince, that of snatching, at the head of his little but heroic band, the crown and throne of his ancestors from the possession of the usurper, was suddenly and cruelly rent away, as he felt, and that too surely, for ever. Though we cannot wish him to have succeeded, we may well understand the dark and crushing weight of grief under which he was retracing his steps. Till that moment, the belief that he was about to restore his line to the glorious heritage of ages was strong in his soul; from that moment he saw it gone irredeemably. He no longer, therefore, marched on foot, to animate his soldiers to endure fatigue, but mounting a black horse, said to have been colonel Gardiner's, he rode on listlessly, and without taking any further interest in the movements of his army.

The effect of retreating, instead of advancing, became strikingly evident. The army appeared anxious only to help itself, the inhabitants no longer appeared to show them the degree of cold respect they had manifested in going. They were looked upon as a defeated army. The Highlanders carried off horses where they could find them, and rode away bareback, and often with halters only of straw. The people did not fail to retaliate where they could. Near Stockport the inhabitants shot at a Highland patrole, and his comrades, in revenge, set fire to the village; and the country people retaliated again by killing any stragglers or wounded that were left behind. At Manchester very different was the reception of the retreating to that of the advancing army. True, on their advance, a good deal of the apparent rejoicing was fictitious. Charles had sent on and commanded the ringing of the bells and the illumination of the houses; but now, so far from bell-ringing or illumination, the mob violently resisted their entrance, and attacked their rear when they marched away. The prince, incensed at this treatment, levied five thousand pounds on the town, and the next morning the retreat was continued. The same disposition appeared in the people, as they passed along, to show their real sentiments, now the army was under the cloud. As they were quitting Wigan, a fellow, intending to shoot the prince, fired at Mr. O'Sullivan. Search was made, but the offender could not be found.

The retreat was rapidly continued through Preston, and on to Lancaster, which they reached on the 13th. There they threw open the prisons, and committed other disorders. Their retreat had grown into something more resembling a flight. The men had abandoned much of their subordination, and plundered, and the chiefs extorted money from the gentlemen of the country as they passed. This aroused the wrath of the inhabitants, who attacked the vanguard under the duke of Perth, betwixt Penrith and Kendal. Perth, on this, fell back on the main body, having had several of his cavalry and their horses killed. On the 15th Perth was able to advance again with reinforcements from the main body, but the townsmen of Penrith again attacked him with such fury, that he was obliged to halt and fall back, whilst the assailants, headed by several gentlemen and farmers, pursued them as far as Shap, a village in a wild, hilly country betwixt Penrith and Kendal. There the prince came up, and the countrymen were dispersed by a charge of Glengarry's men, and several prisoners made. Amongst them was a footman of the duke of Cumberland, who said the duke was close at hand with four thousand men.

Charles, thereupon, strengthened his van by placing in it two regiments, the Stuarts of Appin and the Macphersons of Cluny. The sun was about to set when the man's intelligence was confirmed by the appearance of the duke's vanguard on the heights in their rear.

In fact, the duke, discovering his mistake at Stone, had turned back, and, in all haste, sought to recover his position on the high road to London. Near Coventry on the 8th he learned the retreat of the rebels from Derby, and he sent on general Hawley from Meridan Moor with a thousand cavalry and a thousand foot, mounted on horses collected in the neighbourhood, to harass the retreat of the Highlanders.

He also dispatched a message to marshal Wade in the neighbourhood, to strike across the country and join in the pursuit. It was not, however, till the 16th that his advanced guard of cavalry came up with the van of the Highland army. In the night of the 16th, Charles, having seen the outposts of the enemy on the heights, had bivouacked with all his army in and around Shap. That evening lord George Murray, who commanded the rear, was labouring along with immense difficulty over the horrible mountain roads. His carts broke down on the craggy roads, his gun-carriages stuck fast in the ruts, and the horses, worn out with fatigue, were unable to extricate them. He was compelled to throw away a great quantity of baggage, and even much of his powder, into a mountain stream, to prevent it falling into the hands of the enemy. The next day he continued his laborious route towards Penrith, the enemy and crowds of country people hanging on his rear. "Had the country people," says a Jacobite of that neighbourhood, "had the least thought or judgment, they might have made themselves masters of all the baggage and cannon." They had only to have thrown down some parts of the stone walls bounding the highway, and it would have been impossible for the Highlanders to stop to clear the obstructions away whilst the enemy was so close upon them. In fact, general Oglethorpe had been dispatched by Wade with all his cavalry after the rebels, and, by a rapid march of three days, was now up with them at the same time that the duke of Cumberland's thousand cavalry and thousand mounted foot came up too. They united in the pursuit, but, luckily for the Highlanders, they were as much exhausted by their march as themselves.

On the 18th, Oglethorpe and Cumberland, accompanied by a mob of country squires and mounted farmers, attacked lord George's rear near Penrith; but the countrymen were speedily put to flight by a charge of the Glengarry clan, and Oglethorpe fell back to the main body. They came up again, however, in the evening near the village of Clifton, and lord George perceived, by the fitful light of the moon, the enemy forming behind the stone walls, and lining every hedge, orchard, and outhouse from the village of Clifton to the house of Thomas Savage, a quaker, at the foot of the moor. Murray, also, saw the thousand foot now dismount, and begin to steal away behind the stone walls, as if to take him by surprise. The duke of Cumberland had now joined the cavalry close to where lord George had stationed a body of his troops in ambush; but he was warned by Jonathan Savage, one of the quaker family, who, at the risk of his life, ran through the fields and told him of his danger.

Just as the royal troops commenced their charge they were stopped by a cross fire of the concealed Highlanders, and, whilst affected by this surprise, lord George cried, "Claymore! claymore!" and rushing down upon them with the Macphersons of Cluny, attacked them sword in hand. Being supported by the Stuarts of Appin, they compelled the English to retreat. Lord George, losing his bonnet, continued to lead on his men bare-headed; and having, according to Rae, a volunteer, who has left an account of the affair, the advantage of seeing the English by their buff belts and laced hats, they made great slaughter of them. Colonel Honeywood, the commander of the cavalry, was severely wounded, and left for dead on the field; and the Highlanders were with difficulty drawn off from the pursuit, saying it was a shame that so many of the king's enemies should be left standing safe on the moor. The prince, however, sent orders to stop the pursuit and continue the route to Penrith; and the duke having, according to one account, lost in killed and wounded above a hundred men, whilst the Highlanders had only lost, according to the English account, forty, and, according to themselves, only twelve, he forbore to press too closely on this dangerous rear, and allowed the Highland army, with all its baggage and artillery, to get to Carlisle without any further disturbance.

The duke meant to have quartered himself comfortably that night at Lowther Hall, near Clifton, but he was glad to get a bed with Thomas Savage, the quaker. Whilst he was snugly harboured there, the prince and his army were labouring along the road from Penrith to Carlisle, through one of the darkest nights which ever fell. The moon had gone down, and they had to drag their baggage and artillery over the roughest hills and the most frightful roads through that Egyptian gloom. The prince was obliged to dismount and pore out his way on foot, with the Highlanders stumbling and groping in confusion all around him. The whole army was dead beat and in the most deplorable condition when they entered Carlisle on the morning of the 19th. As the enemy did not appear, they rested that day and the following night, when they set forward again, leaving a fresh garrison. This garrison consisted of a few French and Irish, and part of a Lowland regiment, as well as the so-called Manchester regiment. Chevalier Johnstone charges Charles with leaving these Englishmen to their certain fate, in revenge of his recent treatment at Manchester and on the road; but it appears to have been done at the particular request of colonel Townley, their commander. It was a fatal choice, and the most humane plan would have been to blow up the works, and thus have left open the way for their hoped-for return into England, without exposing these poor men to the savage vengeance of the "butcher." They left with them the greater part of their baggage, their cohorns, and all their artillery except three pieces, called the Swedish pieces, so that they might defend themselves against Cumberland, who, they believed, had no cannon, and also to expedite their own march. Cumberland was soon up before the walls, and they fired vigorously at him; but he sent off to Whitehaven and brought up six eighteen-pounders, with which, to their dismay, he began to play on their crumbling walls on the 29th. They next morning hung out a white flag, and offered to capitulate; but Cumberland would hear of no terms except their surrendering, on condition that they should not be put to the sword. At three o'clock in the afternoon both town and castle were surrendered, the garrison being shut up in the cathedral and a guard set upon them. Seven deserters from Cope's army at Preston Pans were immediately hanged; Coppock, the prince's bishop of Carlisle, was also reserved for the same fate, and the rest of the prisoners many of them to a bloody vengeance, which horrified all Christendom. On the 3rd of December the duke of Cumberland left the command to general Hawley, and hastened back to London, being summoned to defend the southern coast from a menaced landing of the French.

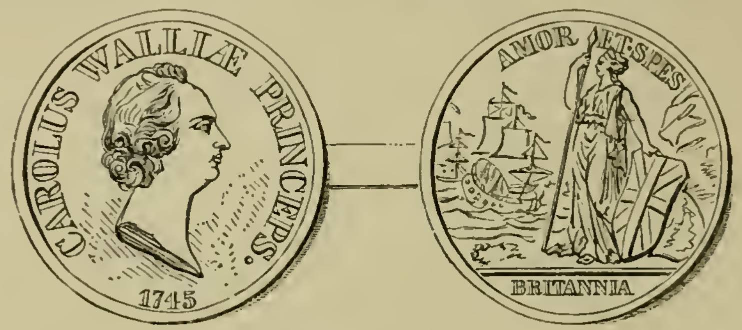
Meantime, the Highland army was continuing its retreat. On the 20th of December, the prince's birth-day, they left Carlisle and crossed into Scotland by fording the Eske. This rapid river was now swollen by the wintry rains, and the men could only wade it by holding each others' hands, to prevent being carried away by the violence of the torrent. Some of them were carried away by it, spite of this arrangement; and Charles, seeing one poor fellow sinking, leaped from his horse, and seizing him by the hair, called for help and dragged him out. The insurgents of one division made Annan that night, those of lord George's division reached Ecclesfechan, and the cavalry under lord Elcho advanced to Dumfries, where they found the town illuminated, and bonfires burning for joy, over the rumours of their own defeat. They made the town pay a fine for this of one thousand one hundred pounds, and carried off the provost and another magistrate as security for a further sum of nine hundred pounds. It was determined to march through Glasgow and not Edinburgh, where the citizens had raised a considerable body of volunteers, and whither two English regiments were fast marching. On the 26th lord George entered Glasgow, and Charles, with the other division, on the 27th. Many of the men had run off home from the moment that they again set foot in Scotland, and his army was now reduced to three thousand six hundred foot and five hundred horse. Thus had the young pretender completed a march from Glasgow to Derby and back again, of upwards of five hundred and eighty miles, in fifty-six days —an extraordinary performance, when we consider the various days of halt included in it.

From Glasgow Charles sent forward the duke of Perth to order lord Strathallan and lord John Drummond with their united forces to meet him at Stirling. At Glasgow the prince and the army lay for seven days to rest, and to levy contributions of all kinds of articles of apparel for the soldiers. During their absence in England, Glasgow had been very active in the king's service. It had raised six hundred volunteers, and sent them to join those of Edinburgh and other places, amounting to three thousand men, to guard the passage of the Forth, near Stirling. A very hostile spirit was apparent on the entrance of the Highland troops, and one man snapped a pistol at the prince as he rode along the Salt Market; but though Charles refused to have the man put to death, he punished the inhabitants by severe levies of money and goods, for which the city afterwards claimed and received compensation from the English government. On the 3rd of January, 1746, the same day that Cumberland left Carlisle for London, Charles marched his army out of Glasgow, new clad and new shod, for Stirling. The next day he took up his quarters at the house of Bannockburn, and distributed his men through the neighbouring villages, lord George Murray occupying Falkirk. Lords Strathallan and Drummond soon arrived from Perth with their united force, attended by both battering-guns and engines from France. These engines, ten in number, commanded by M. Gourdon, *alias* the marquis de Mirabelle, were covered by the duke of Perth with four or five hundred men. Lord Lewis Gordon, who had lately defeated the earl of Loudon and the Macdonalds and Macleods of Skye, who had now declared for king George, at Inverury, also arrived, thus swelling the prince's army to nine thousand men, the greatest force he had yet had.

With this force, tempted by the battering train, Charles committed the error of wasting his strength on a siege of Stirling Castle, instead of preparing to annihilate the English troops, which were in rapid advance upon him.

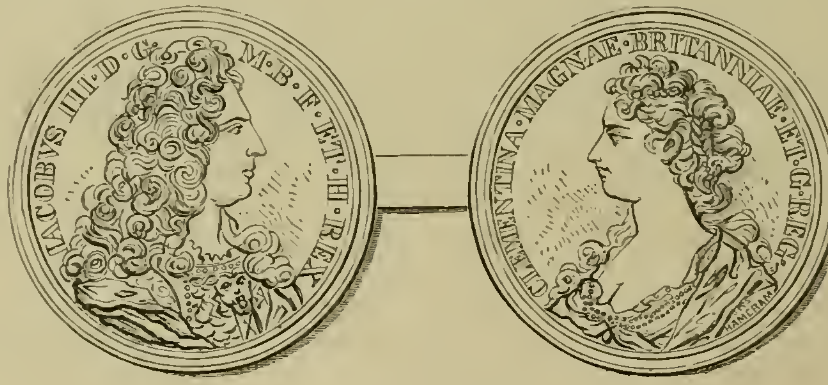
The duke of Cumberland being called southward, with characteristic taste had got general Hawley appointed to the command of the army sent after the young pretender. Wade was become too old and dilatory, but Hawley was much fitter for a hangman than a general. He had seen some service both at home and abroad—had fought at Sheriff Muir, and in Flanders, under Cumberland; but he was more noted for rashness than courage, and for brutality than capacity. Horace Walpole says he was called "the lord chief justice," because, like Jeffries, he had a passion for executions; that when the surgeons solicited the body of a deserter, which was dangling before Hawley's windows, for dissection, he would only consent on condition that he had the skeleton to ornament the guard-room. The first thing which he did on arriving at Edinburgh was to erect a couple of gibbets to hang any of the rebels on that he could find. He had a number of executioners in attendance on the army, and was said to confer more with them than with his aides de-camp. He laughed continually at poor Sir John Cope's escapades, and boasted what he would do with the Highland rabble. He had, besides the volunteers from Glasgow, Edinburgh, Argyllshire, and Yorkshire, twelve old regiments, most of which had served on the continent; so that he had a force equal to that of the prince, besides the two regiments of Gardiner and Hamilton, famous for the canters of Coltbridge and Prestonpans.

Hearing of his approach, Charles drew in his forces from Falkirk under lord George, left a few hundred men to blockade Stirling, and concentrated his army on the renowned field of Bannockburn. On the 16th of January Charles, expecting Hawley, drew up his forces, but no enemy appeared. The next day, still perceiving no Hawley, he advanced to Pleanmuir, two miles east of Bannockburn, and on the way to Torwood. No enemy yet appearing, the prince determined to advance and find him out. He sent lord John Drummond through Torwood, on the road from Falkirk to Stirling, to display the royal standard and other colours to attract the attention of Hawley; whilst he himself, with the main army, marched round considerably to the south of the English camp, so as to give his soldiers the advantage of the wind. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon the division of lord John was observed by the English army manœuvring in front of Torwood, as they were directed, to draw their attention. Hawley, however, was so confident of dispersing the Highland rabble at any moment that he chose, that he had neglected every military precaution—had fixed no outposts, and was away at Callendar House, at some distance from the field, comfortably taking luncheon with lady Kilmarnock, whose husband was in the rebel army, and who was exerting all her powers of pleasing to detain the foolish general as long as possible. General Huske, the next in command, was completely deceived by the prince's stratagem, and believed the whole army to be marching from Torwood upon them, till, a little before three o'clock, captain Teesdale, of the third regiment of foot, and another officer, climbed a tree, and by the aid of a telescope descried the main army coming in a different direction. Lieutenant-colonel Howard was then dispatched in great haste for Hawley, while the army began to form in a hurry. But Hawley was in no hurry whatever. When the report of the advance of the rebels reached him, he said it was quite right for the men to be ready with their accoutrements, but there was no need to be under arms; and he continued his carouse at his hospitable hostess's. Meantime the officers on the ground were in the utmost anxiety, crying out, "Where is the general? What shall be done? We have no orders!"



MEDAL OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

At length, when the rebels had come up so near that there was only Falkirk moor betwixt the armies, Hawley, roused by fresh messengers, came galloping up without his hat, and in the utmost confusion. In the middle of this rugged and uneven moor, covered with heath, rose a considerable ridge, and it appeared to be a race betwixt the two enemies which should gain the advantage of the summit. On the one side galloped the English cavalry, on the other sped the Highlanders, straining for this important height; but the fleet-footed Gael won the ground from the English horse, and Hawley's horse halted a little below them. Neither of the armies had any artillery, for the Highlanders had left theirs behind in their rapid advance, and Hawley's had stuck fast in the bog. So far they were equal; but the prince, by taking a side route, had thrown the wind in the teeth of the English, and a storm of rain began with confounding violence to beat in their faces.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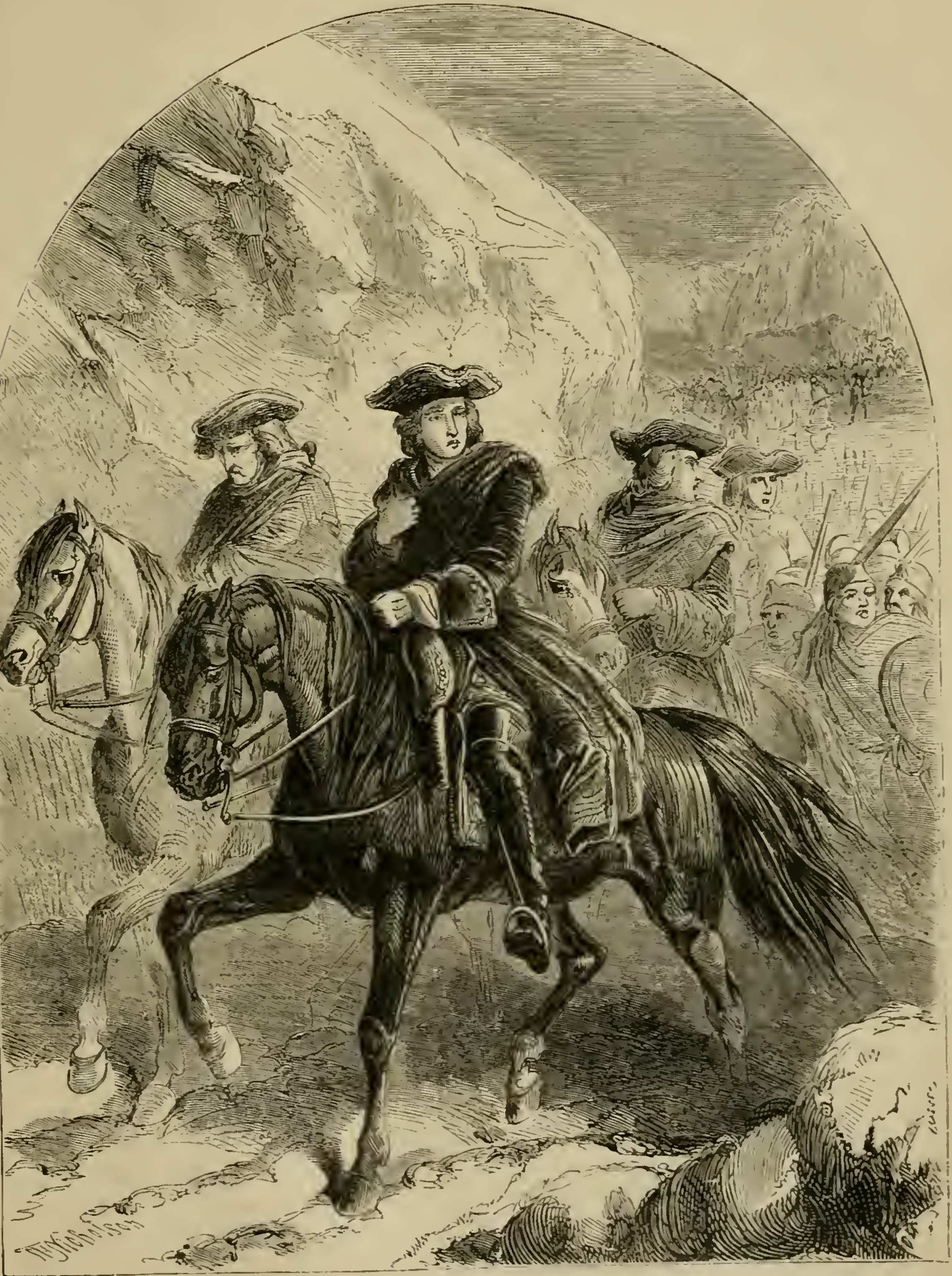
MEDAL OF JAMES III.

The prince then formed his forces in two lines, his right, commanded by lord George Murray, having under him the Macdonalds, and the left commanded by lord John Drummond, with the Macphersons, the Frazers—for old Lovat had now sent all his men—the Camerons, and the Stuarts. Betwixt them fought the Farquharsons, the Mackenzies, and the Macintoshes. Lord Lewis Gordon and lord Strathallan brought up the second line, in which Charles placed himself on a hill, whence he could survey the whole battle, and still called *Charlie's Hill*. The English cavalry remained, as it had galloped up, in front, commanded since the death of Gardiner by colonel Ligonier, and the infantry formed, like the Highlanders, in two lines, the right commanded by general Huske, and the left by Hawley. Behind, as a reserve, stood the Glasgow regiment and the Argyll militia. The order being given, the cavalry under Ligonier charged the Macdonalds, who coolly waited till the English horse was within ten yards of them, when they poured such a murderous volley into them, as dropped a frightful number from their saddles, and threw the whole line into confusion. The Frazers immediately poured an equally galling cross-fire into the startled line, and the two dragoon regiments which had fled at Coltbridge and Prestonpans waited no longer, but wheeling round, galloped from the field at their



RETREAT OF THE YOUNG PRETENDER.

best speed. Cobham's regiment stood firm, but the Highlanders continued their fire with such steady effect, and the hill and the storm were so against the English cavalry, that they also wheeled to the right and went off betwixt the two armies, under a galling discharge from the Highland left wing. The Macdonalds, seeing the effect of their fire, in spite of lord George Murray's endeavours to keep them in order, rushed forward, loading their pieces as they ran, and fell upon Hawley's two columns of infantry. Having discharged their pieces, they ran in upon the English with their targets and broad swords. They would have suffered severely from the English infantry, but the muskets of the English had got wet, and many of them would not go off, while the Highlanders had protected their locks with their plaids. The left, therefore, soon gave way, and Hawley, who had got involved in the crowd of flying horse, had been swept with them down the hill, and thus had no means of keeping them to their colours.

On the right of the royal army, however, the infantry stood firm, and as the Highlanders could not cross the ravine to come to close quarters with sword and target, they inflicted a severe slaughter upon them, and Cobham's cavalry rallying, soon came to their aid and protected their flank, and increased the effect on the Highlanders, many of whom began to run, imagining that the day was lost. Charles, from his elevated position observing this extraordinary state of things, the enemy's left being squandered, but his right being in the act of routing his own left, advanced at the head of his second line, and checked the advance of the English right, and, after some sharp fighting, compelled them to a retreat. But in this case it was only a retreat, not a flight. These brave regiments retired with drums beating and colours flying in perfect order. They found Burrel's regiment, and part of two other regiments, making a portion of Hawley's column, still standing their ground, and, uniting with them, they marched in order to the front of their camp, where the rest of the army had rallied, except the two regiments of unparalleled infamy, which never drew rein till they reached Linlithgow.

Had the Highlanders been able to follow up the blow, the royal army must have been, if not destroyed, completely disorganised. But the battle began late in the day, and though it is said not to have lasted more than half-an-hour, it was now near five o'clock, and growing dark, not only from the season, but from the stormy rain clouds which loaded the sky. Hawley endeavoured to fire his tents before galloping off, but they were too wet to burn, and tents, artillery, baggage, and ammunition were all left a prey to the victor. A pursuit of cavalry might still have been made; but the retreat of the English was so prompt, that the Highlanders suspected a stratagem; and it was only when their scouts brought them word that they had evacuated Falkirk that they understood their full success. Prince Charles then advanced to Falkirk, and was conducted by torchlight to lodgings engaged for him. His Highlanders spent the night, amid torrents of drenching rain, on the field, stripping the dead and dying. Of these there were about four hundred, including Sir Robert Munro, of Foulis, three lieutenant-colonels, and nine captains. So thoroughly did the Highlanders perform the stripping, that a gentleman of Falkirk, surveying the field the next morning from a distance, said the naked slain resembled a flock of sheep scattered over the moor.

Hawley continued his flight from Linlithgow to Edinburgh; and though he could not succeed in firing his tents, his soldiers purposely burnt down the fine old palace of Linlithgow when they quitted it, raking the embers from the hearth into the straw pallets. The act was worthy the myrmidons of such a general. When the news of such a defeat reached London, which was on a drawing-room day, consternation overwhelmed every one but the king and the duke of Cumberland. George showed not a sign of trouble, and the duke said he desired nothing better than to fight the Highlanders with the troops that Hawley had left. Sir John Cope, whom Hawley had so frequently and grossly abused, was radiant on Hawley's fall. The Highlanders professed to have only lost forty men, but the real number was three or four times that amount. They also took about a hundred and fifty prisoners, of whom John Home, the historian of the rebellion, was one.

The battle of Falkirk, which in itself appeared so brilliant an affair for prince Charles, was really one of the most serious disasters. The Highlanders, according to their regular custom when loaded with plunder, went off in great numbers to their homes with their booty. His chief officers became furious against each other in discussing their respective merits in the battle. Lord George Murray, who had himself behaved most bravely in the field, complained that lord John Drummond had not exerted himself, or the pursuit might have been made, and the royal army utterly annihilated. These feuds and recriminations extended in many directions, and descended even to the common men. All unity in the army appeared to cease with the battle, and a new accident occurred to heighten the discord. One of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, whilst examining a musket which he had picked up on the field, let it by chance go off, and killed the second son of the chief of Glengarry, colonel Æneas Macdonald. The unfortunate young man, who was mortally wounded, declared his confidence in the innocence of his destroyer with his dying breath, and begged that no revenge might be taken for it. But nothing could satisfy the custom of the clan, that blood must be exacted for blood, whether shed in murder or in homicide. In vain did Charles do all in his power to save the life of the offender, and to soothe the irritation of the Glengarrys. He attended the funeral as chief mourner, but of no avail; they insisted on the man's death, and he was led out and shot. But even this did not appease them; the Glengarrys from that day began to desert. The infection spread, and there appeared every prospect of the camp becoming eventually deserted. This spirit of discontent was greatly aggravated by the siege of the castle of Stirling. Old general Blakeney, who commanded the garrison, declared he would hold out to the last man, spite of the terrible menace of lord George Murray if he did not surrender. The Highlanders grew disgusted with work so contrary to their habits; and, indeed, the French engineer, the so-called marquis De Mirabelle, was so utterly ignorant of his profession, that the batteries which he constructed were commanded by the castle, and the men were so much exposed, that they were in danger of being annihilated before they took the fortress. Accordingly, on the 24th of January, they struck to a man, and refused to go any more into the trenches.

This was followed by a memorial, signed by most of the chief officers, including lord George Murray, Lochiel, Keppoch, Clanranald, and Simon Frazer, master of Lovat. This was sent by lord George to Charles, and represented that so many men were gone home, and more still going, spite of all the endeavours of their chiefs, that if the siege were continued they saw nothing but absolute destruction to the whole army. It added—"We are humbly of opinion that there is no way of extricating the army out of the most imminent danger but by retiring immediately to the Highlands, where we can be usefully employed the remainder of the winter by taking and mastering the forts of the north; and we are morally sure that we can keep as many men together as will answer that end, and hinder the enemy from following us into the mountains at this season of the year; and in spring we doubt not but an army of ten thousand men, effective Highlanders, can be brought together, and follow your royal highness wheresoever you think proper."

This was sensible counsel. It was not only the siege, but Cumberland was now at the head of the army, and was in Edinburgh, on the point of marching against them with an army, not large, but fresh and well supplied, and in high spirits from his presence. With the Highland army, on the contrary, there was a continual desertion; and, in the language of the memorial, the only safety and chance for the future was to get into the mountains and keep the English out till spring, when the spirits of the men would have been restored, and reinforcements or money might have come from France. Yet Charles is said to have been so astonished and mortified at the proposal, that he struck his head against the wall with such violence that he staggered, and exclaimed, "Good God! is it come to this?" that lord George Murray had been with him but the day before, and had approved his plan of fighting Cumberland when he came; and that the sick and wounded had been already sent to the rear of Dumblane. Most likely lord George had assented only to the prince's obstinate determination to fight, and that the memorial was in consequence of his consultations with the officers. However, the prince sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to remonstrate with the chiefs, but they would not give way, and Charles, it is said, sullenly acquiesced in the retreat.

It was time, if they were to avoid a battle. Cumberland was already on the march from Edinburgh. He quitted Holyrood on the 31st of January, and the insurgents only commenced their retreat the next morning, the 1st of February, after spiking their guns. As it was, Cumberland was close upon them. He only left London on the 27th of January, reached Edinburgh on the 30th, and immediately made arrangements for proceeding. He seemed to come in a most determined and arbitrary spirit. He marched his troops into the city, contrary to the law, and the remonstrances of the magistrates, whom he refused to see. He located himself in the same apartments which Charles had occupied in the old palace, and occupied the same bed. When the citizens and Lowland gentlemen waited on him he treated them very curtly, as if by no means pleased with their past conduct, or holding very flattering ideas of their loyalty. Instead of ordering Hawley to be tried by court-marshal, as he ought to have done, he continued him in command immediately under him as one of his lieutenants-general, the earl of Albemarle being the other. Hawley was of too savage and congenial a disposition for the "butcher" to part with him, though he restrained some of his vagaries, for, not having rebels to hang on his new gibbets, he was using them to make an example of some of his own soldiers, who, like himself, had run away from the battle of Falkirk.

Cumberland at Linlithgow, where he lay for the night, heard that the rebels were decamping, and sent forward brigadier-general Mordaunt with Cobham's dragoons and the Argyll militia to harass their rear, and early next morning followed rapidly himself. Mordaunt found that the insurgents had already evacuated Falkirk, and he could see their rear-guard hastily retiring at his approach; but before he reached Stirling there was heard the shock of a most tremendous explosion, which, on arriving, he found to have been the firing of six thousand pounds of gunpowder, which they had kept near the church of St. Ninian's. This had been done in such trepidation, that it not only destroyed the magazine, but the church and buildings near; it blew out all the windows in the town, and killed many of the inhabitants.

The bridge of Stirling having been blown up some time before by the garrison, the rebels crossed the river at the Ford of Frew, and took their way for Crieff, where they parted into two divisions, and took separate roads towards the same place of rendezvous—Inverness. The duke did not care to pursue them instanter, but made a halt to have the bridge of Stirling repaired, and refreshed his men in the town. He complimented general Blakeney on his brave defence of the castle, and had the satisfaction of receiving the surrender of a whole company of the Irish brigade, which had deserted from lord John Drummond. He made a strict search for concealed rebels, many of whom were discovered and reserved in prison for their punishment; Mistress Jenny Cameron, who used to ride with the rebel army with a drawn sword in her hand, and a cap and scarlet feather, was taken amongst the rest.

Cumberland reached Perth on the 6th, and halted there some days, to reconnoitre and reduce the neighbouring district. On the 26th he was at Aberdeen—seeing no Highlanders anywhere, but finding, through his exploring parties, considerable quantities of muskets, bayonets, ball, and powder hidden amongst the heather, under the snow in the mountains. He was now joined by six thousand Hessians, who had landed at Leith in February, and who had been hired in place of the Dutch, who had withdrawn in consequence of a protest of lord John Drummond, who declared that he, being a French officer at the head of a French regiment, and these troops being part of those who had capitulated at Tournay and Dendermond on condition that they should not serve against any troops of France, their presence was a breach of the treaty. Cumberland's army now amounted to eight thousand foot and nine hundred cavalry. With this force he continued his march towards Inverness, a fleet accompanying him along the coast with supplies and ammunition. At Banff he hanged two Highland spies, who were, in their rude way, taking the number of his troops by notching them on a stick. His whole track, in fact, was marked by gibbets for the like executions, and he set fire to the chapels of the episcopalian Scots, who were in general Jacobites. Thence he proceeded to Fochabers, on the right bank of the Spey, where lord John Drummond and his regiment of Irish and Scotch from France were posted on the opposite side to resist the passing.

Charles, on reaching Inverness, had found it rudely fortified by a ditch and palisade, and held by lord Loudon with two thousand men. Charles took up his residence at Moray castle, the seat of the chief of the Macintoshes. The chief was in the king's army with lord Loudon, but lady Macintosh espoused the cause of the prince zealously, raised the clan, and led them out as their commander, riding at their head with a man's bonnet on her head, and pistols at her saddle-bow. Lord London, hearing that Charles was living in an easy security at Moray, sent out a nocturnal party to surprise and carry him off; but they were met by a small party of the Macintoshes in a wood, who, favoured by the darkness, made them believe that the whole Highland army was upon them, and caused them to retreat in such haste, that their flight was called the Route of Moray.

Charles, the next morning, the 17th of February, called together his men, and on the 18th marched on Inverness. Lord Loudon did not wait for his arrival, but got across the Moray Frith with his soldiers, and accompanied by the lord-president Forbes, into Cromarty. He was hotly pursued by the earl of Cromarty and several Highland regiments, and was compelled to retreat into Sutherland. Charles entered Inverness, and began to attack the British forts. Fort George surrendered in a few days, and in it they obtained sixteen pieces of cannon and a considerable stock of ammunition and provisions. They then very unwisely proceeded to the distant forts of Augustus and William. Fort Augustus was thirty miles off, and that they soon reduced; but Fort William, which was still more remote, and only to be reached through the wintry mountains, tended but to exhaust the soldiers, and, at the same time, defeat their efforts. Lochiel and general Stapleton, who undertook this service with the Macdonalds of Keppoch, the Stuarts of Appin, and the French-Irish piquets, had to drag the heavy guns by men, and were not able to range them before the fort before the 20th of March, and they had to be eventually recalled to stand against Cumberland, having been compelled to spike their heavy guns and leave them behind.

Lord Cromarty was more successful in an expedition into Rosshire after lord London. Loudon and Duncan Forbes at first made a brave stand, but lord George Murray joining Cromarty, they were compelled to cross the Dornoch Frith into Sutherland. Lord George sent the duke of Perth with Cromarty after them, and returned himself to Inverness. Cromarty and Perth succeeded in driving Loudon and the lord-president to extremities, so that they were compelled to disband their forces and escape themselves with Macleod into the isle of Skye. Unfortunately, Cromarty was afterwards surprised by a body of Sutherland militia, and made prisoner with his officers at Dunrobin Castle.

Lord George Murray himself hastened into the wilds of Badenoch, where, being joined by Macpherson of Cluny, they divided their force into small bodies, surprised various outposts of Cumberland stationed at farm-houses and inns, and carried off a considerable number of prisoners. They attacked the castle of Blair, where Sir Andrew Agnew was quartered with a number of officers, but their small field-pieces took no effect on the strong walls, and, after blockading him eighteen or twenty days, they were obliged to draw off.

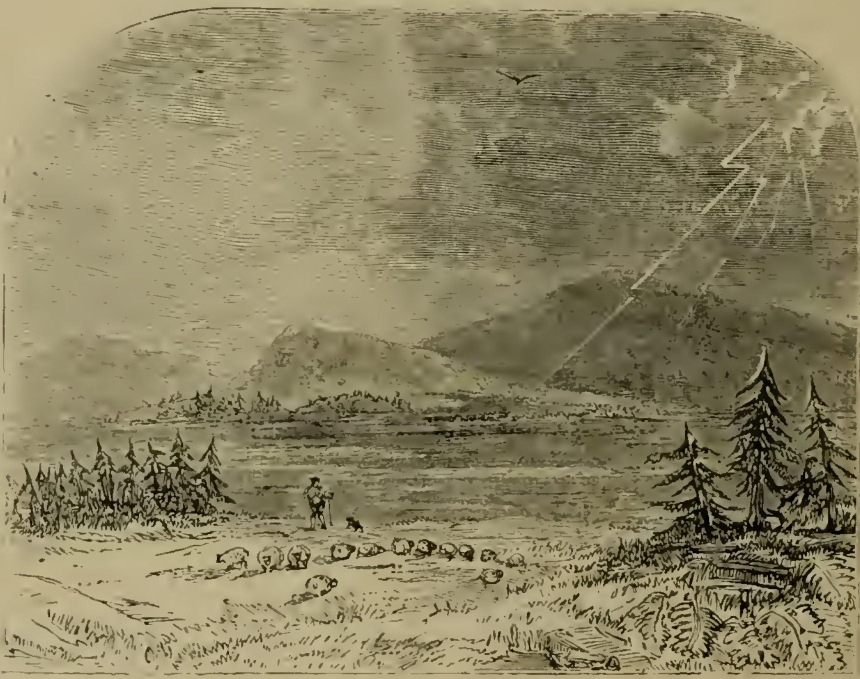
But, notwithstanding these partial advantages, and though the duke and his army were enduring all the severities of a Highland winter, exposed to the cutting east winds on that inclement coast, and compelled to keep quarters for some time, Cumberland was steadily seizing every opportunity to inclose the Highlanders in his toils. His fleet cut off all supplies coming by sea. They captured two vessels sent from France to their aid, on board of one of which they took the brother of the duke of Berwick. The "Hazard," a sloop which the Highlanders had seized and sent several times to France, was now pursued by an English cruiser, and driven ashore on the coast of Sutherland, containing a hundred and fifty men and officers, and ten thousand pounds in gold, which the clan Mackay, headed by lord Reay, got possession of. This last blow, in addition to other vessels sent out to succour him being compelled to return to France, reduced Charles to the utmost extremities. He had only five hundred louis-d'ors left in his chest, and he was obliged to pay his troops in meal, to their great suffering and discontent. "Our army," says Macdonald, in his journal, "got no pay for some time, but meal only, which the men, being obliged to sell out and convert into money, it went but a short way for their other needs, at which the poor creatures grumbled exceedingly, and were suspicious that we officers had detained it from them."

Men and officers, however, only shared the same miserable need. Though better able, from their habits, to bear the wintry severity of the weather than the English, Cumberland's troops had abundance to keep up their strength, whilst they were fast sinking from actual famine. They were cooped up in a miserably barren country; the adventurers from France and Spain were especially disgusted at this campaign against cold and hunger, and numbers contrived to steal away from this scene of dearth. Cumberland was, in fact, already conquering them by reducing them to mere feeble skeletons of men. The dry winds of March rendered the rivers fordable, and, as soon as it grew milder, he availed himself of this to coop the unhappy Highlanders up still more narrowly in their hungry wilds, and stop all the issues into the Lowlands by which they might obtain provisions. He himself lay at Aberdeen with strong outposts in all directions; Mordaunt at Old Meldrum, and Bland at Strathbogie. As soon as he received an abundance of provisions by a fleet of transports, along with Bligh's regiment, hearing that the Spey was fordable, on the 7th of April he issued orders to march, and the next day set forward himself from Aberdeen with lord Mark Kerr's dragoons, and six regiments of foot, having the fleet still following along the shore with a gentle and fair wind. On reaching the Spey lord John Drummond disputed their passage, having raised a battery to sweep the ford, and ranged his best marksmen along the shore. But the heavier artillery of the duke soon drove lord John from the ground, who set fire to his barracks and huts, and left the ford open to the enemy, who soon got across. On Sunday, the 13th of April, the English advanced to Alves, and on the 14th reached Nairn. As the van, consisting of the Argyllshire men, some companies of grenadiers, and Kingston's light horse, entered Nairn, the rear of lord John Drummond had not quitted it, and there was some skirmishing at the bridge. The Highlanders still retreated to a place called the Lochs of the Clans, about five miles beyond Nairn, where the prince came up with reinforcements, and, turning the flight, pursued the English back again to the main body of their army, which was encamped on the plain to the west of Nairn.

That night Charles and his chief officers lay at Culloden House, the seat of the able and patriotic lord-president, Duncan Forbes; but the troops were obliged to lie on the moor amid the heather, which served them for both beds and fuel, the cold being very severe. They were up early in the morning, and formed in order of battle on Drummossie Muir, the part of the heath of Culloden near to Culloden House. No enemy, however, appeared, and there the poor hungry men lay for most of the day with no other food than a biscuit per man. Lord Elcho was sent off to reconnoitre, and he brought word that the English army was halting at Nairn to keep the duke's birthday, and were feasting, drinking, and singing, and showing no intention of marching that day. If Charles and his officers had been wise, they would have seized this opportunity to draw off their army and get across the straits, as it was totally unfit to cope with the English, either in numbers or condition. The English were full of food and rest; the Highlanders were actually reduced by famine, and so many had dispersed amongst the hills to seek food, that they could not muster above five thousand men. Lochiel had joined them with his Camerons during the night; but Cromarty, as we have said, was just captured in Sutherland, and Cluny was still absent in Badenoch with his Macphersons. The policy of an able general would have been to draw Cumberland away from the coast, where his fleet supplied him with all necessaries; to have led him on into the mountains, where his men would soon have suffered more from hardship and scarcity than the Highlanders, and where they might have harassed and cut them off by ambushes amongst the wild woods and hills. But, from the time of the return from Derby, Charles seemed to have lost his enthusiasm, which had carried him on; and, if we take away this quality, perhaps we shall find that nowhere had he displayed the genius of a great general. He was clearly of a temperament which, if well, or even tolerably supported, would perform brilliant exploits by onward and dashing enterprise; but we seek in vain for any evidences of those qualities of foresight and management which made Washington and Wellington successful. Nothing could now have been so fatal as to attempt a battle against well-fed troops, with every advantage of generalship, artillery, and choice of ground, with men who had for months been subsisting on a famine fare, and who were numbers of them squandered through the country seeking for subsistence. Even had they waited another day, Lochiel said they would be able to muster fifteen hundred men more. A council of war being called, Lochiel stated this fact as a plea for delay; lord John Drummond, the duke of Perth, and others, were of the same opinion; but lord George Murray declared for making a night march, and surprising the duke's army whilst it would lie, as they supposed, asleep in a drunken debauch. Charles, who had the same idea, but had not yet broached it, embraced lord George with ardour, declaring it of all things his own wish. The idea was adopted, yet the slightest military wisdom would have shown them the futility of the scheme. The men were in a general state, not only of famine, but of discontent, from the non-payment of their arrears. When the officers returned to their regiments to put them in order for the march, they found a good number of them gone away to Inverness to endeavour to procure some food. Messengers were sent in hot haste to recall them, but the poor hungry wretches declared that they might kill them if they pleased, but that they would not go back until they had obtained some food. This condition of the troops, growing desperate with hunger, and such number having run from the ranks, made many think that the march ought to be given up; but Charles would not hear of it, and about eight o'clock in the evening lord George put himself at the head of the army, and the word was given to advance. The distance to Nairn was twelve miles, but lord George proposed to proceed down the river and cross it at about three miles above Nairn, which would make the route considerably more. He hoped by this plan to be able to attack the enemy at once in flank and rear as well as front. The orders were to march in profound silence, the word being “king James VIII.” No firearms were to be used, but, on reaching the tents, they were to cut the cords, let the tents fall on the heads of the sleepers, and dispatch them through the canvas with their dirks. Lord George led the van, lord John Drummond the rear. The night was dark, and the men soon began to stumble through bog and mire, making their march heavy, and causing them to curse and swear.

It was soon found that the men were so feeble and incapable of walking, even, to say nothing of fighting after a fourteen or fifteen miles march, on empty stomachs, that it was impossible to make the rear keep up with the van. Many lay down by the roadside and in the wood of Kilravock from sheer exhaustion. Lord John sent forward to request lord George to halt, that the rear might come up; but, as this was not attended to, lord John Drummond and most of the officers hastened to the van, and lord John said aloud to lord George Murray, “Why will you go on? There is a gap of half a mile in the line, and the men won't come up.” A halt was then made, and lord George afterwards said that he had been desired to halt fifty times by aides-de-camp and other officers before he had gone six miles. It was plain that the whole attempt was nothing less than madness. They had calculated on being at Nairn at two o'clock, but it was that hour before they had all passed Kilravock House, only four miles from the English camp. It was clear that it would be daylight long before they reached Nairn, and they could only get there to be slaughtered in helplessness, for they would be too tired either to fight or run away. It was therefore agreed to return. Charles had never come up to the front himself, but sent O'Sullivan to say that he should have been glad of the attack, but that lord George Murray would judge whether it were practicable.

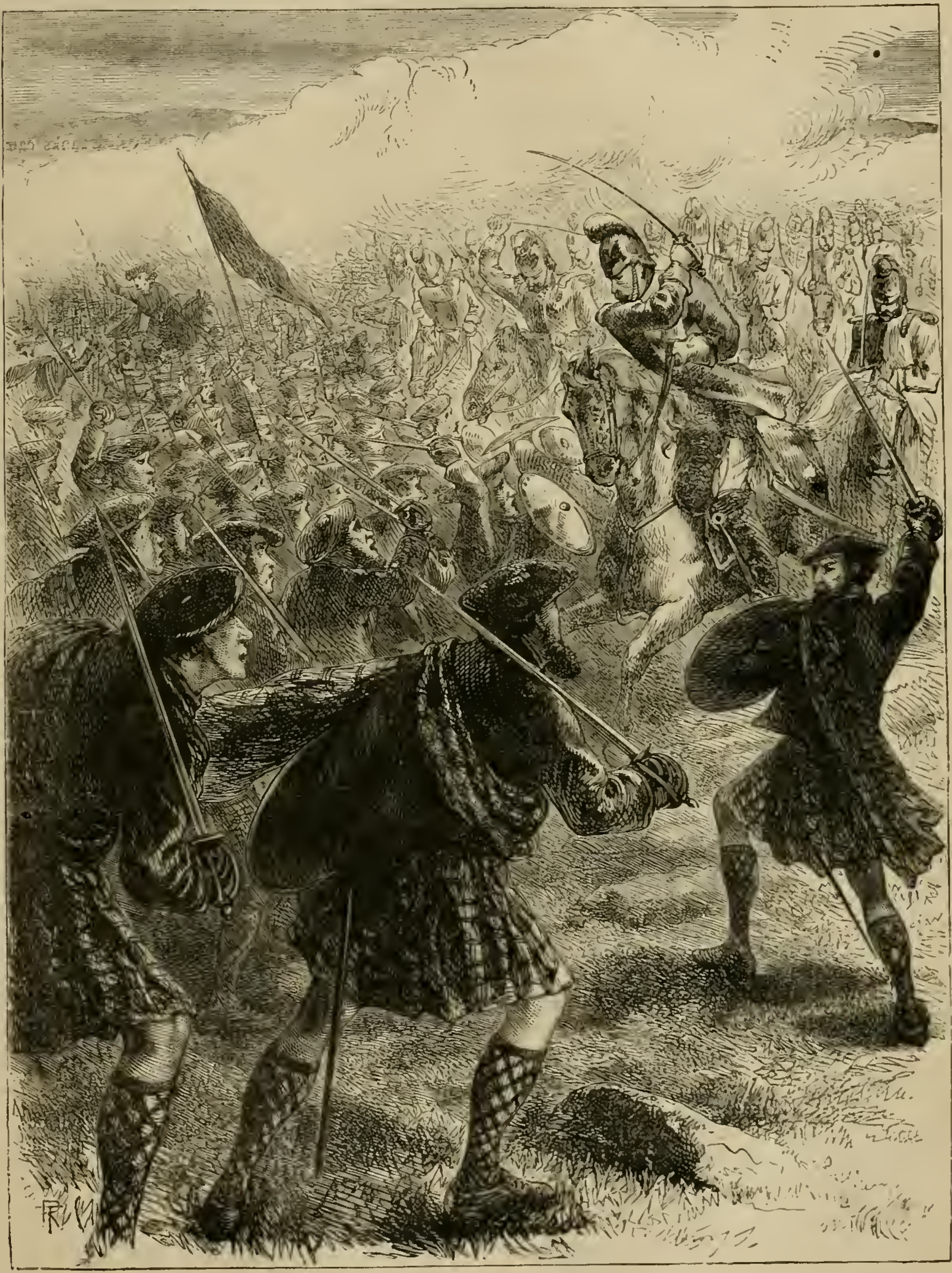
The retreat was made, and the men found themselves again in the morning on the bleak, black heath of Drummossie, hungry and worn out, yet in expectation of a battle. The duke of Cumberland, according to Home, had been quite aware of their night march, and ready to receive the enemy. There was yet time to do the only wise thing—retreat into the mountains, and depend upon a guerilla warfare, in which they would have the decided advantage. Lord George Murray now earnestly proposed this, but in vain. "Why," says lord George, "what I have now mentioned was not performed, let them answer who were determined against a hill campaign, as they called it. What I can aver is, that myself and most of the clans—at least, all those I spoke with—were for this operation; and his royal highness could have supported the fatigue as well as any person in the army. It is true, Sir Thomas Sheridan, &c., could not have undergone it; so we were obliged to be undone for their ease. As to provisions, had I been allowed any direction we would not have wanted, though, perhaps, not the best, for years, so long as there were cattle in the Highlands, or meal in the Lowlands."



FIELD OF CULLODEN.

This was the advice of a good general. Lord George contended that they ought, in the unfit state of the men, to cross to the south side of the river Nairn, where the country was hilly, and inaccessible to cavalry; but, as lord George intimates, Sir Thomas Sheridan and other officers from France grew outrageous at that proposal, contending that they could easily beat the English, as they had done at Prestonpans and Falkirk—forgetting that the Highlanders then were full of vigour and spirit. Unfortunately, Charles listened to this foolish reasoning, and the fatal die was cast.

The English army was now in full march against them. About eight o'clock in the morning one of the men who had been left asleep in the wood of Kilravock, came running to Culloden House, where Charles and his chief officers were resting, to announce that Cumberland's troops were coming. There was then a hurried running and riding to get the army drawn up to receive them. Cumberland came on with his army, divided into three columns of five battalions each. The artillery and baggage followed the second column along the sea-coast on the right; the cavalry covered the left wing, which stretched toward the hills. The men were all in the highest spirits, and even the regiments of horse, which had hitherto behaved so ill, seemed as though they meant to retrieve their characters to-day. The Highlanders were drawn up about half a mile from the part of the moor where they stood the day before, forming a sad contrast to Cumberland's troops, looking thin, and dreadfully fatigued. In placing, also, a most fatal mistake was made. They were drawn up in two lines, with a body of reserve; but the clan Macdonald, which had always been accustomed to take their place on the right since Robert Bruce placed them there in the battle of Bannockburn, were disgusted to find themselves now occupying the left. Instead of the Macdonalds, now, stood the Athol brigade, and in the centre the Camerons of Lochiel, the Stuarts of Appin, the Frazers, Macintoshes, Maclauchlins, Macleans, Fergusons, and the Roy Stuarts.



BATTLE OF CULLODEN.

The second line consisted of lord Ogilvie's regiment to the right, next to them lord Lewis Gordon's men, the regiment of Glenbucket, the troops of the duke of Perth, lord John Drummond, and on the extreme left the Irish piquets, commanded by Stapleton on the left. Lord George Murray commanded the right wing, and lord John Drummond the left. On the right, somewhat behind the first line of infantry, stood the few troops of horse that were now left after the hard marches and the grievous want of fodder. Charles placed himself on a small eminence with the body of reserve, consisting of lord Kilmarnock's regiment of foot guards and a few dozen horse, the last remains of the cavalry of lords Pitsligo and Strathallan. The prince's position was behind the right of the second line, a strong park wall protecting the flank of his army on that side.

Cumberland came up at eleven o'clock within half a mile of the Highland army, where he halted and made a final disposition of his forces; and now would have been the time for the Scots to have made one of their impetuous rushes upon him, had they had their usual strength and spirit; as it was, they stood tamely watching his movements. He threw his columns into two lines of foot, with a morass and the sea-coast on his right, and the old park-wall on his left. There on his left he posted his cavalry, to fall on the enemy's right. Next came a powerful body of reserve, consisting of Kingston's horse, with several regiments of English and Argyllshire foot. In the first line to the left stood Burrel's brave regiment, and to the right the Royal Scots. The second line consisted of six regiments, with Howard's on the right, and Wolfe's on the left. Ten pieces of artillery were placed in the intervals betwixt the regiments of the first line. Other regiments were brought up from the reserve as the fight went on, to strengthen the lines. Lord Albemarle led the front centre, major-general Blandon the right flank, and lord Ancram on the left. The duke took his post in the second line to the right, and Hawley in the same to the left.

Thus stood face to face the armies which were to decide the fortunes of Guelph and Stuart. There could be very little doubt which would preponderate. Cumberland, heavy, matter-of-fact, and pitiless, had brought up his forces with every attention to their physical vigour; Charles, displaying more and more of the fatal characteristics of his race as the contest had proceeded, had neglected every precaution which his most skilful generals had endeavoured to impress upon him. Like his forefathers, he learned nothing by experience, but had lost the charm of youthful enthusiasm which carried his followers so triumphantly over the fields of Prestonpans and Falkirk. Neglecting, or not perceiving, as the simplest common sense would have taught him, to maintain the physical vigour of his men, or to elude by strategy the shock of battle, he brought up a handful of outworn, famished, enfeebled, and, therefore, inefficient men, to combat a much superior force, buoyant with every comfort and advantage. That was enough to ensure defeat; but Heaven itself now seemed to fight against him, and put a period to the bloody and hopeless struggle. The wind, which favoured him at Falkirk, now favoured his adversary. As the battle began, a snowstorm began to blow in the faces of the Highlanders, which greatly confounded them. Cumberland, before ordering the onset, begged any men who were reluctant to fight because they had relations in the Highland army, or from any other cause, to retire, preferring, he said, one thousand determined men at his back to ten thousand who were lukewarm. The answer was loud cries of "Flanders! Flanders!" and the cannon began to play along the opposing lines.

On approaching the Highlanders the English ranks came upon boggy ground, and had to drag their cannon by their own strength. The cannon of the Highlanders was both inferior and worse served than that of the English; and when, at one o'clock, the duke began to play on their ranks with his artillery, he made dreadful havoc amongst them. Several times the Highlanders endeavoured to make one of their impetuous rushes, running forward with loud cries, brandishing their swords, and firing their pistols; but the steady fire of the English cannon mowed them down and beat them off. Seeing, however, a more determined appearance of a rush, colonel Belford began to charge with grape shot. This repelled them for a time; but at length, after an hour's cannonade, the Macintoshes succeeded in reaching the first line of the English. Firing their muskets, and then flinging them down, they burst, sword in hand, on Burrel's regiment, and cut their way through it. The second line, however, consisting of Sempill's regiment, received them with a murderous fire. Cumberland had ordered the first rank to kneel down, the second to lean forward, and the third to fire over their heads. By this means, such a terrible triple volley was given them, as destroyed them almost *en masse*. Those left alive, however, with all their ancient fury, continued to hew at Sempill's regiment; but Cumberland had ordered his men not to charge with their bayonets straight before them, but each to thrust at the man fronting his right-hand man. By this means his adversary's target covered him where he was open to the left, and his adversary's right was open to him. This new manœuvre greatly surprised the Highlanders, and made fearful havoc of them. From four to five hundred of them fell betwixt the two lines of the English army.

Whilst the Macintoshes were thus immolating themselves on the English bayonets, the Macdonalds on their left stood in sullen inaction, thus abandoning their duty and their unfortunate countrymen from resentment of their post of honour on the right having been denied them. At length, ashamed of their own conduct, they discharged their muskets, and drew their broadswords for a rush; but the Macintoshes were now flying, and the grape-shot and musket-shot came so thickly in their faces, that they, too, turned and gave way.

On the English right Hawley had managed to pull down portions of the wall that covered the right of the Highlanders, and, leading through the Campbells of Argyllshire, took the insurgents on their flank, whilst the heavy mass of cavalry posted there charged furiously on their front. The Highlanders were in no condition to bear up against such force and the deadly havoc of the artillery, and they broke, also, on that wing.

Whilst Charles stood on his mound, watching the rout of his army to right and left, he called frantically to those who fled wildly by to stand and renew the fight. At this moment lord Elcho spurred up to him, and urged him to put himself at the head of the yet unbroken reserve, and make a desperate charge to retrieve the fortune of the day; but the officers around him declared that such a charge was hopeless, and could only lead the men to certain slaughter, and prevent the chance of collecting the scattered troops for a future day. Charles, who, like Napoleon in our own time, had vowed that he would conquer or fall, like that great adventurer, forgot the vow when the time was come to dare it, listened to the less manly advice, and declined the charge. Then lord Elcho, who was a man of fiery temper, according to his own account, turned away from the prince, with an oath that he would never look upon his face again. This oath, however, he did not keep; for, amongst the names of the earliest of his followers who waited on him in Paris, appears lord Elcho. Though he did not attempt to resist the victorious enemy, which was now hopeless, he seems to have lingered, as if confounded, on the spot, till O'Sullivan and Sheridan, each seizing a rein of his bridle, forced him from the field.

The defeated Highlanders fled from the field in two directions. The greater number made for the hills, and took the way by Ruthven into Badenoch. The Frazers, lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish piquets, were mercilessly pursued to within a mile of Inverness, by Cumberland's cavalry, shooting and cutting them down without quarter or remorse. Not only did the spirit of their sanguinary commander possess them, but the men who had fled before these fugitives so disgracefully at Coltbridge, Preston, and Falkirk, now took the bully's revenge on them. Tradition still tells us of a blacksmith who lived on this side of the battle-field, who, seeing the ruthless fury of the English troopers, seized a cart-shaft, and rushing amongst them, brought down a good many of them before he was killed. The ashes of his smithy might still a few years ago be seen. The French and Franco-Irish laid down their arms at Inverness, and were admitted to quarter; but to none else was quarter conceded, except to such as were reserved for public execution. The English calculated their loss at only three hundred and ten killed and wounded, but of the Highlanders fell one thousand, or a fifth of their army. Fourteen stands of colours, two thousand three hundred firelocks, and all their cannon and baggage, fell into the hands of the English. The diabolical cruelty with which even the wounded were massacred by the command of the ferocious Cumberland, has left a stamp on his name to all time. He seemed to revel in blood and misery, and to be ambitious of earning the name he there won of THE BUTCHER. These barbarities were the more monstrous, as they were in such contrast to the humanity of his now defeated cousin and rival. When the wounded had writhed in their agonies all night they were dispatched by the bayonets of the Butcher. They were hunted out of all their hiding-places in the woods, and moors, and tenements of Inverness, and massacred without any regard to their pleadings for mercy. Twenty wounded men, who had crept into a farm-house, were shut up and deliberately burnt in it. The prisoners in Inverness were treated with equal cruelty. Though they were consumed with thirst and cried for water, it was rarely given them.

Such was the battle of Culloden, which extinguished for ever the hopes of the Stuarts. The battle-field still remains a black and blasted heath. The remains of the old wall where the right wing of the Highlanders was posted, runs along it. The mounds of the dead look light and green amid the black sea of heather, and the crumbling bones and bullets may be turned up under almost every sod, as we ourselves have seen.

Charles, accompanied by O'Sullivan, Sheridan, and other gentlemen, rode away to Gortuleg, a seat of lord Lovat's. The wild gallop of horsemen startled that wily old fox in his lair; and when he heard the news he began to tremble for his own safety. There are different accounts of his reception of the fugitive prince. One says that he was so occupied with thinking of making his own escape, that he hardly showed common courtesy to the prince and his companions, and that they parted in mutual displeasure. Another, that Lovat strongly urged the same advice as lord George Murray had done, still to get up into the mountains, and make a bold face, by which time might be gained for fresh reinforcements, or at least for making some terms for the unhappy people. But it is clear that Charles had now lost all spirit, if he had ever retained much after he was compelled to retreat from Derby. He and his party rode away again at ten o'clock at night, and reached Invergarry, the castle of Glengarry, about two hours before daybreak. The castle was destitute of provisions, and they must have suffered utter want of food had not a fisherman caught a couple of salmon in the river. Worn out with fatigue, they threw themselves down on the floor in their clothes. Meantime, old Lovat, who was too infirm to ride, was carried in a sort of hammock into the mountains.

Lord George still entertained the idea of keeping together a large body of Highlanders. He had already with him one thousand two hundred. Charles had stolen away from Invergarry to Arkaig, in Lochaber, and thence to Glenboisdale, where the messengers of lord George found him, accompanied only by O'Sullivan, O'Neile, and Burke, his servant, who knew the country, and acted as guide. All the rest of his train had shifted for themselves. Lord George entreated the prince not to quit the country, but to continue to gather a force in the mountains, and thus resist and harass their enemies till they received reinforcements; but Charles sent him word that the only chance was for himself to hasten over to France, and use all his interest to bring over an efficient force. He therefore sent lord George a written plan of his intentions, which was not, however, to be opened till he had sailed; and he desired lord George to request the different chiefs and their men to seek their own safety as best they might. That act terminated the Rebellion.

Cumberland was now hunting down the fugitives on all sides. He posted himself at Fort Augustus, which the insurgents had blown up before leaving it, and from that centre he sent out his myrmidons in every direction to hunt out the Highlanders, and shoot them down on the spot or bring them in for execution. Mordaunt led nine hundred foot into the country of the Frazers, where he found a great quantity of cattle and oatmeal, said to be collected for the use of the Highland army, but more probably reserved by the selfish old chief for his own needs. They endeavoured to seize the old man at Gortuleg, but he had flown, and they burnt down the house. Everywhere the unhappy clans were pursued by their hereditary enemies, the whig clans, especially by the men of Argyllshire, and massacred with the most atrocious cruelty. They stripped their houses of everything of any value, and then burned them down, drove away the cattle, and tracking the miserable families into dens and caves, smothered them with burning heather, or thus forced them to rush out upon their bayonets. Those who escaped, chiefly women and children, were left to perish of hunger; and such were the horrors produced, that it is related that the starving wretches were compelled sometimes to feed on the slain bodies of their friends, whilst others followed the marauders, pleading piteously for the offal and entrails of the cattle of which they had been robbed! According to the evidence of men of all ranks and parties, men of the highest distinction—noblemen, bishops, ministers, elders, and officers of the victorious army—there was no horror or indignity which can be named in the annals of the wars in the most barbarous times, which were not perpetrated here. Women dishonoured, their children stabbed and flung over the rocks, whilst the brutal soldiers were making merry over their booty. These abominations stand on written record by all the parties who witnessed them, under their own names and signatures. In all these diabolical proceedings, the duke of Cumberland and his *fidus Achates*, the brutal general Hawley, were foremost. No extent of murder and extermination appeared capable of satiating the horrible souls of these monsters. "After all," Cumberland wrote to the duke of Newcastle from Fort Augustus, "I am sorry to leave this country in the condition it is in." The reader may think that he now felt remorse for his hideous crimes; on the contrary, he proceeds, "for all the good that we have done has been *a little blood-letting, which has only weakened the madness, but not at all cured it;* and I tremble for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island and our family." If we bear in mind that Cumberland at this time was only about twenty-six years of age, we can scarcely find in history so mere a youth so bloody and remorseless. But his physique indicated a gross and unfeeling nature. He was of a short and heavy build, a limpish style of countenance, awkward and uncouth, and destitute of every refinement of taste. His great qualities were courage and perseverance. But no perfect idea of his character could be arrived at, were it not understood that all the time that his soldiers were massacring men, violating the women, and immolating the children, till—according to Smollett, though only one thousand Highlanders fell on the field—two thousand five hundred were slaughtered altogether, and the country for fifty miles, in a very short time, had neither house, cottage, man, nor beast left, but was one vast scene of ruin, silence, and desolation; yet, whilst all this was transacting, Cumberland and his deputy-butcher Hawley were indulging the army in a saturnalia, in which every beastliness and scandal to human nature was practised. Amongst the entertainments given by this young prince, were *races on horseback by naked women!* This and other indecencies and abominations, as the amusements of the [illegible] at Fort Augustus, permitted by his royal highness, were formally attested by the Rev. James Hay of Inverness; and his testimony is only too well supported by others of unquestioned character and veracity.

These horrors and abominations—such, say the astounded contemporaries, as never were witnessed in any Christian country—continued till July, when the Highlands, far and wide, were reduced to a desert. But long before, on the 14th of May, the king had sent a message to the house of commons, suggesting the propriety of settling a handsome income on the hero of Culloden; and the obsequious house had at once voted him twenty-five thousand pounds a-year, in addition to his previous income of fifteen thousand pounds a-year. Even Pitt, the great patriot and moralist, was anxious to have been the proposer of it, and the nation was in ecstasies over the glory of Cumberland. Glory there was none. Not to have routed such an army as that of Charles, famishing and weakened to the last degree by famine, would have been a disgrace only less than the horrors and indecencies that followed it. Whilst Cumberland was thus incensed, he had the effrontery to insult the nation by declaring that the British troops had won the victory, the Hessians not coming into action, and that English troops might now be considered "almost as good as foreign ones." Thus could the German egotism of this young royalty designate the army of a nation which had inherited the glories of Cressy and Agincourt, of Blenheim, Malplacquet, and Ramilies—victories such as no German army ever achieved till the Battle of the Peoples at Leipsic, in 1813.

But perhaps at no period of our history had the English government and public exhibited a more debased and degraded aspect than under this reign. Everything like nobleness and greatness of mind had fled; there was no glorious aspiration, no generosity, no magnanimity. The very patriots were venal and time-serving, and the few men who were above their age were treated with apathy and contempt. At the very moment that the parliament and nation were shouting acclamations to Cumberland, the wise and patriotic Duncan Forbes, who had done more than any man to prevent the rebellion, and when, spite of his warnings and suggestions, it came, had exerted himself incessantly, more like a soldier than a judge and a man of peace, to oppose the clans in arms, and to soothe down those who were ready to become hostile, was earnestly imploring the government to repay him one thousand five hundred pounds. This, indeed, was a small part of what he had laid down. He had spent three years' income to assist the government, and exposed himself to the vengeance of the clans. He had, in fact, greatly embarrassed his estate for the defence of the government, and he only asked this repayment, because it was a sum for which he had made himself responsible to others. But the noble lord-president implored in vain. He had given mortal offence to Cumberland by endeavouring to check his sanguinary proceedings, and had ventured to remind him of the authority of the laws. "Laws!" exclaimed the ruffian, "what laws? I'll make a brigade give laws!" But the heroic nobleman had still further offended. He had interceded for the unfortunate Highlanders, chiefs and men, and represented that there were other means now to calm the Highlanders besides cruelty and extermination. It was characteristic of the age, of the government, and the royal family then, that such a man should be contemptuously passed over, and his pleas be left unheard. He sank and died of a broken heart and a broken fortune in the following year, in the sixty-third year of his age. "But," says Sir Walter Scott, "he left behind him a name endeared to enemies as to friends, and doubly to be honoured by posterity."

The young pretender, during this time, had been making a hard run for his life, beset and hunted on all sides for the thirty thousand pounds set upon his head. After hiding for a few days in Glenboisdale, he got to Borrodale, where he had landed on coming to this country. Expecting to find a French vessel at the cluster of islands called the Long Island, he embarked in a boat with O'Sullivan, O'Neill, and Burke, and landed on Benbecula in the midst of a very stormy night. There was no vessel, and they were compelled to pass the wretched hours of darkness and the two following days with nothing else to eat but some oatmeal and water. They got thence to Lewis, where they engaged a fishing-boat to carry them to the continent; but the master of it, discovering who his chief passenger was, refused to put out on any terms. In returning to the mainland they saw two men-of-war, and, fearing they were English, avoided them: by which means they lost the passage to France, for they were French. After escaping a real English sloop they landed in North Uist, and about the middle of May in South Uist. There the great proprietor of the island, Macdonald of Clanranald, received them hospitably, furnished the prince with fresh shoes and stockings, for he was nearly barefoot, and refreshed him with generous food and wine, for his health and spirits were breaking down under the hardships he had passed through. But he was speedily obliged to abscond and hide himself again amongst the rocks, for general Campbell, afterwards duke of Argyll, came with a body of soldiers and several ships of war to search the islands for fugitives and disaffected. After exploring several of the neighbouring islands and taking many prisoners, suddenly he arrived at South Uist, surrounded it with his soldiers, ships, and boats, and commenced a rigorous search of the whole island. Nothing but the ingenuity and indefatigable fidelity of Clanranald and his people could have saved Charles. During the whole five months of his adventurous wanderings and hidings, nothing could induce a single Highlander to betray him, notwithstanding the temptation of the thirty thousand pounds. At this moment Miss Flora, or Flory Macdonald, of Milton, in South Uist, and a near relative of Macdonald of Clanranald, with whom she was on a visit, stepped forward to rescue him. She was so much excited by his sufferings and his dangers, that she agreed to convey him safely out of the island and to Skye. She procured a pass from Hugh Macdonald, her stepfather, who commanded part of the troops now searching the island, for herself, her maid, Betty Burke, and her servant, Neil Mac Eachan. She moreover induced captain Macdonald to recommend the maid, Betty Burke—which Betty Burke was to be Charles in disguise—to his wife in Skye as very clever at spinning. At the moment that all was ready, general Campbell, as if suspecting something, came with a company of soldiers, and examined Clanranald's house. The prince, in his female attire, however, was concealed in a farmhouse, and the next morning he and his deliverer embarked in a boat with six rowers and the servant Neil. In passing the point of Vaternish, in Skye, they ran a near chance of being all killed, for the militia rushed out and fired upon them. Luckily the tide was out, so that they were at a tolerable distance, were neither hurt, nor could be very quickly pursued. The boatmen pulled stoutly, and landed them safely at Mugstole, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald. Sir Alexander was on the mainland in Cumberland's army; but the young heroine had the address to induce his wife, lady Margaret Macdonald, to receive him; and, as the house was full of soldiers, she sent him to her factor and kinsman, Macdonald of Kingsburgh, in the interior of the island. Near the house Charles put on a Highland dress, and Flora left him to the care of Kingsburgh and went home. Flora says that he had now recovered greatly his health and spirits. The next day Charles went over to the isle of Rasay, which was only six miles off, where he was received by the sons of Macleod of Rasay, who had been out with the young pretender at both Falkirk and Culloden, and were still hiding on the mainland. They could only, however, accommodate him in a cow-shed, for the soldiers had been there the day before, and burnt down every house in Rasay. Whilst he lay miserably there, his adventure had got wind, and Flora Macdonald was seized and sent to London, and Kingsburgh was seized and sent to headquarters at Fort Augustus. The enemy now knew that they were close upon his track, and it was almost by miracle that he escaped out of the isles to the mainland, where he was conducted by his faithful adherents from place to place through Rosshire, everywhere having to thread the lines of soldiers and sentinels which watched every pass. At length he was brought to a cave in the great mountain of Corado, between Kintail and Glenmoriston, inhabited by seven freebooters, who waited on him with the utmost zeal, "lifting," according to the Scotch phrase, or stealing for him whatever was necessary to his present comforts—food, clothes, linen, and even luxuries. With them he continued five weeks and three days, living more like a prince than since he left Falkirk, and having news and supplies brought by them from the very camp of Cumberland at Fort Augustus. One of these faithful bandits, untempted by the thirty thousand pounds, then conducted him to Glencoich, where he remained some time concealed with Cameron of Clunes and his sons in a little hut. Thence, by similar services, he was enabled to reach Mellanauir, in Badenoch, where Lochiel, who had been severely wounded at Culloden, and Macpherson of Cluny, were hiding. They took him to a little hut called the Cage, built of sticks, heather, and moss, in a thicket of trees on the rocky face of a high mountain, called Letternilichk, in Benalder. The chiefs had a saucepan, with which they managed to cook so well, that when Charles was eating collops out of it with a silver spoon, he exclaimed gaily, "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince!" In truth, they managed to live well in their concealment, having plenty of mutton, butter, and cheese, a ham, and a keg of whisky. Here the prince remained till the 13th of September, when news came that two French frigates had put into Lochnanuagh, under the direction of colonel Warner of Dillon's regiment, who was sent expressly to find him and convey him to France. Setting out immediately with his hospitable hosts, but, being able only to travel by night, it was the 20th of September before he got on board the French vessel. His late hosts, Lochiel and Cluny, as well as colonel Roy Stuart, and about a hundred other refugees, sailed with him, and they landed at the little port of Roscoff, near Morlaise, in Brittany, on the 29th of September, whence Charles hastened to Paris, was received in a very friendly manner by Louis XV., and by the Parisians, when he appeared at the opera, with rapturous acclamations.

Charles was, both in Scotland—on which his wild adventure had inflicted such miseries—and in France, a hero of romance; but his captured adherents had far other scenes to face than the lights and luxurious music of the opera. The wretched prisoners who were thrown into English dungeons, lest their own countrymen might on their trials sympathise too much with them, might truly utter such words as Burns has put into the mouth of one of the sufferers—

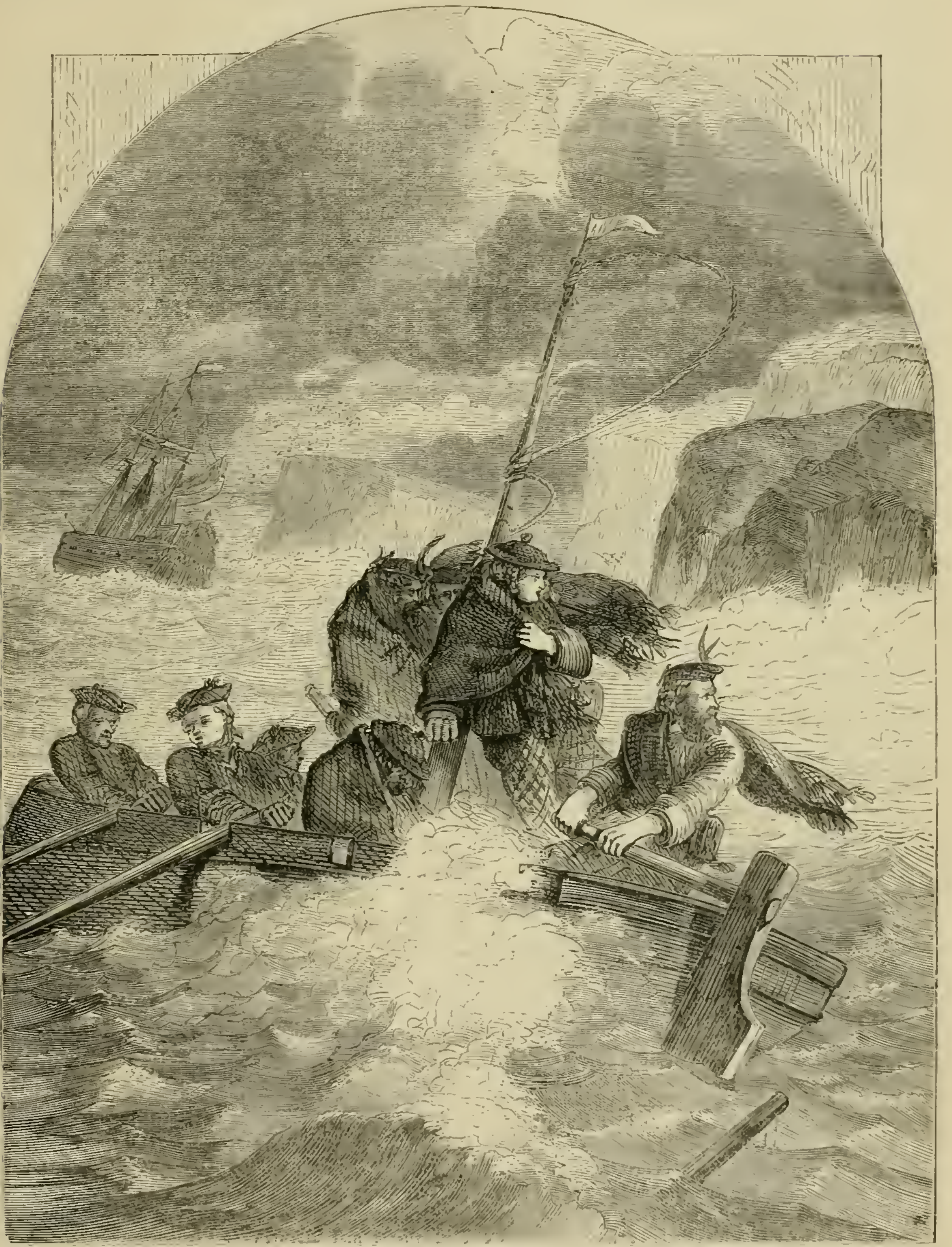
> Drummossie Moor, Drummossie day,
> A waefu' day it was to me!

So entirely was the insurrection quelled, so little likely was it that any renewal of it would ever again be attempted, that nothing could have been more worthy of the reigning family or more politic than to have shown a magnanimous clemency; but no such qualities rendered illustrious that heavy Hanoverian race. The king, it was said, was disposed to some degree of mercy; but Cumberland, drunk with blood, and yet thirsting for more, continued to urge "the utmost severity." The prisons were crammed to such a degree with the unfortunate Gaels, that government was compelled to stow numbers away on board of men-of-war and transports, till fevers broke out and swept them off by hundreds, sparing the labours of judges, juries, and hangmen. In Carlisle prison alone four hundred Scots were jammed in a space not properly sufficient for forty! The poor prisoners had been brought out of Scotland in open defiance of the Act of Union, and of the recognised rights of the Scottish courts; and now they were called on to cast lots for one in twenty to take their trials, with a certainty of being hanged, and the rest shipped off to the plantations in America without any trial at all. It was truly what Cumberland promised it should be—*brigade* law. Every principle of constitutional law was coolly ignored, as if, having put down their rivals, the Hanover family could now do as it pleased. In 1715 there had been some show of leniency; now there was a Draconian rigour exercised, in strange contrast to the humanity which Charles throughout had practised and recommended.

Amongst the first victims was colonel Townley and eight of his officers and privates of the Manchester regiment. They were hanged on Kennington Common, and all the ancient atrocities of tearing out their hearts and bowels and flinging them into a fire were perpetrated with disgusting formality. Similar odious executions took place at York, Brampton, and Penrith, and heads were stuck up over gates and in different places, as if the days of Jeffries were come again. About eighty such detestable exhibitions were made, the poor sufferers displaying a quiet courage and firmness which might have moved the heart of a Nero. Charles Radcliffe, the brother of the earl of Derwentwater, who escaped the earl's fate by breaking out of prison in 1715, had been taken on board a French vessel carrying supplies to the young pretender, and was put to death without any fresh trial. He pleaded that he was a French subject, holding a French commission, but without avail. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, and was buried by his brother in St. Giles's Church.

The duke of Perth had escaped on board a vessel and died at sea; lord Elcho had reached Paris in safety. Amongst the most distinguished persons captured were lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty, Balmerino, Mordington, and Lovat. Cromarty, Balmerino, and Kilmarnock were brought to trial before the peers in Westminster Hall on the 28th of July. "Cromarty," says Horace Walpole, "was a timid man, and shed tears; and Kilmarnock, though behaving with more dignity, pleaded guilty, both expressing remorse for their past conduct, and their fervent good wishes for the person and government of the king. But old Balmerino, the hero of the party, pleaded not guilty, and took exceptions to the indictment. He is," continues Walpole, "the most natural, brave old fellow I ever saw; the highest intrepidity, even to indifference. At the bar he behaved like a soldier and a man; in the intervals of form, with carelessness and humour. At the bar he played with his fingers upon the axe whilst he talked to the gentleman gaoler; and one day, somebody coming up to listen, he took the blade and held it like a fan between their faces. During the trial a little boy was near him, but not tall enough to see; he made room for the child, and placed him near himself." He took exception to the indictment, by showing that he was not at the taking of Carlisle, as stated in it, but that was overruled; and then he said, with a smile, he would give their lordships no further trouble. Whilst the peers withdrew to consider their verdict, Murray, the solicitor-general, afterwards lord Mansfield, asked him why he put in a plea which his solicitor previously assured him would be of no use. "Ah, Mr. Murray," replied the witty old nobleman, "I am certainly glad to see you. I have been with several of your relatives; the good lady, your mother, was of great use to us at Perth." As Murray's brother had been the young pretender's secretary, and his family altogether was very Jacobite, he felt no great temptation to renew such queries.

All these noblemen were pronounced guilty. Cromarty pleaded piteously the condition of his wife and family; that he left his wife *en famille*, and eight innocent children to suffer for his fault. His wife's entreaties and the interest of the prince of Wales saved him. Kilmarnock pleaded that though he had joined the insurrection, he had instilled such good principles into his eldest son, that he was fighting at Culloden on the side of the crown, though he himself was unhappily fighting against it. He prudently said nothing of the second son, who not only fought with him against the house of Hanover, but was taken with him too. He very properly claimed some consideration for the kindness with which he had always treated English prisoners; but such a plea was lost on this ungenerous government. So nobly did he speak, that lord Leicester said to the duke of Newcastle,



THE ESCAPE OF THE YOUNG PRETENDER.

"I never heard so good an orator as lord Kilmarnock. If I were you, I would pardon him, and make him paymaster of the forces, like Pitt."

Kilmarnock, with a rare nobility of mind, begged that, if there was any one of them pardoned, it might be Cromarty; and when he met Balmerino on the way to the scaffold, he embraced him, and said, "My lord, I wish I could suffer for both." What an honour to a generous enemy to have pardoned such a man! But generosity or nobility like that of Balmerino was unknown in the royal bosoms. Balmerino died as he had lived, bravely, and refusing to concede anything to his enemies or his circumstances. When Kilmarnock was going away to the scaffold, he asked him solemnly whether he knew anything of a resolution come to by the Highland chiefs, the day before the battle of Culloden, to give no quarter to any English prisoners. This had been sedulously circulated in order to justify the cruelties of the English commander and government. Kilmarnock replied that he was not present at the passing of any such resolutions, but that since he had come to London he had had the most solemn assurances that such was the fact, and that it was said that the duke of Cumberland had the pocket-book with the order. Balmerino, who was present at all the councils, replied indignantly, "It is a lie, raised to justify their barbarity to us!" And as no such order before or after was ever produced, it is perfectly clear that it was so.

According to Walpole, brave old Balmerino came upon the scaffold with the air of a general, walked round it, bowed to the people, read the inscription on the lid of the coffin, nodded, smiled, and said all was right. Instead of pretending, like the others, any remorse for his support of the pretender, or any loyalty towards his unrelenting foes, he declared that, if he had a thousand lives, he would lay them down in the same cause: and so he died, shouting, "God save king James!"

Lord Lovat was the last who was brought to the block for this rebellion, and we will conclude our account of it with his trial and execution, though they did not take place till March, 1747. Lovat had not appeared in arms, nor committed any overt act, and therefore it was difficult to convict him. The cunning old sycophant hoped to elude the law, as he had done so often before, but Murray of Broughton, the brother of Murray, afterwards lord Mansfield, to save his own life, turned king's evidence, and won eternal infamy by sacrificing his own friends. He not only produced letters and other documents which amply proved the guilt of Lovat, but threw broad daylight on the whole plan and progress of the insurrection from 1740 to that time. His revelations fully implicated the duke of Beaufort, Sir Watkin Williams, and others, but these government showed no disposition to prosecute. Lovat's trial commenced on the 9th of March, and continued seven days. He complained indignantly that he had been deprived of funds with which to defend his cause; that his factor had not obeyed the order of their house to that effect; and that captain Fergusson, who had seized his strong box, and had received his majesty's command, by an order from the duke of Newcastle, to deliver it up, had not done so. Newcastle made a shuffling excuse, that Fergusson claimed it as a fair prize, and that, till that point was settled, it could not be recovered. If that were true, the trial ought to have been delayed till the point *was* settled; whereupon Lovat applied some very deserved epithets to Fergusson.

The conduct of Lovat on his trial was as extraordinary as his life had been. He alternately endeavoured to excite compassion, especially that of Cumberland—who attended this, though he avoided the trials of the other insurgents—by representing how he had carried his royal highness in his arms about Kensington and Hampton Court Parks as a child, and then by the most amazing jests, laughter, execrations, and tricks, to puzzle or confuse the witnesses. "I did not think it possible," said Walpole, "to feel so little as I did at so melancholy a spectacle; but tyranny and villany wound up by buffoonery, took off all edge of compassion." When the sentence was pronounced against him, he said to lord Ilchester,

Je meurs pour ma patrie,
Et ne m'en soucie guères.

As he left the hall he turned and said, "Farewell, my lords, we shall never meet again in the same place;" a valediction which lord Byron has put into the mouth of one of his characters in the "Doge of Venice," as original. He wrote to Cumberland, offering to make the most astounding discoveries to government on condition of pardoning him; and that failing, he said in jest, that he would be hung, for his neck was too short for the executioner to hit it. On his way to Tower Hill, a scaffold fell down and killed eighteen people. He sate down in a chair on the stage, and talked in his peculiar way, with abundance of falsehood, and quoted Horace's hackneyed line—"*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*," a most flagrant burlesque on his whole political and closing conduct. Murray, who had thus enabled government to bring not only this hoary hypocrite, but much better men, to their end, lived long to reap the scorn and abhorrence of his countrymen. And with this tragi-comedy closed the strange, romantic, and melancholy rebellion of 1745 and 1746, for in a few weeks an act of indemnity was passed, clogged, however, with eighty omissions, followed by other measures for subduing the spirit of the vanquished Highlanders—the disarming act; the abolition of heritable jurisdiction; and the prohibition of the Highland costume.

We must not dismiss this subject, however, without noticing the fortunes of Charles Edward's heroic rescuer, Flora Macdonald. After a year's confinement she was liberated, as it was said, at the intercession of the prince of Wales, and the ladies of London subscribed for her nearly one thousand five hundred pounds. She returned to her native island with Malcolm Macleod, who also was dismissed for want of sufficient evidence against him. She was about four-and-twenty at the time of this great adventure. She afterwards married the son of Kingsburgh. At the time that Dr. Johnson visited the Highlands and the Western Isles in 1773, he saw her in the Isle of Skye. She must then have been about fifty-one. Johnson describes her as not old, of a pleasing person, and elegant behaviour; and Boswell, as "a little woman of genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well-bred." Johnson says that she and her husband were poor, and talked of emigrating to America, which they afterwards did, but returned to Scotland during the war of independence, and she died in the Isle of Skye in 1790, when she must have been about sixty-eight.

Whilst the rebellion was raging in Scotland there had been an attempt to change the ministry and to place at the helm lord Granville. That nobleman had so engrossed the favour of the king, that Pelham and his brother, Newcastle, found their measures greatly obstructed by Granville's influence, and suspected that they would soon be called on to give place to him. They determined, therefore, to bring the matter to a crisis, confident that Granville would never be able to secure a majority in either house against them. To furnish a reason for their tendering their resignation, they demanded the place which they had promised to Pitt. Under the influence of Granville and of lord Bath, the king refused to admit Pitt, and they determined to resign, but got lord Harrington to take the first step. He tendered the resignation of the seals on the 10th of February, 1746, and the king accepted them, but never forgave Harrington. The same day Newcastle and Pelham tendered theirs, and their example was followed by others of their colleagues. The king immediately sent the seals to Granville, desiring him and Bath to construct a new administration. They found the thing, however, by no means so easy. It was in vain that they made overtures to men of distinction to join them. Sir John Bernard declined the post of chancellor of the exchequer; chief-justice Willes that of lord chancellor. After forty-eight hours of abortive endeavours, lord Bath announced to the king that they were unable to form a cabinet. It was with extreme chagrin that George was compelled to reinstate the Pelhams. He expressed the most profound mortification that he should have a man like Newcastle thus forced upon him—a man, he said, not fit to be a petty chamberlain to a petty prince of Germany. What made it the more galling, the Pelhams would not take back the seals without authority to name their own terms, and one of them was, that such of the adherents of Bath and Granville as had been retained in the ministry should be dismissed. The marquis of Tweeddale was, accordingly, one of these, and his office of secretary of state for Scotland was abolished. Pitt was introduced to the cabinet, not as secretary at war, as he had demanded, but as vice-treasurer of Ireland, and subsequently, on the death of Winnington, as paymaster of the forces. By this event the opposition was still further weakened, and the Pelhams for some time seemed to carry everything as they wished, without almost a single ruffle of opposition. The rebellion once over, and the restrictive measures just mentioned passed, ministers and government seemed to forget it and Scotland altogether. The noble-hearted Duncan Forbes, though utterly unsuccessful in endeavouring to obtain any justice for himself, made yet another effort for the benefit of his country. Though his health was breaking up, he made a journey to London to lay before government a plan for the pacification of the Highlands—a plan including encouragement as well as repression to the Highlanders; encouragement to the friendly clans, and employment in the foreign military service of the Highlanders generally. But he returned from his patriotic mission with the melancholy conviction that all his suggestions and exertions had been made in vain.

CHAPTER XII.

REIGN OF GEORGE II. (Concluded.)

A New Subsidy of One Hundred Thousand Pounds voted for Maria Theresa—The Allies beaten at Lauffeld—Bergen-op-Zoom taken by the French—French defeated at Exilles—Anson defeats the French Fleet off Cape Finisterre, and Hawke defeats them off Belleisle—Fox seizes forty of their ships in the West Indies—The Second Son of the Pretender is made Cardinal York—The New Parliament votes Fifteen Millions—Lord Chesterfield recommends Schools and Villages to civilise the Highlanders—The Young Pretender expelled from France—Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle—Treaty concluded there—The Army reduced—British Colony of Nova Scotia founded—The Prince of Wales dies—Prince George created Prince of Wales—Regency Bill passed—The Prince of Orange dies—The case of Mr Murray—The Queen of Denmark dies—The Gregorian Calendar adopted—Forfeited Estates in Scotland settled on the Crown—Journals of Parliament ordered to be Printed—Disputes regarding the Establishment of the Princess-Dowager of Wales—Twenty Thousand Pounds voted to Mr. Harrison for his Improvement in Chronometers—Bill for the Naturalisation of Jews repealed—Death of Mr. Pelham—Newcastle made First Lord of the Treasury—French Encroachments in Canada—Fleets and Forces sent to America—France and England recall their Ambassadors—War in Canada and American Colonies—Fox made Secretary of State—Pitt and Legge recommend War—Operations in the Mediterranean—Admiral Byng arrested—Fox, Newcastle, and Hardwicke resign—The Duke of Devonshire Prime Minister—Calcutta taken by Sajah-u-Doulah—the Black Hole—Clive retakes Calcutta—War against Prussia by France, Sweden, and Russia—Byng tried and shot—Changes of Ministry—Expedition against Rochefort fails—The Duke of Cumberland defeated on the Rhine, and returns to England—Subsidy to Prussia—Riots in England—The English take Cherbourg—Operations in the West Indies, India, and America—War in Germany—Battle of Minden—Boscawen's Victory off Cape Lagos—Wolfe's Conquest of Canada—His Death—Coote's Conquest of Arcot—French land at Carrickfergus—Thurot, the Commander, killed—Lord George Sackville dismissed from the Army—Quebec attacked by the French, and relieved by Lord Colville—Austrians take Berlin, and destroy Breslau—Frederick recovers Berlin—Operations on the Rhine—Death of George II.

THE Scotch rebellion had been a most auspicious circumstance for the arms of France. Marshal Saxe had taken the field, to the surprise of the allies, in the very middle of winter, invested Brussels, and compelled it to surrender on the 20th of February, 1746. One town fell after another; Mons, Antwerp, Charleroi, and, finally, Namur capitulated on the 19th of September, after a siege of only six days. So soon as Cumberland could leave Scotland after the battle of Culloden, he returned to London, in the hope that he should be appointed, covered, as he was, with his bloody laurels, to the supreme command of the allied forces in Flanders, where he flattered himself he could arrest the progress of the French. But that command had been conferred on prince Charles of Lorraine, the emperor's brother, much to the disgust of both Cumberland and the king. On the 11th of October the prince of Lorraine engaged the French at Roucoux, on the Jaar, and was signally defeated; the English cavalry, under general Ligonier, managing to save his army from total destruction, but not being able to stem the overthrow. At the close of the campaign the French remained almost entire masters of the Austrian Netherlands.

In Italy, on the contrary, France sustained severe losses. The Austrians, liberated from their Prussian foe by the peace of Dresden, threw strong forces into Italy, and soon made themselves masters of Milan, Guastalla, Parma, and Placentia. On the 17th of June they gave the united French and Spaniards a heavy defeat near the last-named city, entered Genoa in September, and made preparations to pursue them into Provence.

Philip V. of Spain died on the 9th of July, and his son and successor, Ferdinand VI., showed himself far less anxious for the establishment of Don Philip in Italy—a circumstance unfavourable to France. On the contrary, he entered into some separate negotiations with England. A congress was opened at Breda, but the backwardness of Prussia to support the views of England, and the successes of the French in the Netherlands, caused the congress to prove abortive.

The only other foreign enterprise of this year was an expedition to the coast of Brittany, the object of which was to destroy the ships and stores of the French East India Company at Port L'Orient. The fleet was commanded by admiral Lestock, and the troops by general St. Clair. The whole undertaking was miserably mismanaged. Old Lestock carried along with him his mistress, who seems to have been the real commander on the occasion; and both soldiers and sailors were in a condition of the loosest discipline. The sole result was the burning of some villages, which was a disgrace rather than a glory to England.

In the domestic affairs of the country, the chief were a slight change in the ministry, and the continuance of repressive measures. Lord Harrington, though included in the restored cabinet, felt that he did not enjoy the confidence of the king, and resigned his office, and was succeeded by lord Chesterfield, and Harrington was allowed to take Chesterfield's place as lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act was continued for three months longer, though the Scotch rebellion was wholly extinguished, and the whole realm was quiet.

The year 1747 was opened, also, by measures of restriction. The house of lords, offended at the publication of the procedings of the trial of lord Lovat, summoned the parties to their bar, committed them to prison, and refused to liberate them till they had pledged themselves not to repeat the offence, and had paid very heavy fees. The consequence of this was that the transactions of the peers were almost entirely suppressed for nearly thirty years from this time, and we draw our knowledge of them chiefly from notes taken by Horace Walpole and lord chancellor Hardwicke. What is still more remarkable, the reports of the house of commons, being taken by stealth, and on the merest sufferance, are of the meagrest kind, sometimes altogether wanting, and the speeches are given uniformly under fictitious names; for to have attributed to Pitt, or Fox, or Pelham their speeches by name would have brought down on the printers the summary vengeance of the house. Many of the members complained bitterly of this breach of the privileges of parliament, and of "being put into print by low fellows;" but Pelham had the sense to tolerate them, saying, "Let them alone: they make better speeches for us than we can make for ourselves." Altogether, the house of commons exhibited the most deplorable aspect that can be conceived. Pitt and Fox being in office, there was no man of mark or commanding eloquence in the opposition. The ministry had pursued Walpole's system of buying up opponents by place, or pension, or secret service money, till there was no life left in the house. Ministers passed their measures without troubling themselves to say much in their behalf; and the opposition dwindled to Sir John Hynd Cotton, now dismissed from office, and a feeble remnant of Jacobites raised but miserable resistance. In vain the prince of Wales and the secret instigations of Bolingbroke and Doddington stimulated the spirit of discontent; both houses had dwindled into most silent and insignificant arenas of very commonplace business.

The campaign in Flanders commenced with the highest expectation on the part of England. Cumberland had now obtained the great object of his ambition—the command of the allied army; and the conqueror of Culloden was confidently expected to show himself the conqueror of marshal Saxe and of France. But Cumberland, who was no match for marshal Saxe, or any tolerable general under equal circumstances, found the Dutch and Austrians, as usual, vastly deficient in their stipulated quotas. He had all the difficulties of Marlborough, from defective troops and the thwarting tempers of the foreign generals, to contend with, and without Marlborough's genius. The French, hoping to intimidate the sluggish and wavering Dutch, threatened to send twenty thousand men into Dutch Flanders, if the states did not choose to negotiate for a separate peace. The menace, however, had the effect of rousing Holland to some degree of action. When the vanguard of Saxe's army, under count Löwendahl, burst into Dutch Flanders, and reduced the frontier forces of Sluys, Sas van Ghent, and Hulst, the Dutch rose against their dastardly governors, and once more placed a prince of the House of Nassau in the Stadtholdership. William of Nassau, who had married Anne, daughter of George II. of England, was, unfortunately, not only nominated stadtholder, but captain-general and lord high admiral; and, being equally desirous of martial glory with his brother-in-law, the duke of Cumberland, he headed the Dutch army, and immediately began to contend with Cumberland for dictation as to the movements of the army. Cumberland was hot-tempered, and Nassau was ignorant of tactics, conceited, and pertinacious, and the worst evils of disunion prevailed in the allied army. Under these disastrous circumstances, the allies came to blows with the French at the village of Lauffeld, before Maestricht. The Dutch in the centre gave way and fled; the Austrians on the right, under marshal Bathiany, would not advance out of their fortified position; the brunt of the whole onset, therefore, fell upon the English. Cumberland found himself engaged with the whole French army, directed by the masterly mind of Saxe, and animated by the presence of Louis himself. The dispositions of Cumberland were bad, but the bravery of the British troops was never more remarkable. Though it was impossible for them to prevail against such overwhelming numbers, they did not retreat before they had, according to Saxe's own acknowledgment, killed eight thousand French and wounded one thousand. By their own calculation they had destroyed not less than ten thousand of the enemy; but their own loss had been nearly as great before they retired behind the Meuse. They lost four standards and took six of the enemy's. The duke of Cumberland at one time was surrounded by the French and almost taken. The English cavalry showed an impetuous gallantry approaching to rashness. They carried everything before them, till they were outflanked by columns of foot, when they suffered terrible slaughter, and their commander, Sir John Ligonier, was taken prisoner. A French officer, addressing an English soldier who had been made prisoner, said, "If there had been fifty thousand such men as you, we should have found it difficult to conquer." "There were men enough like me," said the soldier, "but we wanted one like marshal Saxe."

Saxe followed up his advantage by dispatching Löwendahl against Bergen-op-Zoom, the key of Holland, and the masterpiece of the celebrated engineer, Cohorn. This was not only amazingly strong in its fortifications, but had a powerful garrison, and was covered by an entrenched camp of twelve thousand men. The trenches were opened in the middle of July, and might have defied all the efforts of the French, had not baron Cronstrom, the commander, a man of eighty, suffered them to take it by surprise on the 15th of September. The French had led a vast number of men before this place, and its surrender ended the campaign. The English and Dutch took up their winter quarters at Breda, and Cumberland wrote home urgently for fresh reinforcements for the next spring. Pelham replied that it was easier to ask for them than to find them; that the king had engaged thirty thousand, but it was doubtful whether they would appear; that he had applied also to the Danes, but it yet remained to see with what effect. After all, if they got troops, how were they to get the money to pay for them?

Most unexpectedly, however, the French were as desirous of peace as the allies ought to have been. At sea and in Italy they had not been so successful as in Flanders. Admiral Anson had defeated them off Cape Finisterre, and taken six ships of the line, several frigates, and a great part of a numerous convoy; admiral Hawke, off Belleisle, had taken six other ships of the line; and commodore Fox took forty French merchantmen, richly laden, on their way from the West Indies. In fact, in all quarters of the world our fleet had the advantage, and had made such havoc with the French commerce, as reduced the mercantile community to great distress.

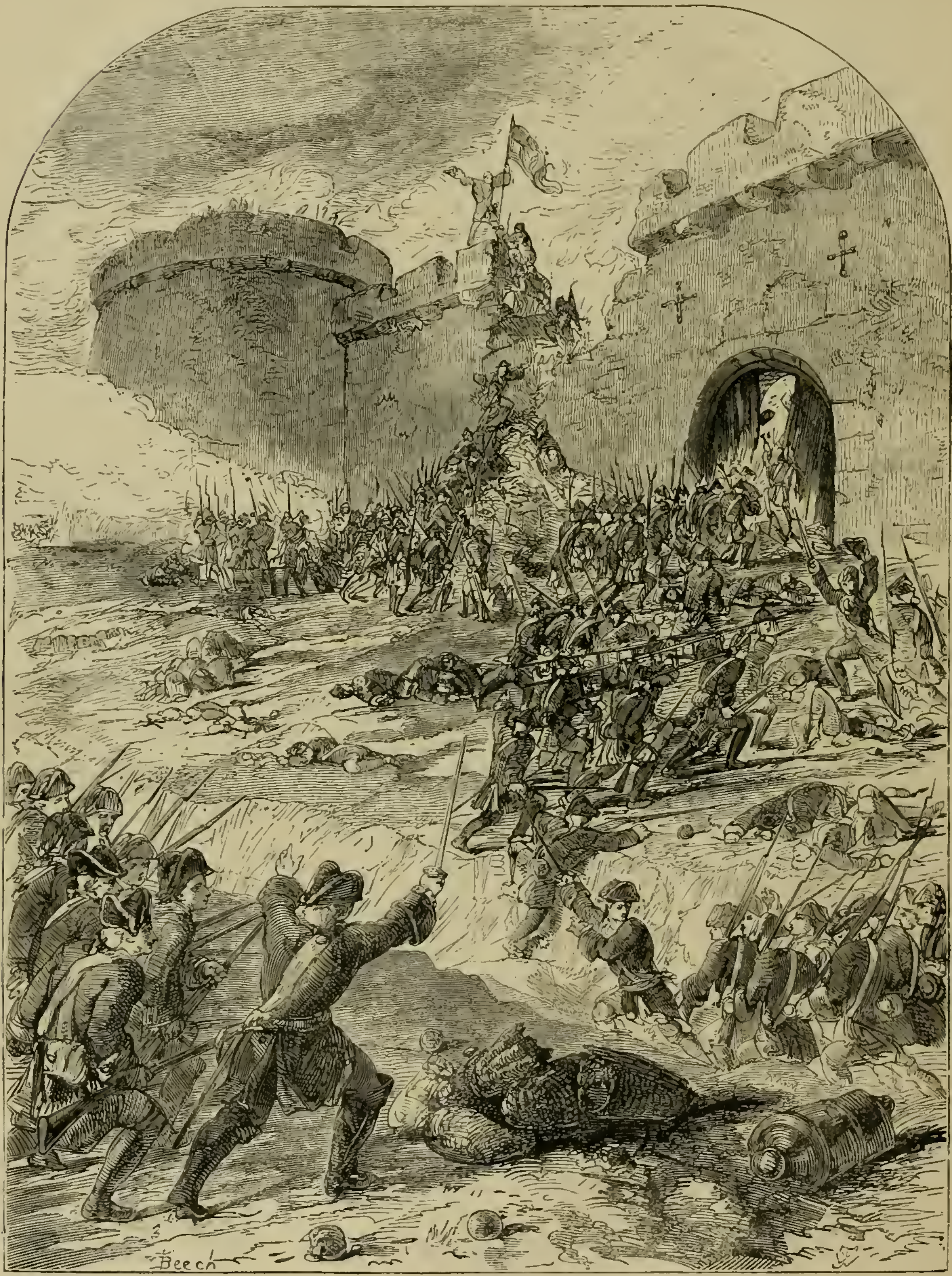
In Italy they had been as unfortunate as they had been fortunate in Flanders. In November of 1746 the Austrians and Sardinians, assisted by a British fleet, had entered Provence and bombarded Antibes. They were recalled, however, by the news that the Genoese had revolted, and thrown off the Austrian yoke. In their retreat they were harassed by marshal de Belleisle, laid siege to Genoa in vain, and began to quarrel amongst themselves. The French, to complete their discomfiture, attempted to march another army into Italy under the brother of Belleisle; but they were stopped in the Pass of Exilles, and defeated with the loss of four thousand men and of their commander, the chevalier de Belleisle.

There were great discontent and suffering in France, and marshal Saxe, through general Ligonier, made proposals for peace. He declared himself broken in health, and longing for repose; that the whole French people hated him, and that, if he suffered a single reverse, his very life was not safe; that the king was as desirous of peace as he was: he stated, therefore, that the king of France was ready to give up all his conquests in Flanders except Furnes, and that he would give up that on condition that England did not insist on the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk. He claimed nothing anywhere else except the restoration of Cape Breton, and this only in exchange for Madras, which the French had lately taken from the English. Genoa, he proposed, should be made independent, the duke of Modena restored to his dominions, and Spain be included in the treaty.

The news of these overtures gave great delight in England, but the king and Cumberland were bent on continuing the war. Pelham and Chesterfield advocated acceptance of the terms, but Newcastle sided with the king, to gain favour with him. As such terms, however, could not with decency be bluntly rejected, Cumberland solicited and obtained the post of negotiator in the matter for England; but the ministers, desirous of peace, foreseeing that the wishes or the hasty temper of Cumberland would soon ruin every chance of accomplishing a treaty, the earl of Sandwich was sent over to act as assistant to the duke, which meant, to overrule, if possible, the mischief he would be sure to make. Sandwich accordingly hastened over to Holland, and had a secret interview with the marquis de Puisieulx, the French minister for foreign affairs, and, after much dodging on the part of the marquis, he managed to have the discussion removed from military negotiators to a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle.

But the wishes of Cumberland and the king were only too well seconded by the continental powers. They had, for the most part, been making war through the money and blood of England, and, so long as they had an object to gain, cared nothing how much of both these were spent on their behalf. Austria, not satisfied with the restoration of Flanders, was averse to the idea of ceding anything to Don Philip in Italy. Sardinia was equally averse to admit the independence of Genoa, and however much the Dutch might long for peace, the prince of Nassau, like Cumberland, was anxious for martial fame. Russia would be no party to any treaty which did not guarantee to it Silesia, which England and Holland had formally pledged to it. Cumberland, and his interested backers, Maria Theresa, Sardinia, and the rest, contrived to protract the negotiations, whilst military preparations for another campaign were zealously pushed forwards.

Parliament opened on the 10th of November, soon after George's return from Hanover. Ministers had found great difficulty in coming to an agreement on the royal speech. Some were for the peace, some against it, and with the latter was the king. The prevalent feeling was obvious in the speech, when it did come to be spoken. It passed lightly over our defeats in Flanders, and dwelt on our naval victories. It referred to the negotiations for a peace, but at the same time demanded no less than thirteen millions—a war supply which a few years ago would have greatly astonished the nation. This vast sum was voted with scarcely any dissent. In the lords' address Chesterfield managed to introduce a clause which was most honourable to him, but found no response in the royal breast, and little in those of the peers at large. It was to establish schools and villages in the Highlands to civilise the inhabitants, declaring that "the diffusion of knowledge amongst the people would be the best safeguard of their loyalty and tranquillity." It was a sentiment far before the time—one



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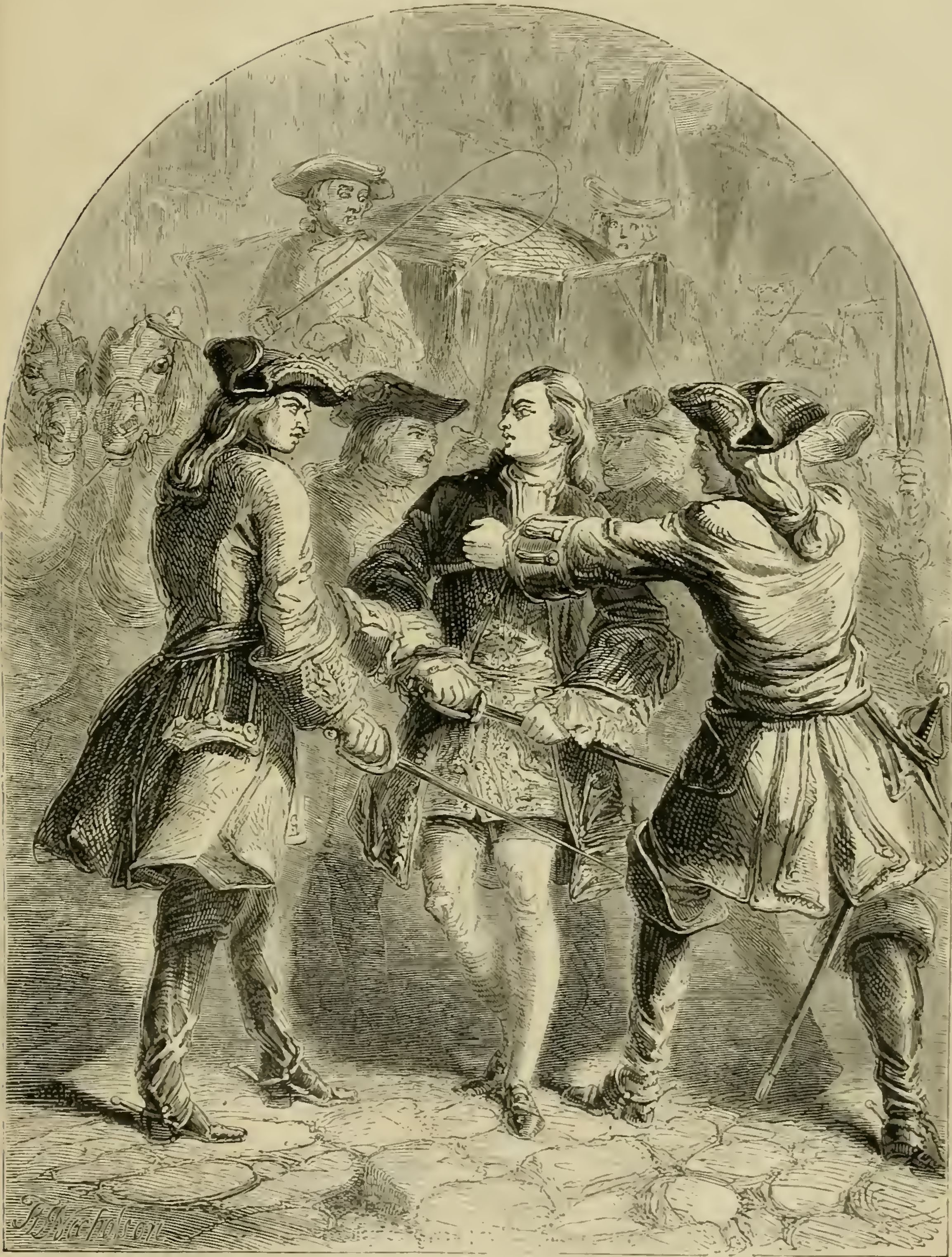

J. Nicholson

ARREST OF THE YOUNG PRETENDER IN PARIS.

of those little sparks of truth which kindle amid the darkness of a sordid age, and continue to smoulder in silence till they find the proper matter on which to feed and spread. War and party intrigue were the elements of that depressing time; the spark lay unnoticed, but has since found winds to fan it, and substance on which to grow.

The year 1748 opened with a stagnant parliament and a struggling and discordant ministry. The earl of Chesterfield was vehement against the war, but found scarcely any of his colleagues to support him. He had hoped to influence the king through his mistresses, as had been the practice in George I.'s time with ministers, and as had been attempted with George II., but with little success. He had formerly won a powerful ascendancy over lady Suffolk, and he now possessed the same over lady Yarmouth, by his commanding abilities and polished address; but in both cases he failed in moving the stolid mind of the king through that medium. George did not consult his mistresses on matters of diplomacy. Whilst he was defeated in this public object, he found himself equally unsuccessful in his personal ones. He failed in every attempt to promote the interests of his own friends and relatives. Newcastle, afraid of his diplomatic talents, jealously guarded against his ascendancy by such means. Finding himself thus alone in his advocacy of peace in the cabinet, and being refused his application for a regiment for his cousin, George Stanhope, the youngest son of the late favourite minister, he determined to resign, and tendered the seals to the king on the 6th of February. George expressed great regret at his retirement, though it is certain he could feel none, and offered to create him a duke, which honour Chesterfield declined.

Newcastle caballed to secure the office of secretary of state thus vacated by Chesterfield for his pliant friend lord Sandwich, but as he did not venture to name him directly, he talked of the duke of Bedford, not imagining that he aspired to the post, but would recommend Sandwich, for which he gave the cue. But Bedford had already shown that there was no man alive more keenly looking after his own interests. The affair of the regiments to be raised and maintained by himself and other peers had pretty well opened the eyes of the public to that. Fox observed that Newcastle thought of using Bedford as a shoeing horn for Sandwich, but Bedford was too subtle for him. He pretended that he only took the office for six months, but, once in, he had no intention of vacating it for Sandwich or any one else. Sandwich was, however, installed in the post which Bedford vacated at the head of the admiralty, and Chesterfield succeeded better now out of office than he did whilst in, by obtaining for John Stanhope, his youngest brother, a seat at the admiralty board, under Sandwich. Pitt, meantime, was steadily looking upwards, watching the jarrings betwixt the duke of Newcastle and his brother Pelham, and at the same time that he hoped to step into the gap that he foresaw must ere long open between them, still keeping in the highest favour with both. Thus working his way upwards, he did not hesitate to support all the measures which he had won his great reputation by opposing, and, consequently, became excessively unpopular, both with parliament and people. Proud, haughty, and repellant in manner, he yet remained in the house of commons, where the real seat of influence lay, and possessed in himself the magical means of moulding even hostile minds and elements to his purpose—a stupendous eloquence.

The congress had opened at Aix-la-Chapelle early in the spring, but it did not begin its sittings till the 11th of March, Sandwich being dispatched thither as our plenipotentiary. The campaign, however, opened simultaneously, and, could Cumberland and the king have managed it, war would soon have overturned the hopes of peace; but circumstances were too much for them. The prince of Nassau, ambitious as he was of military renown, failed to bring into the field his Dutch levies; the thirty thousand Prussians, as Pelham had expected, did not appear. The Dutch, so far from furnishing the sums they had engaged for, sent to London to raise the loan of a million sterling; but London itself had ceased to be a money-lending place. The war had drained even its resources. "Money," says lord Chesterfield, in one of his letters, "never was so scarce in the City, nor the stocks so low, even during the rebellion, as now. Twelve per cent. is offered for money, and even that will not do." To complete the dead lock, marshal Saxe advanced into the field, and showed to the world that, though Cumberland might beat an army of a few famine-exhausted Highlanders, he was no match for him. He completely outgeneralled him; made false demonstrations against Breda, where the allied army lay, and then suddenly concentrated his forces before Maestricht, which, it was evident, must soon fall into his hands. Maestricht secured, the highway into Holland was open.

The king and his war cabinet were now compelled to sue for peace to France, which it had so freely offered the year before. Newcastle wrote to Sandwich in April, saying, the impossibility of arresting the progress of the French army, the discordant pretensions of the allies, and their gross neglect of their engagements, rendered it absolutely necessary to make peace. Sandwich was to communicate this necessity to the plenipotentiaries of the allies, and if they declined to assent to it, to sign the preliminaries without them. The ministers of the allies still refused to join; it suited them very well to receive vast subsidies to fight their own battles, and yet to leave England to fight them. On the other hand, count St. Severin, the plenipotentiary of France, now felt his vantage-ground, and offered far worse terms than before, and, to make them necessary, threatened that, if they were not accepted without delay, the French would leave the fortifications of Ypres, Namur, and Bergen-op-Zoom, and march directly into Holland. The treaty was signed by England, France, and Holland on the 30th of April, N.S. The general conditions were those already stated as offered last year. All the nations were placed very much *in statu quo*, except that Prussia had got Silesia, and Sardinia had lost Placentia and Finale. As for England, she had got nothing, except an expenditure of fifty-four million pounds on this war, of which remained twenty-nine millions added to the national debt, and on which interest has been paid during the hundred and eleven years which have since transpired, amounting to one hundred millions! The whole burden of this war, utterly useless to England, having cost to this kingdom, up to this moment, *one hundred and fifty-four millions* sterling! Besides this, we had sacrificed at least fifty thousand of our subjects on the bloody plains of Flanders and Germany; and for what result?—none whatever, except national poverty and disgrace. It was not till October that all the allies could be brought to sign the treaty, when we had fallen so low that we were called upon by France to send two hostages to Paris to guarantee the surrender of Cape Breton, whilst not a single hostage was demanded for the surrender of the possessions which France engaged to relinquish. The earl of Sussex and lord Cathcart were the noblemen selected for this humiliating purpose, which, when prince Charles heard of, he expressed the highest indignation, declaring that, if he ever mounted the throne of his ancestors, he would never rest till all Europe had seen France sending hostages to England.

The original causes of this war had been to demand from Spain compensation for damages done to our commerce, and to resist the right of search which she claimed on all British vessels appearing in South American waters. This war had been forced on Sir Robert Walpole, who resisted it as long as possible, and then gave way, declaring that it would be prolific of miseries. None distinguished themselves so much in urging on this war as Pitt and Bath. Pitt, in glowing harangues from year to year, had declared that peace ought never to be made till Spain had paid ample compensation, and renounced the right of search for ever. Now, Pitt was in the cabinet consenting to a treaty in which no mention whatever was made of either of these claims. We had spent fifty-four millions of money and fifty thousand lives, and the sole causes of the war were quietly passed over! Pitt had now the audacity to praise the wisdom of Walpole—a wisdom which he had for long years described as infatuation, and denounced as treason! Such are the laurels of the proudest orators and statesmen, dyed in the blood, and heavy with the ruin, of their country!

We are now called to a fresh notice of the young pretender. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle stipulated for his expulsion from the isle of France, and George II. lost no time in calling on Louis to observe the engagement. On Charles's return to France both the king and the people had received him with much cordiality, and he had obtained commissions in the army for his most faithful followers, Lochiel, Ogilvie, and others, as well as forty thousand livres yearly for the relief of the rest. But, from the first moment, the court refused to listen to his urgent application for a military force. Tencin once hinted that the king, perhaps, might not be disinclined to assist him, on condition that Ireland should be made over to France, but Charles rejected the proposal with indignation; on which Tencin told him that it was merely his own suggestion; that the idea did not come from the king. Finding that France would do nothing, Charles, early in 1747, hastened to Spain, and procured an interview with the king and queen. The timid new king, Ferdinand VI., terrified at giving offence to the British court, desired him to make the best of his way to France. Charles begged to be introduced to the queen-dowager and the rest of the royal family; but Ferdinand evaded the request, and repeated his desire that he should immediately quit Madrid. Charles then saw Carvajal, the minister, but he only reiterated the royal injunction. Charles was greatly insulted by the Italian musician, Farinelli, who came up dressed like a grandee, and wearing the cross of Calatrava, and shook hands with him, Charles mistaking him for a nobleman.

Charles was obliged to quit Madrid the next day. He hastened back to France, where he proposed to remain in private till some new chance turned up. In April he dispatched Sir John Graham to Berlin to propose to Frederick a match with one of his sisters or nieces, the king having no children of his own, declaring that he never meant to marry any but a protestant princess, and that, if he declined the alliance, he would be obliged by his naming a suitable alliance for him, as he regarded Frederick as the wisest prince in Europe. Whether the king of Prussia amused Charles with any hopes in order to alarm George II. does not appear; but it is probable, as, in 1753, the duke of Newcastle wrote to the lord chancellor, that the king of Prussia was then avowedly the principal, if not the sole, supporter of the Jacobite cause.

Immediately after this, a circumstance took place calculated to give a great shock to that cause. Charles's brother quitted Paris unknown to him, and returned to Rome; and on the 13th of June Charles received a letter from his father to inform him that his brother would be made a cardinal on the 3rd of July, which took place. This intention, the old pretender informed his son, they had purposely kept from his knowledge, because they did not expect that he would approve of it; but that, as his brother was resolved upon it, and as it must be, it was better and kinder that he should not know of it until it was too late to prevent it. He could then truly say to the partisans of their cause that it was both unknown to him, and contrary to his wishes. This reasoning, however, by no means satisfied Charles, and, from that time, there was a great estrangement betwixt himself, his brother, and father.

France, at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, proposed to establish Charles at Fribourg, with the title of prince of Wales, a company of guards, and a handsome pension; but he refused to listen to this reasonable proposal, and—still worse—when France was compelled, by the conditions of the treaty, to request him to leave France, he positively refused. Though his father wrote, commanding him to obey the order, he paid no regard to the letter. He flattered himself that the king would not employ force, but he was deceived. As he was going to the opera on the 11th of December, his coach was stopped by a party of the royal guards, he was bound hand and foot, and conveyed to the prison of Vincennes, and, according to his own account, thrust into a dungeon only seven feet wide and eight long. In a few days he was removed thence, conveyed to Pont de Beauvoisin, on the frontier of Savoy, and dismissed.

The outcast prince first directed his course to the papal city of Avignon, whence, in a few weeks, accompanied only by colonel Goring, and under a fictitious name, he took his departure, no one knew whither. From that time, for many years, his movements were involved in profound mystery; all his correspondence passed through the hands of Mr. Walters, his banker in Paris. His most zealous partisans were ignorant of his retreat, and when he wrote to his father, which was very seldom, he gave no clue to his abode. He is supposed to have spent the bulk of his life during these years, with his friend the duke of Bouillon, in the forest of Ardennes, his chief amusement being the chase of the wolf and the wild boar in that waste and lonely region. From the Stuart Papers, however, light has since been cast on some points of his existence during this period. He visited Italy and Germany, resided some time in Vienna, and even in Paris, in strictest incognito. He made a secret journey to London in 1750, another in 1754, and it is believed that he was actually present at the coronation of George III.

Wherever Charles Edward had passed his life, his disappointed ambition and the contumely which he met with in all directions had led him to habits of intoxication. He is supposed to have laid the foundation of this habit during his hardships in the Highland campaign and wanderings, when he found whisky too ready a temptation to raise his spirits, and the society of one Kelly, an Irish friar, had confirmed him in it. Hence, when he returned to Rome after the death of his father in 1766, he was grievously changed. But nothing contributed so much to wean from him the Jacobites as his connection with Miss Walkinshaw. This lady, with whom he is said to have become acquainted on his Scotch expedition, had acquired the greatest influence over him, so that she was trusted with his profoundest secrets, at the same time that her sister was housekeeper to the dowager princess of Wales. The Jacobites, alarmed at this, sent over Mr. Macnamara to apprise him of the apprehensions of his friends, and entreat him to separate from this lady, who was suspected of being in the pay of the English government; but in vain. This was the finishing blow to his cause, the chief remaining Jacobites hastening to make their peace with the reigning dynasty. At the age of fifty-two Charles, forgetting his vow to marry only a protestant, married a German catholic, the princess Louisa of Stolberg, a girl of only twenty. This marriage was a miserable one, and without issue; and in 1780 his wife, worn out with his harshness and ill-temper, eloped with the poet Alfieri. The only friend or relative left to cheer his old age were his brother the cardinal, and his daughter by Miss Walkinshaw, whom he created duchess of Albany, and who only survived him a year. With his wife he had resided some years at Florence; with his daughter he returned to Rome in 1785. To the last, and in his dotage, he continued to dream of his restoration to the throne of England, and under his bed always stood a strong-box containing twelve thousand sequins ready for his journey to the land of his ancestors. He died on the 30th of January, 1788, and his brother the cardinal succeeded to the mock dignity of the style and title of Henry IX. of England, the last royal hope of that fatal line dying with him.

From the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle for several years little of striking interest occurred in the affairs of this country. The public at first was rejoiced at the return of peace; but the more it looked into the results of so costly a war the more it grew dissatisfied, and the complaints were loud and general that ministers had sacrificed the honour and interests of the nation. The opposition, however, was at so low an ebb, that little was heard of the public discontent in parliament; and Pitt, formerly so vociferous to denounce the war, now as boldly vindicated both it and the peace, and silenced all criticisms by his overbearing eloquence. The government still went on granting subsidies to the German princes, though the war was at an end. It was proposed to pay one hundred thousand pounds to the empress Maria Theresa. Pelham was opposed to it in private, and asked his brother Newcastle "What merit these princes have to us in making peace, any more than we to them? Have we not paid her imperial majesty seventy-five thousand pounds, and the Dutch twenty-five thousand pounds for regiments of horse that never stirred from their quarters, nor, to our certain knowledge, ever existed? The prince of Wolfenbuttel may be a very honest gentleman, but his being in a good or bad humour will not pay our debts." Yet the subsidies were voted, and Pelham himself advocated them in his place in the house. Another grant of ten thousand pounds, with better reason, was voted to Glasgow for repayment of the sums levied on that town by the rebels.

One of the most really important measures of 1749 was the foundation of the capital of Nova Scotia. The reduction of the army and navy in consequence of the peace threw into a condition of inaction and distress a great number both of soldiers, seamen, and officers. It was, therefore, resolved to grant in Nova Scotia fifty acres of freehold land to every settler, with ten acres more for every child taken out with them, besides a free passage and exemption from all taxes for ten years. Four thousand men with their families accepted the offer immediately, and sailed thither in a fleet under the command of colonel Cornwallis. They landed at the harbour of Chebuctow, and a town was founded and named in honour of the earl of Halifax, then president of the board of trade. During the first winter this infant capital consisted of three hundred wooden huts, surrounded by a palisade, but now a large and populous city. About the same time the English and Scotch began to settle on the Mosquito coast in the Gulf of Mexico. These indications of a colonising spirit gave great uneasiness to both France and Spain, who declared that such establishments were contrary to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. France endeavoured to induce Spain to join in a new war against England, but found Ferdinand VI. of too pacific a disposition, and firmly maintained in this temper towards England by his queen, Barbara, a Portuguese.

The only remaining domestic measure of this year was a fresh clause added to the Mutiny Bill, which subjected all half-pay officers and soldiers to martial law. This was said to be instigated by the severe temper of Cumberland, and Pitt, who had been so eloquent for years against all such measures, now declared that martial law must be made more stringent and comprehensive, and the crown endowed with more authority over the army and navy. "The true liberty of England," he asserted, "depended on the moderation of the sovereign and the virtue of the army; that, without this virtue, the lords, the commons, and the people of England might intrench themselves behind parchment up to the teeth, yet the sword would find a passage to the vitals of the constitution." The clause passed with the additional one that all members of a court-martial should be bound by an oath not to disclose any of its proceedings, unless required to do so by an act of parliament. Poor admiral Byng, destined, ere long, to feel the edge of martial law, voted for it. The clause, though passed for the army, was thrown out when proposed for the navy, admiral Vernon and other naval members of parliament stoutly opposing it. Thus the strange anomaly was created, of one law for the courts-martial of the army, and another for the navy.

During the year 1750, the French continued to evince a hostile disposition. They laid claim to part of Nova Scotia, and refused to surrender the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, as they were bound to do by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. They continued to stir up a bad feeling towards us both in Spain and Germany. The empress, much to her disgrace, after having received some millions of our money, and seen tens of thousands of British lives sacrificed for the defence of her territories, and even whilst still receiving one hundred thousand pounds a year, listened with eagerness to the suggestions of France, and co-operated with that country in endeavouring to influence Spain against us. Fortunately, the good disposition of the queen of Spain, and the able management of Mr. Keene, our ambassador, foiled all these efforts, and completed a commercial treaty with that country.

This treaty was signed on the 5th of October, 1750, and placed us at once on the same footing in commercial relations with Spain as the most favoured nations. We abandoned the remaining term of the Assiento, and obtained one hundred thousand pounds as compensation for the claims of the South Sea Company. The right of search, however, was passed over in silence, and we continued to cut logwood in Campeachy Bay, and to smuggle on the Spanish main, winked at by the Spanish authorities, but liable to interruption whenever jealousy or ill-will might be in the ascendant. In various directions our commerce grew and flourished at this time, and many injurious restrictions were removed, as from the whale fishery of Spitzbergen, the white herring and coast fisheries, the trade to the coast of Guinea, the import of iron from the American plantations, and of raw silk from China. Our manufactures also grew apace, spite of the internal jarrings of the ministry, and the deadness of parliament.

Parliament met on the 17th of January, 1751, and the king, in his speech, announced a treaty with Bavaria, in which, of course, Bavaria, to no benefit of England whatever, but probably some security to Hanover, was to be subsidised, and this was opposed by the prince of Wales's party, led by lord Egmont, Bubb Doddington, and Dr. Lee. But what excited the most sensation was the distribution through the Penny Post, and in the areas of both houses of parliament, of the papers called "Constitutional Queries." These were aimed at the duke of Cumberland, who, now by his defeats in Flanders, and his harsh and arbitrary conduct, was grown extremely odious to the nation. The Leicester House, or prince of Wales's party, was felt to be at the bottom of this rather than the Jacobites, and the libel was generally attributed to the pen of lord Egmont. Horace Walpole says the imputations entertained in the "Queries" were, that Cumberland had disgraced or dismissed old officers, men of family and property, to make way for slaves, boys, and beggars; that he had acquired an absolute power over the army, and was endeavouring, by a factious connection, to make himself master of the fleet; that he had shown in Scotland that an army might make itself superior to the law; that the omnipotence of a commander, joined with the faction, stupidity, and corruption of the times, might be able to stifle and baffle all regular proof of notorious acts of arbitrary power, and that the right of succession was in danger from him. In the lords, the duke of Marlborough, with much heat, moved that the "Queries" be burnt by the common hangman; and the same was done in the commons, but not without some severe strictures from Sir Francis Dashwood, lord Egmont, and colonel Littleton, who charged the duke with attempting to crush popular and municipal privileges in and about London by the soldiery.

On the heels of this debate came petitions from the electors of Westminster against the return of lord Trentham. the son of lord Gower. Lord Gower had abandoned the Jacobite party, and was consequently detested by it. They therefore violently opposed lord Trentham, and the opposition united with it because Trentham held office under the present ministry. The election had been hotly contested, and the scrutiny on the return had occupied five months of the preceding year. The house summoned to its bar one Crowle, a lawyer, the high bailiff, and Mr. Alexander Murray, a Scotch tory, and brother of lord Elibank. Crowle was accused of breach of the privilege of the house by calling its menaces a *brutum fulmen*, which compelled him to receive reprimand on his knees. Crowle, however, on rising. brushed his knees with his hands, and said audibly, "This is the dirtiest house I have ever been in." Mr. Murray was accused by the bailiff with threatening his life during the election; and Murray was voted into close confinement in Newgate, and that he should receive the judgment of the house on his knees. But Murray defied the house, declared he never kneeled except to God; he was innocent of that or any crime, and would not kneel to any mortal man or men. The house could make no impression on him, and it was recommended by different speakers to deprive him of access of his friends, and of pen, ink, and paper. Pitt urged still severer measures, but admiral Vernon, on the other hand, denounced the conduct of the house as most harsh, arbitrary, and contrary to Magna Charta. The feud grew furious, and Murray was thrust into Newgate, which was crammed with prisoners, was always a place of frightful filth, and had lately been visited by a malignant gaol fever. Gibson, a tory electioneering upholsterer, was sent there, too; but he soon became very humble, and was discharged; while Murray continued as firm as ever, and his friends complained that he was ill, and in reality suffering from the gaol distemper. and the house was obliged to allow him a doctor and a nurse. as well as the company of his sister. A committee was appointed to search for precedents in his case. Out of the house the severity was condemned, and another paper of "Queries" circulated, charging the commons with assuming a most tyrannic and unconstitutional power. Murray was advised to make submission to the house, but he declared he would sooner cut his own throat. It was then carried that he should be treated with greater rigour, and nobody but the doctor and nurse admitted to him. On the 2nd of April, however, when he had been two months in prison, it was carried, in a thin house, that he should be transferred to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms, on account of his bad health, and that his friends should be allowed to visit him. Murray refused to avail himself of this, or to come out of Newgate, but removed the case to the King's Bench by *habeas corpus*. The King's Bench confirmed the validity of the imprisonment, and Murray remained to the end of the session, when, as a matter of course, he was released. On the meeting of parliament again on the 20th of November, an order was issued to secure and confine him again, but he had taken the precaution to get across to the continent. The commons, in high dudgeon at his escape and defiance of them, voted a reward of five hundred pounds for his apprehension, and then turned their vengeance on the unfortunate printers and publishers of Murray's case as issued by him to the public, and commenced a prosecution of them; but the jury treated the matter as one of oppression by parliament, and found a verdict for the defendants.

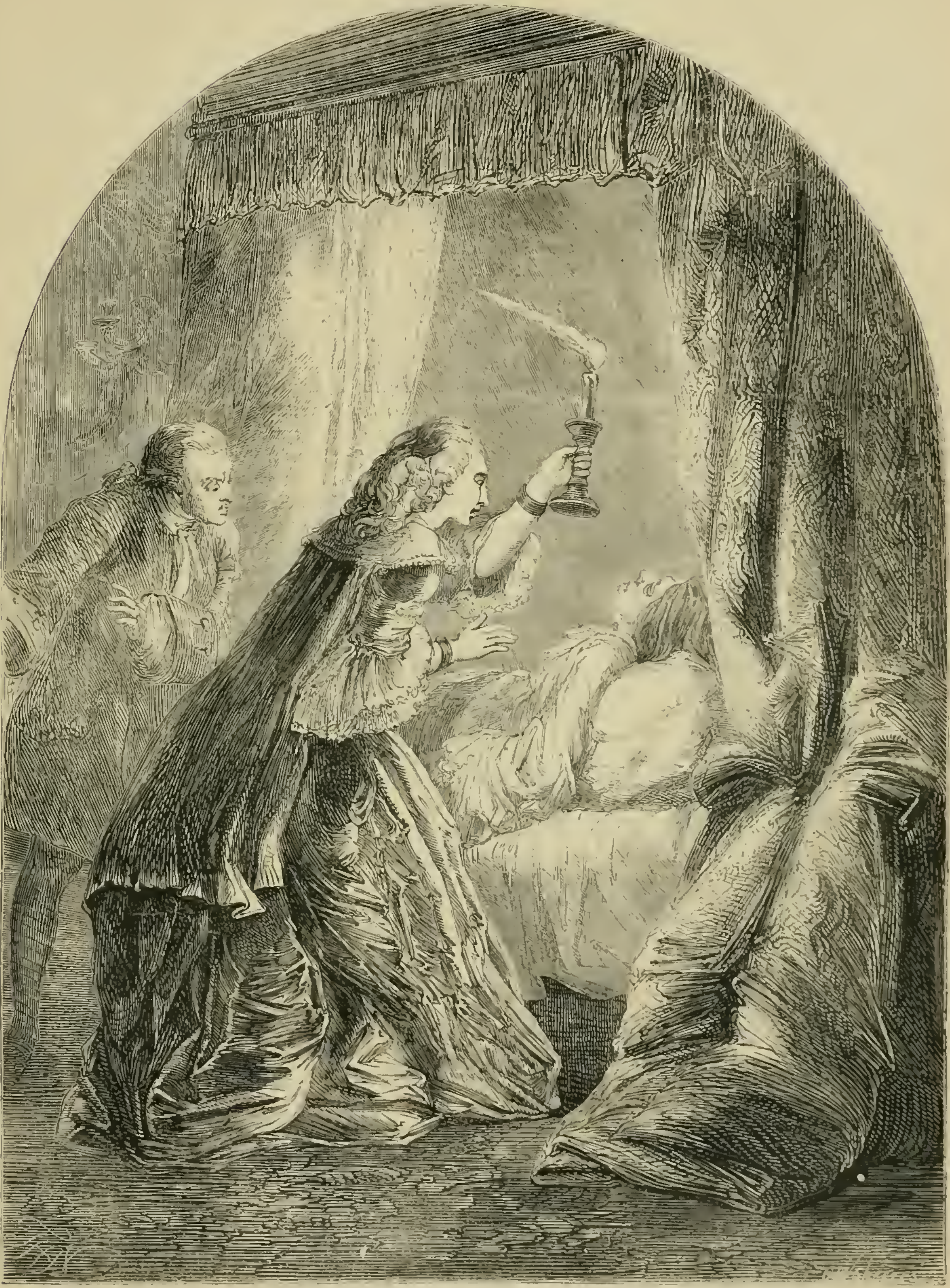
Whilst this undignified war of privilege was waging, the prince of Wales died. He had been in indifferent health for some time, and had injured his constitution by dissipated habits. He was forty-four years of age, of a weak character, which had led him into excesses, and the consequences of these were made worse by great negligence of his health. The same weakness of character had made him very much the tool of political faction, and placed him in an unnatural opposition to his father. His immediate illness was brought on by sleeping in a cold, damp room at Carlton House, in the evening after a walk in Kew Gardens, and this when he was but just recovering from a pleurisy. Little as the prince had to recommend him, yet he was free from the penurious meanness of his father, and the brutal, overbearing temper of his brother. He was fond of the company of men of talent, and patronised literature. The people, when they heard of his death, assembled in crowds in the street, crying, "Oh, that it was but his brother! Oh, that it was but the Butcher!"

The king expressed some concern for his son's death; but Cumberland observed sneeringly, "It is a great blow to the country, but I hope it will recover it in time." George sent a message of condolence to the princess of Wales, and the next day wrote to her, assuring her that everything should be done for herself and children that she could desire. She had eight children, and was not far from her confinement with her ninth. The princess, as she had conducted herself towards the prince with the utmost affection, notwithstanding his numerous infidelities, so she would not quit the corpse till it had been inanimate four hours, and then was borne away to bed at six o'clock in the morning. Yet she rose again at eight, and, sending for Dr. Lee, proceeded to destroy all such of the prince's papers as might compromise any of his friends. Whilst her husband lived she submitted to his views of things, and thus avoided any schisms and breaches in his party; but she now determined to submit entirely to the will of the king, who, on his part, was so agreeably surprised with this conduct, that he treated her with particular kindness. "The king and she," says Walpole, "both took their parts at once—she of flinging herself entirely into his hands, and studying nothing but his pleasure, yet winding what interest she got with him to the advantage of her own and the prince's friends; the king, of acting the tender grandfather, which he, who had never acted a tender father, grew so pleased with representing, that he soon became it in earnest."

The heir-apparent, the princess's eldest son, George, was created prince of Wales; fifty thousand pounds was settled on the princess dowager; Leicester House was assigned for the residence of herself and family; and the new household appointed according to her wishes. Lord Harcourt, the grandson of the chancellor, was appointed the prince's governor; Dr. Hayter, bishop of Norwich, his preceptor; Mr. Stone, sub-governor; and Mr. Scott, sub-preceptor. The prince, afterwards George III., who was now twelve years of age, had been so neglected that he could scarcely read. The choice of the sub-preceptor, Scott, in whose hands the prince's education was principally left, was a singularly unfortunate one. This man had been recommended to the prince Frederick by Bolingbroke, as ever insidious, plotting, and unprincipled. Scott himself was a Jacobite and tory, and hence no wonder at the arbitrary and obstinate temper which his pupil evinced on his coming to the throne.

An attempt was made by lord Egmont to keep together the prince's party. He assembled a meeting of the opposition at his house on the morning of the prince's death, and hinted at taking the princess and her family under their protection; and he recommended harmony amongst themselves; but some one said, "Very likely, indeed, that there should be harmony, when the prince could never bring it about;" and so every one hastened away to look after himself. It was no sooner seen that there was an understanding betwixt the princess of Wales and the king, than numbers of the late prince's friends offered their adhesion to the Pelhams, equally out of dread of the duke of Cumberland and dislike of the duke of Bedford, who was opposed to the Pelhams, and, it was feared, likely to support Cumberland, and thus place him at the head of affairs.

Early in May a plan of a regency was drawn up by the Pelhams, which was to include Cumberland, and this was introduced to the house of lords in the shape of a bill by Newcastle on the 7th of that month. By this bill it was proposed that the princess dowager should be both guardian of the heir-apparent and regent of Great Britain, in case the king should die before the prince of Wales was eighteen. But the next day, on the second reading, Newcastle brought a message from his majesty, recommending a council of regency, with the duke of Cumberland at its head. In fact, there had been a strong division in the cabinet on the subject. The dread of Cumberland swayed some of the members, but the king having proposed that the council of regency should include the archbishop of Canterbury, most of the ministers, and the lord chief justice, this swayed others the other way. Pitt advocated the council, because, he said, it offered the best security against the ambition "of a great person," meaning the duke, for, if the princess should die, without the council Cumberland might become sole regent, and his ambition might tempt him to think less of protecting than of wearing the crown. Fox defended Cumberland with great vehemence, and the bill passed the commons by two



DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES, SON OF GEORGE II.

hundred and seventy to ninety, and the lords by one hundred and six to twelve. The king thanked Fox for the defence of Cumberland, and said he wondered why the nation disliked him. He said, moreover, that his objection to leave the power in the princess was, that "women were too apt to pardon." A characteristic fear from the monarch who had sanctioned the butcheries of Culloden, and the courts of justice which succeeded it.

As for the people, they felt serious alarm, and though never attaching much regard to George II. before, they began to pray earnestly for his longevity, that the heir-apparent might be of an age at the king's decease which would save them from the heavy hand of Cumberland. They had their prayer. George lived till his successor had attained his majority, and neither Cumberland nor the regency bill came into action. The nation, indeed, had a near chance of being freed altogether from Cumberland. He had a fall in hunting, and with the family obstinacy, of which he had a double share, refusing to be bled, he became so ill as to be given up by his physicians. The king was also near losing his grandson Edward. Other near connections of George died this year. The prince of Orange, who had married his eldest daughter, and who had lately become hereditary stadtholder, died in October—a matter of considerable political moment to George, as it might greatly influence his foreign relations. The king's youngest daughter, the queen of Denmark, also died in December. His other foreign family connections were not much comfort to him. His nephew, Frederick of Prussia, was an especial thorn in his side. By his continual attacks on Austria he had caused a great deal of trouble, bloodshed, and expenditure of money to this country, and continually endangered the security of Hanover. This was the secret which made George continue to throw so much English money into the lap of Maria Theresa. There was the worst feeling betwixt Frederick and his uncle of England. Nothing, indeed, could be more despicable than the character of the so-called Frederick the Great. He had great military tact, and, beside that, no quality that was not singularly mean and contemptible. Atheistical, and a patron of atheistic French writers, every action by which he attempted to augment his kingdom was one of robbery and grossest breach of faith. For this he had turned his whole kingdom into a camp. The insolence with which he would treat foreign ambassadors when he was displeased with their sovereigns, and the meanness with which he would stop the post and steal their dispatches by night, were never surpassed in the annals of unprincipled tyrants. Sir Hanbury Williams, the English ambassador, in his correspondence never spared him, but described in cutting but just terms the rod of iron with which he ruled his subjects, the miserable, valet-like slavery of his ministers of state, the poverty to which he had reduced the gentry, and the oppressions exercised on the people. For these offences, which Frederick's violation of the secrecy of the post made known to him, Frederick insisted on Williams's recall. Williams took an ample revenge on the peeping and seal-breaking monarch by returning to Dresden, and there concluding a treaty with the elector of Saxony, who was also king of Poland, and engaging him to thwart the plans of Frederick, and to give his vote for the son of Maria Theresa, the archduke Joseph, as king of the Romans.

The grand measure of the parliamentary session of 1751 was the reformation of the calendar. This great improvement was the work of lord Chesterfield. The error in the old calendar had now reached eleven days, and had long been corrected by most civilised nations. England, Sweden, and Russia alone adhered to the old style, as Russia does still. Chesterfield, therefore, called the attention of the public to the circumstance in some of the periodicals, and then brought in a bill, in which he was supported by the earl of Macclesfield. This bill provided that the legal year in future should begin on the 1st of January, and not, as heretofore, on the 25th of March; and that, to correct the error of the calendar, eleven nominal days should be omitted in September, 1752, so that the day following the 2nd of that month should be styled the 14th. The difficulties resulting from this change, as it regarded rents, taxes, bills of exchange, &c., were all provided for. The duke of Newcastle opposed the change, on the good old tory principle that he did not like disturbing that which had been long established, and introducing new-fangled things. The lords had sense enough to laugh at this absurdity, and the bill passed both houses.

Another measure of a liberal nature was less successful—a bill for the naturalisation of protestant foreigners. Such a bill had been passed in 1708, but had been repealed in 1711. In 1747 a new bill had been introduced, on the plea of the drain of population by the war, but failed. It was now strenuously opposed by the common council of London and other bodies, on the ground that foreign workmen would flock in and throw out our English ones; and, being fixed for the third reading on the very day that prince Frederick happened to die, advantage was taken of that circumstance to let it drop.

The close of this year beheld a revolution in the cabinet which had been long imminent. The dukes of Newcastle and Bedford, as secretaries of state, were pulling two ways, if Bedford could be said to pull at all. One secretary, at that time, took the business of northern Europe, the other of southern. One sent his instructions to Berlin or St. Petersburg, the other to Paris or Madrid, with equal independence of the other. There was no concert when the secretaries were not on the best of terms. Lord John Russell, in a note to the "Bedford Correspondence," says it was just as if a coach were driven by two coachmen, one holding the right rein, the other the left. Bedford, according to Pelham, did just nothing at all but receive his five thousand pounds a-year. "With him," he says, "it is all jollity, boyishness, and vanity. He persuades himself that riding post from London to Woburn and back again once a week, or fortnight, is doing a great deal of business, and that nobody has a right to complain of his absence." Newcastle was, besides, extremely jealous of Bedford, and on the death of prince Frederick, and the dissolution of the opposition, the timid Pelham joined with his brother to get Bedford dismissed. To induce him to resign, his great friend and ally, the earl of Sandwich, was dismissed from the admiralty, which produced the anticipated effect, and the earl of Holderness was appointed in his place. Lord Anson succeeded Sandwich at the admiralty, lord Hartington became master of the horse, and lord Granville at length came into office again as president of the council. Lord Halifax was made president of the board of trade, and laboured hard to have the colonies subjected to that board, and to take the place of a third secretary of state, that is, for the West Indies and America, but found the king not to be moved on that head. Granville was no longer what he had been as lord Carteret. His health was shattered by hard drinking, his mind had visibly suffered from the same cause; and though his encumbered estate made the five thousand pounds a-year welcome, he retained no real influence in the cabinet, notwithstanding his loud merriment at the council board, and the undiminished favour of the king.

The year terminated with the death of Bolingbroke. This showy statesman and indefatigable plotter continued his devotion to a sceptical philosophy and to a mole-like working in the secret places of political life to the last. So long as the prince of Wales lived, he managed to sway the councils of his little court, and prepare all the weapons of the opposition. He was extremely ambitious of achieving an earldom; the death of Frederick was a fatal blow to that hope. He died at Battersea, on the 12th of December, of cancer of the heart, having long been afflicted with as virulent a cancer of the mind; and having, in his most flourishing days, successfully tripped up his colleague, lord Oxford, so he spent his latest hours in blackening the character of his great friend, Pope, the poet.

The parliament met on the 7th of January, 1752, and the very first subject of any importance introduced was that of fresh subsidies to Germany. The king seemed perfectly insane about carrying the election of the archduke Joseph as king of the Romans, and English money was to be scattered profusely amongst the petty German princes to engage them to vote for him, as though it were not their own proper business to vote for the interests of the Germanic empire, and as if England had even the remotest concern in it. Pelham brought up the late treaty with the king of Saxony—made to purchase his influence for this very object. The engagement was to pay the king of Saxony thirty-two thousand pounds for four years, a total of a hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds, for the mere vote for a mere German object. Nor was this the worst. It was clearly seen that this was but the beginning of the evil; that the bonus would set all the German little potentates agape, and that we should have to buy them all up to do their own business. The duke of Bedford, being now out of office, was induced by the slender opposition to attack this scandalous job. Bedford had come up to solicit a pension for lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, his wife's sister; but whether he perceived that he was not likely to obtain it, or whether he was flattered by the oppositionists putting himself at their head, on the 28th he made a decided stand against the subsidy. He said we were teaching all the thirty or forty princes of Germany to expect money from us for whatever they did, and to unite with us, not even for their own interests, but for money; that it would be a most unpopular measure with the English public, who could not perceive how it concerned them in any way; that it would lead to a quarrel with France, and a war without any English object; and he declared the minister had displayed a grievous imbecility in allowing himself to be the medium of any such measure. The ministers defended the bill by the usual arguments, and the motion of Bedford was rejected without a division. In the commons lord Harley made a motion against subsidies in a time of peace, but with equal want of success; his motion was negatived by a hundred and eighty to fifty-two. Thus, whether we had war or peace, it was plain the money of England was to go to support the little despots of Germany; and, as there was no strong opposition in parliament, the country looked on with a strange apathy. Yet the activity of Bedford somewhat alarmed the Pelhams, and they had several interviews with Bubb Dodington, with the view of getting his support, with that of his boroughs; but the king would not listen to the sort of reward that Dodington wanted for his services, namely, a peerage, and it came to nothing.

Perhaps at no period of our history did the house of commons carry the matter of its privileges to so ridiculous an extent as during the reign of George II. On one occasion it voted that the killing of rabbits on the warren of lord Galway was a breach of its privileges, because he was a member of the house; at another these mysterious privileges were violated by the catching of Mr. Jolliffe's fish, who also was a member. The trees of Mr. Hungerford, the coals of Mr. Ward, and lead of Sir Robert Grosvenor, were all pronounced under the protection of parliamentary privilege The persons of the footmen, the porters, and even the meanest servants of members, were declared as inviolable as the persons of the members themselves.

Meantime, scarcely a bill passed the houses which did not bear the stamp of the duke of Cumberland's savage spirit. A bill for diminishing the severity of military law, though it passed the commons, was thrown out of the lords. Another to diminish the necessity of a standing army, by improving the militia, was as promptly rejected, both the king and Cumberland always treating the militia with the utmost contempt. Nor did a bill for ameliorating the condition of the Highlanders pass without a secret vigorous resistance from Cumberland. The object of the bill was to appropriate a certain portion of the rents of the estates lately forfeited to the crown by the Scotch rebellion, to establish colonies, and trades, and industrial labour in the Highlands. Legge, a *protégé* of Pitt, declared that it was a question of food or continued disquiet in the Highlands; that that mountainous region was so impoverished that food or starving meant loyalty or disloyalty. The bill passed the commons by a majority of a hundred and thirty-four to thirty-nine. Cumberland was furious; he would prefer exterminating the whole of the clans with fire and sword, and he was the more incensed because he had not been consulted on the subject. He managed, through Horace Walpole, to engage Bedford—who, so that he was now but in opposition, apparently did not much regard the nature of the thing opposed—to take the field against it; and, through the same channel, he furnished Bedford with a mass of anecdotes and arguments, to show that a most dangerous lenity had been practised in the Highlands since the rebellion. Spite of this, the bill passed the lords by a majority of eighty against twelve. Cumberland, highly enraged at this exhibition of a truly wise humanity, hurried to the king, and presented him a list of sixty notorious Jacobites, who had received posts and promotions in Scotland since the insurrection, but ministers were sensible enough to know that the only way to put an end to Jacobitism was to give the Jacobites comfortable places. They also passed a very necessary act to confine the benefit of private naturalisation bills to the time during which such foreigners should be resident in the kingdom. An order was also passed this session for printing the journals of parliament. Pelham, also, made a salutary step in financial reform by consolidating the fourteen different stocks into nine; condensing the different classes of annuities into five, chargeable on the sinking fund, and made transferable at the Bank and the South Sea House respectively.

With this excellent measure the session closed on the 26th of March; and George, taking with him, as usual, the duke of Newcastle, made his voyage to Hanover. There his time was employed in petty squabbles and petty interests, which it would have been difficult for a real English king to fix his attention upon. He was busy offering subsidies to almost every little prince in Germany. Bavaria, Saxony, Mayence, Cologne, the Palatinate, were all the scenes of his negotiations, though the English ministers had pledged themselves to the country that there should be no more of this disgraceful appropriation of English money for Hanoverian objects. Then there was a quarrel betwixt George and his nephew of Prussia about East Friesland. The king of Prussia threatened to defend his claims by force, and seized the revenues of certain mines in Silesia, mortgaged to English subjects by the emperor Charles VI. for a loan of two hundred and eighty thousand pounds. He justified this seizure on the plea that the English had seized some Prussian vessels during the last war. Frederick knew that the loan on the mines was advanced by English subjects, not by the government, and when that province was ceded to him he had guaranteed the security of this loan. But Frederick had no conscience where his interests were concerned. Fortunately, however, for the holders, Frederick soon saw that he might need the good offices of England, and he abandoned his demands, and paid the interest of the loan.

George was as near a breach with the Austrians. After all that this country had done for that court, our ambassador, lord Hyndford, had been treated with the grossest insolence; and George was compelled to assume a decided tone, and inform the emperor and empress that, unless they made the necessary amends, he would enter into an alliance with France and Prussia against them. He recalled lord Hyndford; but then, as his lordship took his leave, the emperor, who was much less arrogant than Maria Theresa, expressed to him his sense of the great obligations Austria lay under to England, and offered to meet the views of the king. In fact, the whole had arisen out of the negotiations with the palatinate, and the petty difficulties were rendered more petty and intricate by George seeking some private advantage of his own from the palatinate, which was kept secret from Newcastle, who carried on the main treaty. So deeply were the name and honour of England in this sordid reign implicated by its sovereign! George and the elector-palatine came to an understanding; but Austria would never become a party to the arrangement, and so it fell through.

George and his minister returned to England only to step into the atmosphere of fresh discords. The court of the princess of Wales was rent by disunions on the subject of the young prince's tutors. The princess had taken a great dislike to lord Harcourt and the bishop of Norwich. She complained that these two chief preceptors were generally away in the country, and therefore she could not see of what use they were to the prince. She consulted much with her late husband's adherent, Bubb Dodington, and asked him what was the good of stuffing the prince with logic and books? Dodington said, "Very little; it would be better for him to study men and the business of the world. For his part, he had got on very well without books; and the prince had best make friends of the friends of his late father"—which meant, be brought up to perpetuate the opposition to his grandfather.

On the other hand, the bishop and lord Harcourt complained of being treated with neglect and indignity—lord Harcourt of being left waiting in the hall at Kew amongst the servants. Both he and the bishop complained that Stone and Scott were treated with much greater respect by the princess than themselves, and that all the real business of education was confided to them. When the king arrived from Hanover on the 18th of November, they requested an audience to lay their complaints before him. George refused to entertain the subject himself, but deputed archbishop Potter and lord Hardwicke to hear them. They declined making these statements to any one but the king, tendered their resignations, and these were accepted.

But this compelled resignation only caused the feuds betwixt the different parties in the princess's household to rage more fiercely, and to draw the public attention to the subject. The bishop and lord Harcourt complained that the prince's education was grossly neglected, and that Stone and Scott were two avowed Jacobites, and were instilling the most pernicious and arbitrary principles into the heir-apparent. They declared that these Jacobite tutors had really been appointed through Bolingbroke, and had put into the prince's hands such books as Père D'Orleans' "Révolution d'Angleterre," an ultra-absolutist work, written at the dictation of James II. to justify his despotic measures; and Perefixe's "History of Henry IV." Anonymous letters flew about the court, describing the education of the prince to be at once of the most defective and pernicious character. That which made the most excitement was one which was sent to general Hawley, amongst others, who hurried to the king with it. This, which Horace Walpole the younger afterwards acknowledged to be written by him, asserted the fact that works of the most mischievous character, inculcating the most tyrannic principles, had been put into the prince's hands by his tutors; that the education of the prince concerned the whole nation; and that to this defective and despotic education the country owed the miseries which had been inflicted upon it by Charles I. and II., and James II.; that the people, therefore, saw with the greatest alarm the prince of Wales in the hands of tutors who were the friends and disciples of the late lord Bolingbroke; and still more so, as a nobleman of unblemished character, and a prelate of most distinguished virtue, had resigned their charge over the prince, because their remonstrances against these mischievous inculcations had been treated with contempt. It was observed that Murray, the solicitor-general, afterwards lord Mansfield, a man of a most decided Jacobite family, had advised the dismissal of these patriotic and eminent men, and had the real management of the prince's household.

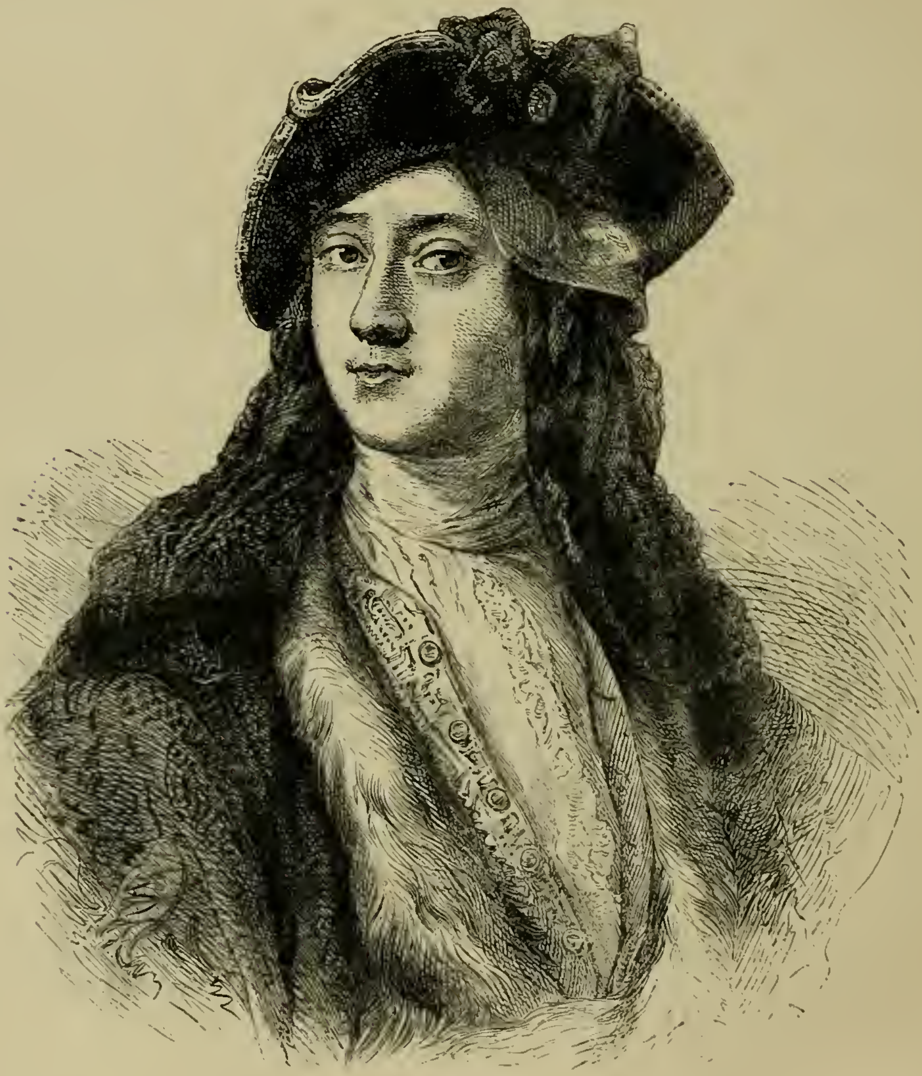
Great pains were taken to discover the author of this letter, but in vain. Dr. Johnson, bishop of Gloucester, was recommended by the princess as chief preceptor; but finally Dr. Thomas, bishop of Peterborough, was chosen, and lord Waldegrave as governor. There had been a difficulty in getting anybody to accept the office, and it was soon seen that the caution was not groundless.

The year 1753 opened by lord Ravensworth, who, having received one of Walpole's anonymous letters, hastened up to town to inform ministers that the bishop of Gloucester, whom the princess had been anxious to have appointed, as preceptor, was a rank Jacobite, and that he had the strongest evidence of Stone, the prince's tutor, and Murray, the solicitor-general and adviser of the princess, being the same. He and the dean of Durham were heard before the privy council, where they produced one Fawcett, an attorney, who swore that he, Stone, and Murray, the solicitor-general, then young men and very poor, used to meet at one Vernon's, a rich mercer, twenty years ago, and drink the healths of the chevalier and lord Dunbar—that is, Murray, the young pretender's secretary. Fawcett, however, refused to sign his depositions, and Stone and Murray swore that they were false; whereupon the charge was dismissed as groundless and scandalous. But the matter was not allowed to rest here. The duke of Bedford moved in the house of lords, on the 22nd of March, for the production of the papers relating to Stone and Murray, and a fierce debate ensued, without any conclusion being arrived at.

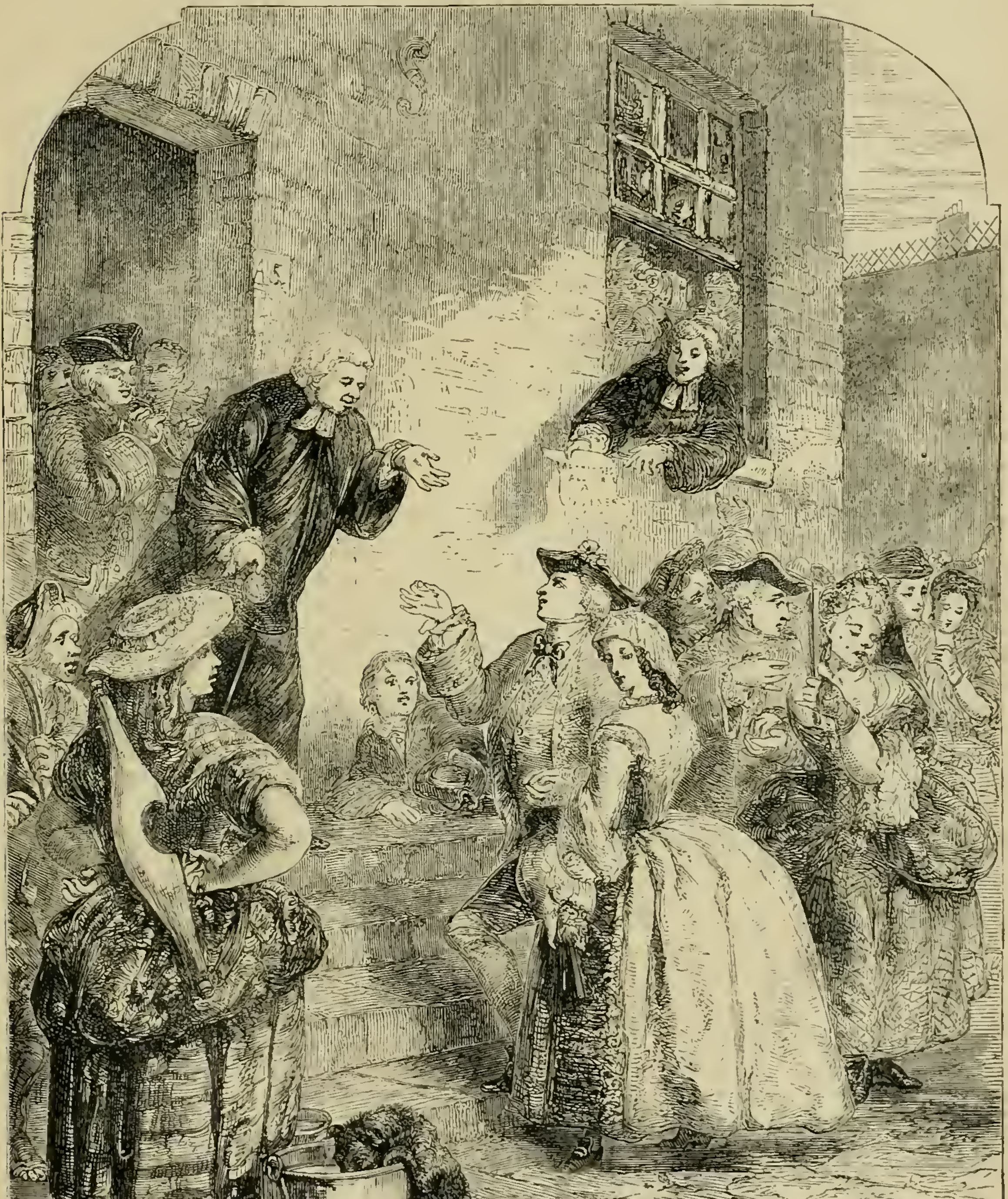
Waldegrave, who was a most honourable, amiable, and accomplished man, descended from James II. by Arabella Churchill, sister of the duke of Marlborough, soon found his post a most trying one. Though the princess of Wales had outwardly professed to throw herself entirely into the hands of the king, all the old feuds and prejudices of her late husband were kept up by her and her friends. Waldegrave was hated by the princess, because she considered he was placed by the king as a spy over her; and he had no influence over the prince whatever, for he regarded him from his mother's point of view, and gave him no confidence. Though the bishop of Peterborough, Stone, and Scott were able men, their learning and counsels were equally thrown away. The prince was cold and indolent, equally averse to books and to any active amusements. He received all his ideas and his prejudices from the conversation of the bedchamber-women and pages of the back stairs. With any one else he scarcely ever conversed, and had no associates of his own age; his brother Edward was the sole exception. His mother kept him carefully away from the young aristocracy, because, she said, they were so badly educated and so vicious. The immorality of the children of the nobles was at that time shocking enough; but the mother's care, it was suspected, was rather to keep George under her own tutelage than out of harm's way. In fact, his education continued of the most defective kind, and he turned out in after years a cold piece of respectable morality, but destitute of the information which became his royal position, and filled with narrow and obstinate prejudices, which produced the most fatal consequences to the nation. Lord Waldegrave, after George came to the throne, used to make great allowances for him on these grounds. Meantime, his own situation was most irksome. Without any means of influencing the prince for good, he was condemned to listen to all the vituperations of Leicester House against the king, to whom he was greatly attached. The princess complained that the king robbed her and her family by not granting them the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, but putting the money in his own pocket, and not paying her late husband's debts, which, at the same time, she described as *very trifling*—namely, only seventy thousand pounds owing abroad, ninety thousand pounds *to his tradesmen and servants*, and some other similarly small items. Lord Waldegrave continued to exert himself to mitigate these bitter feelings and to introduce a better state of things by making the most favourable representations of the king to the princess, and of her and the prince to the king He was doomed, however, very soon to find all his endeavours rendered abortive by the rapidly advancing favour with the princess of John Stuart, earl of Bute. Bute was a handsome man, solemn and slow in his manners, extremely proud and sensitive, but of no depth of talent. The late prince Frederick used to say, "Bute is a fine, showy fellow, and would make an excellent ambassador at a court where there is nothing to do." In private life he had hitherto borne a blameless character, being married to a daughter of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, and leading a quiet life at Caen Wood, on a rather narrow income, with his large family. Suddenly, however, he was observed to have seized on the favour of the princess of Wales to such a degree as produced the utmost scandal. He became everything in her establishment, and we shall hereafter find him occupying a prominent place in the government of her son.

The session of 1753 was distinguished by two remarkable acts of parliament. The one was for the naturalisation of the Jews, the other for the prevention of clandestine marriages. The persecutions of the Jews had in every age of Christianity been one of the worst exhibitions of human cruelty. That religion which of all others preaches up the forgiveness of injuries and the returning of good for evil, had been preached in vain to the professed disciples of Christ. The Jews, as the rejectors and murderers of the Messiah, had been regarded with horror, and pursued with the most terrible vengeance through successive centuries and through every so-called Christian land, regardless of the words of the Saviour himself praying for their forgiveness, on the ground that they had not known what they were doing. Since the reformation this furor against them had somewhat abated in Holland and England; if they were not respected, they were, at least, tolerated. Cromwell, with that breadth of mind which distinguished him above his cotemporaries, had combated the prejudices of the clergy and the merchants against them, showing that, as it was declared by the prophets and apostles that the Jews were hereafter to be admitted to the church, it became us to endeavour to prepare them for that period by encouraging them to settle where they would see the truth preached and practised, and not to leave them amongst false teachers, papists, and idolaters. He had permitted them to build a synagogue in London, and to live and trade amongst us.

In the reign of queen Anne the Jews had offered lord Godolphin half a million to obtain permission for them to purchase the town of Brentford, where they might establish themselves and trade, and they represented that they should bring into the circulation more than twenty millions of money; lord Godolphin dared not, however, brave the prejudices of the time. Pelham now ventured on this hazardous experiment. The bill was introduced into the lords, and passed it with singular ease, scarcely exciting an objection from the whole bench of bishops; and lord Lyttleton declaring that "he who hated another man for not being a Christian was not a Christian himself." But in the commons it raised a fierce debate. On the 7th of May, on the second reading, it was assailed by loud assertions that to admit the Jews to such privileges was to dishonour the Christian faith; that it would deluge the kingdom with usurers, brokers, and beggars; that the Jews would buy up the advowsons, and thus destroy the church; that it was flying directly in the face of God and of prophecy, which had declared that they should be scattered over the face of the earth, without any country or fixed abode. Pelham ridiculed the fears about the church, showing that, by their own rigid tenets, the Jews could neither enter our church nor marry our women, and could therefore never touch our religion, or amalgamate with us as a people; that as to civil offices, unless they took the sacrament, they could not even be excisemen or custom-house officers. The bill passed by a majority of ninety-five to sixteen; but the storm was only



HORACE WALPOLE. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.



"FLEET MARRIAGES." SCENE IN THE FLEET PRISON DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE II.

wafted from the parliament to the public. Out of doors the members of parliament, and especially the bishops, were pursued with the fiercest rancour and insult. Members of the commons were threatened by their constituents with the loss of their seats for voting in favour of this bill; and one of them, Mr. Sydenham, of Exeter, defended himself by declaring that he was no Jew, but travelled on Sundays like a Christian. The common people pursued the members and the bishops in the streets, crying, "No Jews! No Jews! No wooden shoes!"—as if Jews and Frenchmen were synonymous. It was declared in newspapers and pamphlets that the present bishops were the only ones since the time of Christ who would have sanctioned so anti-Christian a measure—an assertion with a great deal too much truth in it. The bishop of Norwich, on going through his diocese for the purpose of confirmation, was insulted by boys crying after him to stop and circumcise them, and by finding a paper on one of the church doors, announcing that he would confirm the Jews one day and the Christians the next! In short, such was the popular fury, that the duke of Newcastle was glad to bring in a bill for the repeal of his act of naturalisation on the very first day of the next session, which passed rapidly through both houses.

It was high time that some measures were taken for preventing clandestine marriages. Nothing could be so loose as the marriage laws, or so scandalous as the practice regarding marriages to this time. No previous public notice or publication of banns was hitherto required, nor was any license requisite. Any clergyman, though of the most infamous character, could perform the ceremony at any time or place, without consent of parents or guardians. The consequence was, that the strangest and most scandalous unions took place, for which there was no remedy, and the result of which were lives of misery and disgrace. The merest children were inveigled into such connections, and the heirs of noble estates were thus entrapped into the most repulsive alliances, and made the victims of the most rapacious and unprincipled of mankind. The Fleet prison, where were many ruined parsons — ruined by their crimes and low habits—was a grand mart for these marriages. There these abandoned men, stupefied with beer and tobacco, were on the look-out for any simple or enamoured juveniles, and, without any questions, would marry them in three minutes for a couple of shillings, or less. Pennant, in his "Account of London," says, "In walking along the street in my youth on the side next to this prison, I have often been tempted by this question, 'Sir, will you please to walk in and be married?' Along this most lawless space was hung up the frequent sign of a male and female hand conjoined, with 'Marriages performed within!' written beneath. A dirty fellow invited you in. The parson was seen walking before his shop, a squalid, profligate figure, clad in a tattered plaid nightgown, with a fiery face, and ready to couple you for a dram of gin or roll of tobacco." A fellow of the name of Keith had acquired great pre-eminence in this line. He used to marry, on an average, six thousand couples every year; and on the news of this bill, which would stop his trade, he vowed vengeance on the bishops, declaring that he would buy a piece of ground and out-bury them all!

The bill was prepared by the judges, and afterwards remodelled and conducted through the lords by lord chancellor Hardwicke. It provided that banns should be published for every marriage in the parish church for three successive Sundays; that no license to waive these banns should be granted to any minor without consent of the parent or guardian; and that special licenses, empowering the marriage to be celebrated at any time or place, should only be granted by the archbishop, and for a heavy sum. The bill was strongly opposed in the lords by the duke of Bedford, and in the commons by Mr. Fox, Mr. Nugent, Mr. Charles Townshend, and others. It was declared to be a scheme for keeping together the wealth of the country in the hands of a few grasping and ambitious families. Townshend denounced it as intended to shut younger sons out of all chance of raising themselves by marriage. Fox had benefited especially by the looseness of the old marriage law, for he had run away with lady Caroline Lennox, the eldest daughter of the duke of Richmond. He was especially severe on lord Hardwicke, accusing him of seeking by the bill to throw more power into the hands of the lord chancellor, and Hardwicke retorted with still greater acrimony. The bill passed, and there was a strong inclination to extend its operation to Scotland, but the Scotch lawyers and representative peers defeated this attempt, and thus left Gretna Green open to our own day. In the next session the duke of Bedford brought in a bill to postpone the operation of the marriage bill till it could be reconsidered and amended, but his bill was rejected by fifty-six votes to ten.

Amongst the other measures of this session, a bill introduced by Mr. Potter, son of the archbishop of Canterbury, for establishing a general registry of the population, was rejected, on the plea that a census of the people was dangerous to the liberties of free-born Englishmen! Another measure of great importance was more successful, namely, a bill to prevent the plunder of wrecked vessels, and the cruelties to the unfortunately-wrecked seamen, which had grown to such a monstrous height on our shores, and especially on those of Cornwall.

Another measure in this session marks an epoch in the history of literature and science in this country. Parliament empowered the crown to raise money by lottery for the purchase of the fine library, consisting of fifty thousand volumes, and the collection of articles of vertu and antiquity, amounting to sixty-nine thousand, three hundred and fifty-two in number, bequeathed by Sir Hans Sloane to the nation, on the condition that twenty thousand pounds should be paid to his daughters for what had cost himself fifty thousand pounds. The same bill also empowered government to purchase of the Duchess of Portland, for ten thousand pounds, the collection of MSS. and books, &c., made by her grandfather, Harley, the lord treasurer Oxford, and also for the purchase of Montagu House, which was offered for sale in consequence of the death of the duke of Montagu without heirs, in which to deposit these valuable collections. The antiquarian and literary collection of Sir Robert Cotton, purchased in the reign of queen Anne, was also removed to Montagu House; and thus was founded the now magnificent institution, the British Museum. It is remarkable that whilst Horace Walpole, professing himself a great patron of letters, has recorded all the gossip of his times, he has not deemed this great literary, scientific, and artistic event worthy of the slightest mention.

This session, thus remarkable for some very important acts, was terminated as remarkably when it was closed by his majesty on the 7th of June. Scarcely had he quitted the throne when a female quaker in the house commenced a sermon on the vanities of dress, which was complacently listened to for full half an hour. This same day, however, was disgraced by a very different exhibition at Tyburn. There another victim of the rebellion of 1746 was offered up to the unrelenting vengeance of the Hanoverian dynasty—Dr. Archibald Cameron, the brother of Lochiel, who had escaped to France, and had remained there till now, when he was tempted to come over to recover a sum of money that prince Charles had left behind in Moidart at the time of his embarkation there. Cameron had been one of those who assisted Charles to escape, and had lived with him, his brother Lochiel, and Macpherson of Cluny in the "Cage," on the mountain Benalder. A rumour had been propagated that he had been sent over by the king of Prussia and the young pretender to agitate for a fresh rebellion, but nothing to support this idea was discovered, and it would have been far more honourable to the government to have taken no notice of him than to have put him to death at this late period, when there was not the slightest chance of any fresh insurrection. But he had been included in the act of attainder, and excepted from the amnesty, and he was ordered for execution without any fresh proceedings. The king is said to have remarked, when the death-warrant was presented for his signature, that he thought too much blood had been spilt already on that account; but a truly humane monarch, thinking so, would not have signed it. Great public sympathy was excited for the fate of this amiable and learned man, whose bloody death excited as much disgust against the perpetrators of it as a pardon would have won them honour.

Parliament met again on the 7th of February, 1754, and, as this was the seventh and last session, the conduct of ministers had a special reference to the coming election. Sir John Barnard moved the abolition of the bribery oath, saying that experience had proved it did not prevent bribery, but only superadded perjury; but it was answered that to take it away would appear to grant free permission to bribery; it was therefore allowed to remain on the statute book, and remains there to the present day, as a decent protest against corruption, but exerting no influence whatever upon it.

The course of business was suddenly interrupted by the unexpected death of Pelham, the prime minister. Pelham was but sixty years of age, of a florid and apparently healthy appearance, but at once indolent and too fond of the table—two qualities that, if they exist together, generally shorten the existence of him in whom they meet. He had been compelled to seek sea-bathing at Scarborough, and on the 7th of January wrote to his brother, the duke of Newcastle, saying that he never was better; but on the 3rd of March he was taken ill, and on the 6th was a corpse. The king was startled at his death, for his moderation and quiet management had long held together very jarring elements in the ministry. "Now I shall have no more peace," exclaimed George, on hearing the news of his decease, and he was only too correct in his prognostic. Pelham was a respectable rather than a great minister. His abilities were by no means shining, but experience had made him a good man of business. Waldegrave gave him credit for being "a frugal steward of the public, averse to continental extravagances and useless subsidies;" and yet never were more of either perpetrated than during his administration. He had the merit, which he had acquired in the school of Walpole, of preferring peace to war; and Horace Walpole admits that "he lived without abusing his power, and died poor."

Newcastle, a man older than his brother Pelham, and of vastly inferior abilities, instead of strengthening himself by the promotion of Pitt and Fox, was only anxious to grasp all the power of the cabinet, and continue these far abler men as his obedient subordinates. He at once got himself placed at the head of the treasury, and selected as chancellor of the exchequer Henry Legge, a son of the earl of Dartmouth, a quiet but ordinary man of business, by no means fitted to take the leadership of the house of commons. The three men calculated for that post were Pitt, Fox, and Murray; but Pitt was still extremely disliked by the king, who did not forget his many years' thunderings against Hanoverian measures, and both George and Newcastle were no little afraid of his towering ambition. Fox was a man of amiable character in private life, but in politics an adventurer. According to lord Chesterfield, "having not the least notion or regard for the public good or the constitution, but despised these cares as the objects of narrow minds." Like his celebrated descendants, Charles James Fox and lord Holland, he might be called a whig, but with all a whig's ease of political conscience and regard to his own personal advancement. In business, however, he was straightforward, manly, and decisive, looking still to his own interests, having a young and ill-provided family. He was no orator, but spoke in a poor, hesitating manner, and yet with occasional flashes of wit, close reasoning, and much aptness of reply. His person was heavy, his countenance dark and lowering, so much so, that Pitt once taunted him with "hanging his head as if he had murdered somebody under a hedge." With all his defects, however, the commons were looking to him as their leader, and the proper successor of Pelham.

Murray, afterwards lord Mansfield, as we have said, of a decided Jacobite house, was a rising young lawyer, who had won great fame for his speech in a case of appeal before the house of lords, was now solicitor-general—accomplished and learned in the law, a man of pleasing person, and a fine orator, bold, persevering in his profession, yet with all the wary caution of the Scotchman, plodding his way towards the bench—the real and almost only object of his ambition. Murray, indeed, let Newcastle know that such was his ambition; and therefore, as Pitt was passed over from the royal dislike and Newcastle's own jealousy, and Murray for this reason, Fox alone was the man for the leadership of the commons. Newcastle wrote to him, telling him that he proposed him for that post; but when they met, Fox soon found that he was expected to play the *rôle* without the essential power. Fox, of course, demanded to be informed of the disposal of the secret-service money, but Newcastle replied that his brother never disclosed that to any one, nor would he. Fox reminded him that Pelham was at once first lord of the treasury and leader of the commons, and asked how he was to "talk to members, when he did not know who was in pay and who was not?" And next he wished to know, who was to have the nomination to places? Newcastle replied, Himself. Who was to recommend the proper objects?—Still himself. Who to fill up the ministerial boroughs at the coming elections?—Still Newcastle himself. Fox withdrew in disgust, and Newcastle gave the seals of the secretaryship to a mere tool—Sir Thomas Robinson, a dull, uncouth man, who had been some years ambassador at Vienna, and had won the favour of the king by his compliance with all his German desires. Robinson, says lord Waldegrave, was ignorant even of the language of the house of commons, and, when he attempted to play the orator, threw the members into fits of merriment. Newcastle, says lord Stanhope, had succeeded in a very difficult attempt—he had found a secretary of state with abilities inferior to his own.

As to the other changes in the ministry, Sir Dudley Ryder being advanced to the bench, Murray succeeded him as attorney-general. Lord chancellor Hardwicke was made an earl; Sir George Lyttleton and George Grenville, friends of Pitt, had places—one as treasurer of the navy, the other as cofferer. Pitt himself, who was suffering from his great enemy, the gout, at Bath, was passed over. Both Hardwicke and Newcastle, however, wrote to him letters intended to soothe him, but not very likely to do so. Pitt, indeed, disguised his chagrin under an affectation of retiring from public life—the very last thing which a man of his ambition and restless mind would really think of. Even through his professed resignation we see the real gist of that reproach which he meant to convey. "It is very kind of you," he says to lord Hardwicke, "very generous, to suggest a ray of distant, general hope to a man you see despairing, and to turn his view forward from the present scene to a future; but, my lord, having set out under suggestions of this general hope ten years ago, and bearing a load of obloquy for supporting the king's measures, and never obtaining in recompense the smallest remission of that displeasure I vainly laboured to soften, all ardour for public business is really extinguished in my mind, and I am totally deprived of all considerations by which alone I could have been of any use. The weight of immovable royal displeasure is a load too great to move under; it must crush any man; it has sunk and broken me. I succumb, and wish for nothing but a decent and innocent retreat, wherein I may no longer, by continuing in the public stream of promotion, for ever stick fast aground, and afford to the world the ridiculous spectacle of being passed by every boat that navigates the same river. To speak without a figure, I presume upon your lordship's great goodness to me to tell my utmost wish: it is that a retreat, not void of advantage, or derogatory to the rank of the office I hold, might, as soon as practicable, be opened to me."

Any one who knows anything of an ambitious nature, and still more of the nature of Pitt, as revealed to us in his correspondence, and who does not see in this language the wounded but not the retiring man, must be dull indeed. Pitt, in his great pride, was very fond of affecting indifference and holding back, so as to be urgently pressed to come forward again. These were the littlenesses of a great but impulsive and haughty nature; at the same time, we must do him the justice to say that, with all his tergiversations and trucklings for the sake of office, in office he had displayed an immensely superior disinterestedness to any of his colleagues in that very low and unprincipled era. As paymaster of the forces, he refused to hold the floating balance, generally about a hundred thousand pounds, in his own hands, as was the practice then, and pocket the interest of it, but placed it in the Bank of England, and accounted for every farthing; neither would he, as was the custom, in paying over foreign subsidies, deduct the half per cent., as other paymasters had always done. He declared that the whole was granted, and he paid the whole.

At this time he married into the powerful Grenville family—a family which, from its flourishing branches, was styled "the Cousinhood," and which, Macaulay says, from that time to this, has had in it three first lords of the treasury, three secretaries of state, two keepers of the privy seal, and four lords of the admiralty—all sons or grandsons of the first countess Temple. Pitt married Helen Grenville, sister of earl Temple and of his friend, George Grenville; and this strengthening his connections he soon let Newcastle know that he was by no means in a retiring mood. He accepted the representation of one of Newcastle's boroughs, but he gave him some sharp rubs on returning to town; told him plainly that Fox ought to have been secretary of state; and when Newcastle asked his opinion on other subjects, he replied sarcastically that, as his grace seemed to think that he had not a capacity for such high matters, he desired to hear nothing about them. Nor did he long confine himself to mere private cuffs of that kind, but soon launched some perilous public shafts at the grasping but imbecile minister.

No sooner did Pitt meet with Fox in the house of commons, than he said aloud, "Sir Thomas Robinson lead us! Newcastle might as well send his jack-boot to lead us!" No sooner did the unfortunate Sir Thomas open his mouth, than Pitt fell with crushing sarcasm upon him; and Fox completed his confusion, by pretending to excuse him on account of his twenty years' absence abroad, and his consequent utter ignorance of all matters before the house. Soon after, Pitt made a most overwhelming speech, on the occasion of a petition against the return of a government candidate by bribery, and called on whigs of all sections to come forward and defend the liberties of the country, unless, he said, "you will degenerate into a little assembly, serving no other purpose than to register the arbitrary edicts of one too powerful subject!" This was a blow at Newcastle, which, coming from a colleague in office, made both him and his puppets in the commons, Legge and Robinson, tremble. Newcastle saw clearly that he must soon dismount Robinson from his dangerous altitude, and give the place to Fox.

The new parliament reassembled on the 14th of November, and the king in his speech, whilst pretending the differences which had arisen betwixt us, France, and Spain, were by no means serious, yet called for enlarged supplies to defend our American territories against the designs of these powers

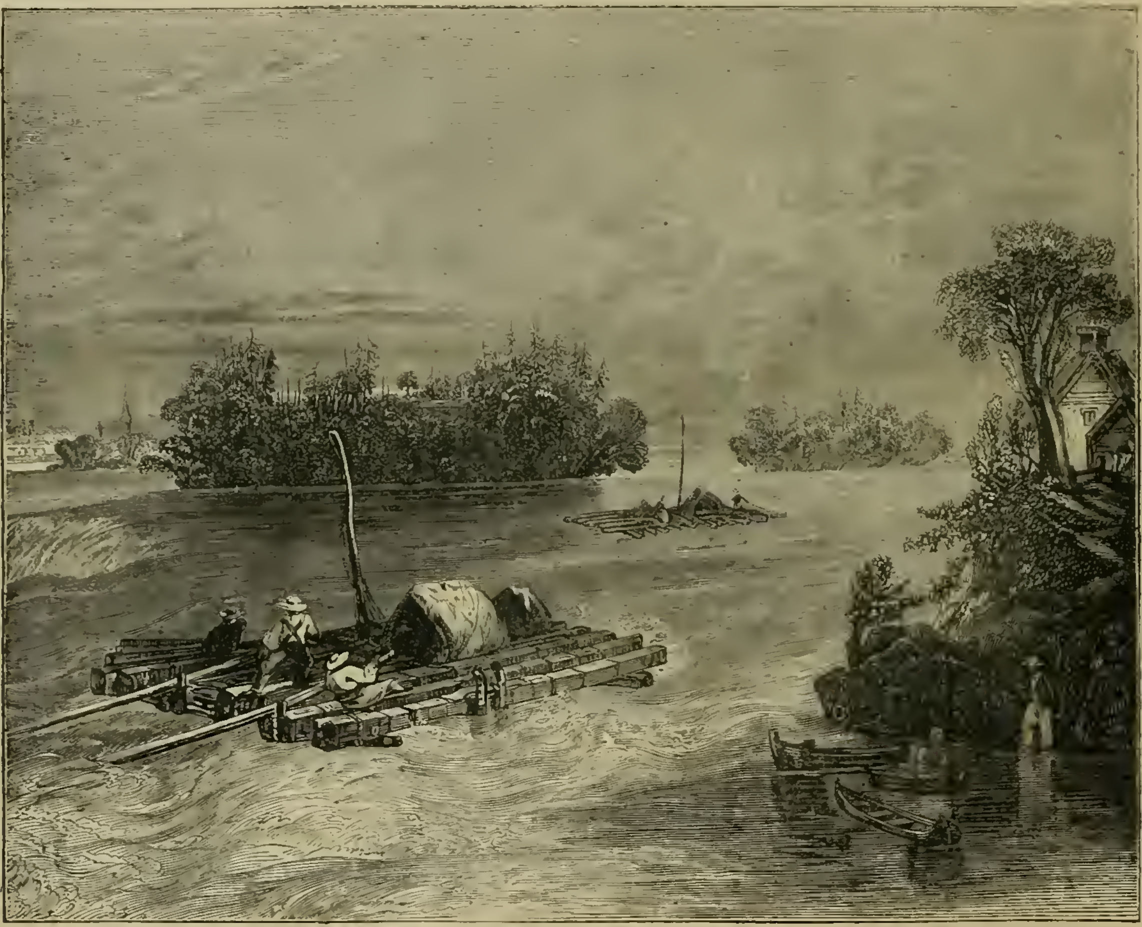
In fact, matters were becoming very serious in our American colonies; but the government withheld the real facts from the knowledge of the public, and it was not till the opening of parliament in March, 1755, that they candidly avowed that war was inevitable. The French and English were actually engaged in war both in the East Indies and in America. In the East Indies there was just now an apparent pause in hostilities, through an agreement betwixt the two companies; but in North America matters daily grew worse. There were, and had been ever since the peace, violent disputes as to the boundary-lines both of Nova Scotia—or, as the French styled it, Acadia—and betwixt Canada and our colony of New England. The French, becoming more and more daring, commenced the erection of forts in the valley of the Ohio, to connect the settlements on the St. Lawrence with those on the Mississippi. They had already erected one called Duquesne, greatly to the indignation of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Virginia. In Nova Scotia major Lawrence, with one thousand men, defeated the French and their Indian allies; but, on the other hand, the French surprised and sacked Block's Town, on the Ohio, belonging to the Virginians, who sent forward major George Washington to attack Fort Duquesne. Washington, destined to acquire the greatest name in the New World, marched with four hundred men, but was surprised at a place called Little Meadow, and was glad to capitulate on condition of retiring with military honours.

At this crisis, when an able diplomatist at Paris might have saved a great war, the earl of Albemarle, who never had been an able or attentive ambassador, but a mere man of pleasure, died; and though George II. was so well aware of the gathering storm that he sent a message to the house of commons, announcing the necessity for increased forces, and, consequently, increased supplies, nothing could induce him to forego his usual summer journey to Hanover. The commons readily voted a million and a half, but made an energetic protest against the king quitting the country under the circumstances. Besides the state of affairs in France and Spain, those of Ireland were very disturbed. The duke of Dorset, the lord lieutenant, was recalled, and lord Harrington sent in his place to endeavour to restore order. Lord Poulett, therefore, made a decided motion against the journey of the king, but it was overruled, and the infatuated king set out in April, attended by lord Holderness.

The day before George embarked, admiral Boscawen set sail, with eleven ships of the line and two regiments of soldiers, to intercept the French fleet, which had sailed from Rochefort and Brest to carry reinforcements to the Canadians. Boscawen was to attack and destroy the French, if possible. Boscawen came up with the French fleet on the banks of Newfoundland, but a thick fog hid them from each other. Captain Howe, afterwards lord Howe, and captain Andrews, however, descried and captured two of the French men of war, containing eight thousand pounds in money, and many officers and engineers; but the rest of the fleet, under admiral Bois de la Motte, warned by the firing, got safe into the harbour of Louisburg.

On the arrival of this news the French court complained bitterly of the violation of the peace, to which the court of St. James's replied that the French had too prominently set the example, and the ambassadors on both sides were recalled—an equivalent to a declaration of war, though none on either side yet followed. We had soon a severe reverse instead of a victory to record. General Braddock had been dispatched against Fort Duquesne, and had reached Little Meadows, the scene of Washington's defeat in the preceding summer. Braddock was a general of the Hawley school, brave enough, but, like him, brutal and careless. His soldiers hated him for his severity. The Indians resented so much the haughtiness with which he treated them, that they had most of them deserted him, and, as was the fatal habit of English commanders then and long afterwards, he had the utmost contempt for what were called "provincials," that is, colonists, supposing that all sense and knowledge existed in England, and that the English, just arrived, knew more about America than natives who had spent their lives in it. He therefore marched on into the woods, utterly despising all warnings against the Indians in alliance with the French. At Little Meadows he found it necessary, from the nature of the woods and the want of roads, to leave behind all his heavy baggage, and part of his troops to guard it, and he proceeded with only one thousand two hundred men, and ten pieces of artillery. On the 9th of July, having arrived within ten miles of Fort Duquesne, he still neglected to send out scouts or videttes, and thus rashly entering the mouth of a deep, woody defile, he found himself assaulted by a murderous fire in front and on both flanks. His enemies were Indians, assisted by a few French, who, accustomed to that mode of fighting, aimed from the thickets and behind trees, and picked off his officers, whom they recognised by their dress, without themselves being visible. Without attempting to draw out of the ambush, and advance with proper precautions, Braddock rushed deeper into it, and displayed a desperate but useless courage. Now was the time for his Indians to have encountered his enemies in their own mode of battle, had his pride not driven them away. After having three horses killed under him, in the vain endeavour to come at his foes, he was shot, and his troops retreated in all haste, leaving behind them their artillery and seven hundred of their comrades on the ground. Their retreat was protected by the "provincial" George Washington, whose advice had been unheeded, or the slaughter would have been greater. In other quarters our success was not much greater. Colonel Monckton defeated a body of French and Indians, and took the fort of Beau-sejour, on the frontiers of Nova Scotia; but Sir William Johnson, after putting to the route some French and Indians near Lake St. George, failed to take the fort of Crown Point; and general Shirley was equally unsuccessful against another fort at Niagara. The colonists constructed boats, and commenced a war against the French and their savage allies amongst the vast lakes lying betwixt them and Canada; but, on the other hand, the Indians employed by the French Canadians made frightful incursions into the western boundaries of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and committed horrible outrages, continuing them through the winter, when the troops were gone into winter quarters.

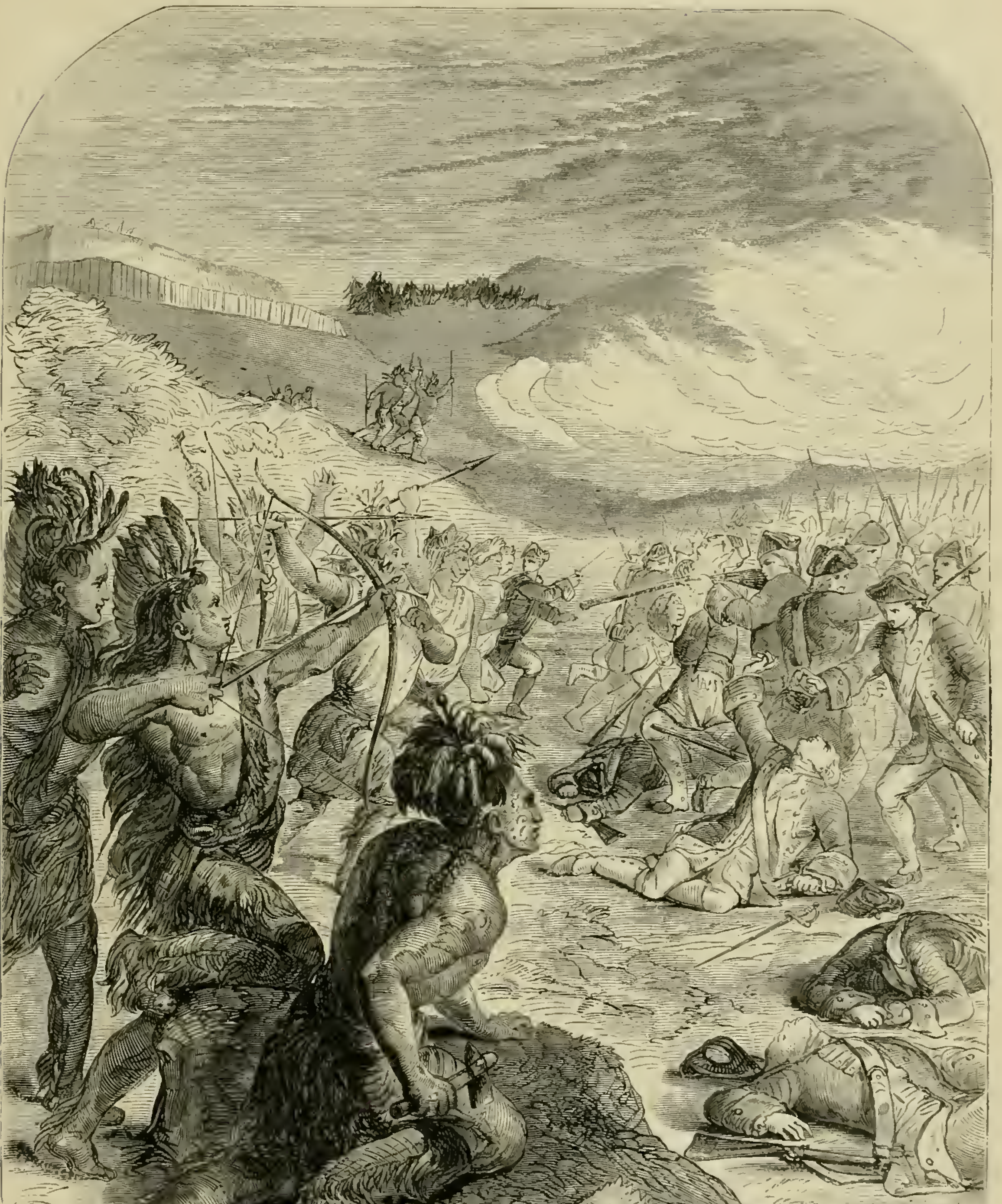
The news of Braddock's defeat, reaching London whilst the king was still absent, caused a great panic and want of decision. Sir Edward Hawke had been dispatched with a fleet of eighteen sail in July, to intercept the return of the French fleet from Canada; and now admiral Byng, in October, was sent out with twenty-six more, but both failed in their object. Our privateer cruisers had done more execution in the West Indies. They had nearly annihilated the trade of the French in those islands, and, according to Smollett, captured, before the end of the year, three hundred French vessels, and brought into the English ports eight thousand French seamen.



VIEW ON THE RIVER OHIO, NORTH AMERICA.

As the French now made vigorous preparations for war, George II., as usual, instead of feeling any fears for the English commerce or shores, began to tremble for his precious little electorate of Hanover, and put out all his energies to accomplish fresh alliances, of course at the cost of fresh subsidies to be paid by England. Hesse Cassel, the empress of Russia, and even his old enemy, Frederick of Prussia, were applied to, and engaged, by promises of English money, in defence of Hanover. George was especially afraid of Frederick, who was bound by no ties where his interest was at stake, and who, if not retained at a high rate, might fall on Hanover as he had done on Silesia. In gaining Frederick, however, George lost his old ally, Austria, which, forgetting all past obligations, immediately made alliance with France.

When the subsidy to Hesse Cassel was sent home to receive the signatures of the cabinet, it was found to amount to an annual payment by England of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, besides eighty crowns to every horseman, and thirty crowns to every foot soldier, when they were really called out to service. That to Russia was immensely greater; then came in prospective that to Prussia, to Saxony, to Bavaria, &c. These latter states had been feed all through the peace for doing nothing, and now demanded vastly higher terms. Such were the eternal demands of Hanover on this devoted England, without affording it a single benefit in return, except it were the pleasure of maintaining a very indifferent sort of king. Yet when the Hessian treaty was laid on the council table by the compliant Newcastle, ministers signed it without reading it, as a matter of course. Pitt and Fox, however, protested against it; and when the treasury warrants for carrying the treaty into execution were sent down to Legge,



DEATH OF BRADDOCK.

the chancellor of the exchequer, he refused to sign them.

This was a thunderstroke to Newcastle—Legge, who had been so pliant, thus to rebel. Newcastle, in his consternation, hastened to Pitt, imploring him to use his influence with Legge, and promising him the seals as secretary, engaging to remove all prejudice from the king's mind. But not only Pitt, but the public, had been long asking whether, in these critical times, everything was to be sacrificed for the sake of this old, grasping jobber at the treasury? whether Newcastle was to endanger the whole nation by keeping out of office all men of talent? Pitt stood firm: no offers, no temptations could move him. He told Newcastle that his system of carrying on business in the house of commons would not do; there must be able men as secretary and chancellor of the exchequer at least in the house, who should have free access to the crown; that subsidies were not the way to defend the nation, and he would hear nothing of the Russian subsidy. Newcastle, finding Pitt unmanageable, flew to Fox, who accepted the seals, on condition of having proper powers conceded to him, and agreed to support the treaties, against which he had been equally as violent as Pitt, having just before said to Dodington, "I am surprised you are not against all subsidies." Robinson was consoled with a pension of two thousand pounds a year, and the post of master of the wardrobe.

The king had returned from Hanover, and Fox was not to receive the seals till two days after the meeting of parliament, so that he might keep his place and support the address. By his accession to office he changed the violence of the opposition of the duke of Bedford, and brought the support of the Russells to the ministry. This strength, however, did not prevent the certainty of a break-up of the cabinet. Pitt was now arrayed against his former colleagues. Fox had been made one of the commissioners of regency on the king going to Hanover, and, through him, Cumberland had been appointed one too, but Pitt had been left out. In fact, it was the great object of Newcastle to make a breach betwixt these two formidable men; but so discordant were the elements of the cabinet, that Chesterfield, on hearing of these last changes, said, "Newcastle has turned everybody else out, and now he has turned out himself." Pitt and his brothers-in-law, the Grenvilles, now openly frequented Leicester House, and supported the party of the princess of Wales, who was more exasperated than ever at Cumberland having been in the regency. She threw off all her assumed submission to the king. George had given her fresh cause of jealousy during his Hanover sojourn. The duchess of Brunswick had paid him a visit with her two daughters, and George, as it, no doubt, was hoped, had immediately been so charmed with the beauty and spirit of the elder one, that he immediately conceived the idea of marrying her to his grandson and heir. This was soon conveyed to the princess, who was fostering a similar design of marrying her son to one of her own relations, the Saxe-Gotha family. She therefore took instant alarm, and foreseeing, from young George's domestic turn, that he would soon grow attached to an agreeable wife, she was well assured that, if he had one chosen by the king, her influence over him would be gone for ever. She therefore represented the connection with the family of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel as the most fatal that could be; that the duchess was the most intriguing, meddling, satirical, and sarcastic person in the world, and would create mischief wherever she came. The young princess, says lord Waldegrave, who was still the prince's governor, was equally maligned, most cruelly misrepresented; and George, only in his eighteenth year, was taught to regard her with the utmost aversion. He was ready to believe anything that his mother, Bute, and Dodington told him, and he came to have a most fixed repugnance to the very name of the young princess of Wolfenbuttel. Pitt, lord Temple—his brother-in-law—and the rest of the Grenvilles, were most flatteringly received at Leicester House, so that they might oppose their whole weight to the scheme.

When the king arrived, he was immediately informed of this state of affairs. After awhile, he determined to send for the young prince to his closet—not to propose the marriage to him, but to judge for himself how far he was imbued by the maxims of the princess-dowager's party. He had soon reason to augur that the stripling would prove stubbornly adhesive to the inculcations of that clique. The young man listened to his grandfather's observations, but with evident distrust, and bowed, and bowed, but made no reply. Lord Waldegrave says the king's experiment was a grand mistake. It could serve no purpose to talk to the prince; he should have sent for his mother, and have told her firmly that he would hold her responsible for the manner and the spirit in which she educated her son, and that, had she proved obstinate, he might have whispered a word in her ear, that would have made her tremble, "*spite of her spotless innocence.*" That word was Bute—the intimate footing of that nobleman with the princess being the theme of universal scandal. Even those who gave no credit to these rumours greatly disapproved of the prince, a mere boy of seventeen, being brought up in direct hostility to his grandfather.

Whilst things were in this position, parliament met on the 13th of November. The great question on which the fate of the ministry depended was that of the subsidies to Hesse and Russia. It was something new to see not merely an ordinary opposition, but the chancellor of the exchequer and the paymaster of the forces—Legge and Pitt—ranging themselves against the king and their colleagues on this question. In the house of lords, the address in reply to the royal speech, which implied approbation of these subsidies, was supported by Newcastle, Hardwicke, and the duke of Bedford, who hitherto, since quitting office, had opposed everything, and was opposed by lords Temple and Halifax. But the great struggle was in the commons. The debate commenced at two in the afternoon and continued till five the next morning—the longest on record, except the one on the Westminster election in 1741. On this occasion William Gerard Hamilton made his first and almost last speech, which acquired him promotion in the government of Ireland, and the cognomen of "Single-Speech Hamilton." Murray spoke splendidly in defence of the subsidies; but Pitt, rising at one o'clock in the morning, after sitting eleven hours in that heated atmosphere, burst out upon the whole system of

German subsidies with a tempest of eloquence which held the house in astonished awe. He denounced the whole practice of feeing the little German potentates as monstrous, useless, absurd, and desperate; an eternal drain on England for no single atom of benefit. He compared the union of Newcastle and Fox to the union of the Rhone and Saone—a boistorous and impetuous torrent with a shallow, languid, and muddy stream. But though Pitt's eloquence dismayed and confounded ministers, it could not prevent their majority. The address was carried by three hundred and eleven votes against one hundred and five; and it was now clear that Pitt must quit the cabinet. In fact, in a very few days, not only he, but Legge and George Grenville, were summarily dismissed, and James Grenville, the other brother, resigned his seat at the board of trade. Bubb Dodington, who had long been hankering after office, was drawn from the Leicester House clique by receiving George Grenville's post of treasurer of the navy; Pitt's paymastership of the forces was divided betwixt the earl of Darlington and lord Duplin; Soame Jenyns obtained James Grenville's seat at the board of trade, and Sir George Lyttleton succeeded Legge as chancellor of the exchequer; lord Barrington became secretary-at-war by Fox's advancement to the post of secretary of state. The duke of Leeds, the duke of Marlborough, and lord Gower, all received some advance of appointment; but it was clear to everybody that the elements of the new cabinet were such as could never long co-operate. Walpole said sarcastically that it was a political necessity, for Newcastle had turned out and in every man in England, and *must* have some of the same dupes over again. Parliament closed the year 1755 worthily, by voting one hundred thousand pounds for the sufferers by the destruction of Lisbon by a terrific earthquake, which overwhelmed the city, levelling every church with the ground, and killing thirty thousand people.

The year 1756 opened with menaces to England of the most serious nature. The imbecility of the ministry was beginning to tell in the neglect of its colonies and its defences, and in paying for the security of Hanover instead of that of England. France threatened to invade us, and a navy of fifty thousand men was suddenly voted, and an army of thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three of native troops; but, as these were not ready, it was agreed to bring over eight thousand Hessians and Hanoverians. To pay for all this, it was necessary to grant excessive supplies, and lay on new duties and taxes. In presenting the money bills in the month of May, Speaker Onslow could not avoid remarking that there were two circumstances which tended to create alarm—foreign subsidies and foreign troops introduced, and nothing but their confidence in his majesty could allay their fears, or give them confidence that their burdens would be soon reduced. There was, in fact, no chance for any such reduction, for wars, troubles, and disgraces were gathering around from various quarters. The first reverse came from the Mediterranean.

The French had always beheld with jealousy our possession of the island of Minorca, which had been won by general Stanhope in 1708, and secured to us by the peace of Utrecht. That England should possess the finest port in the Mediterranean, and that so near their own shores, was a subject of unceasing chagrin. The miserable administration of British affairs, the constant attention to the interests of Hanover instead of our own, now inspired France with the resolve to snatch the prize from us. Great preparations were made for this object, and the report of these as duly conveyed to the English ministers by the consuls in both Spain and Italy, but in vain. Newcastle was apprised that a fleet of fourteen sail of the line was ready at Toulon, troops were congregating in that quarter, and the provisions were in such quantities only as indicated that the object of attack was by no means remote. These warnings were lost on the supine British cabinet. Horace Walpole expresses his wonder that Fox did not show more alertness, and declares that this was the year of the worst administration that England had ever seen, for now Newcastle's incapacity was left to its full play. At length the certainty that the French were about to sail for Minorca burst on the miserable ministers, but it was too late, they had nothing in readiness. The port of Mahon was almost destitute of a garrison; the governor, lord Tyrawley, was in England, and the deputy-governor, general Blakeney, though brave, as he had shown himself at the siege of Stirling, was old, nearly disabled by his infirmities, and deficient in troops. What was still worse, all the colonels of the regiments there were absent, and officers, altogether thirty-five!

The alarmed ministers now mustered what ships they could, and dispatched admiral Byng with them from Spithead on the 7th of April. The whole of these ships amounted only to ten, in a half rotten condition, and badly manned; and they commenced their voyage only three days before the French armament issued from Toulon, the English having to cross the Bay of Biscay, and traverse two hundred leagues of the Mediterranean, whilst the French had only seventy leagues to sail altogether. It would have been well had this been the worst; but Byng was not the same Byng who had so admirably conducted himself on the coast of Sicily against the Spaniards, but a son of his, who had alienated his men by his haughtiness and severity; and, as he proved himself, was just as incompetent as his father had been able.

The French armament consisted of twelve ships of the line, and numerous transports, under admiral La Galissonière, consisting of sixteen thousand men, under the command of the duke de Richelieu. General Blakeney received news of the approach of this fleet by means of a fast-sailing sloop, and began in all activity to prepare for his defence. He collected his forces into the castle of St. Philip, commanding the town and harbour of Mahon, calling in five companies from Ciudadella. All his troops, however, amounted only to two thousand eight hundred. He had large quantities of cattle driven into the fort, flour and bakers got in, blocked up the ports, and sunk a sloop in the channel to obstruct the entrance to the harbour. The French fleet appeared in sight off the port Ciudadella on the 18th of April, but Byng did not come in sight till the 19th of May—a month after—and then he came disappointed and dispirited. At Gibraltar he learned from commodore Edgecumbe, who had sailed to meet him, that the French were already at Minorca. He produced an order from lord Barrington, the secretary-at-war, to take on board a battalion of troops; but general

Fowke, the governor of Gibraltar, after calling a council of war, refused it. Byng, greatly disconcerted, sailed forward, accompanied by the two ships of commodore Edgecumbe.

Byng found, on his arrival, the British colours still flying on the fort, and that the French had, in reality, yet made little impression on the place. Now was the time for a sufficient fleet and force, sent out by an able government, to have speedily dispersed the enemy, and rendered abortive the whole design. But the fleet was inferior to that of the French, and the forces vastly inferior in number. Still, there is little doubt but that the old Byng would have managed to establish a communication with Blakeney on shore, and would have rendered a good account of the French squadron. There was a mutual attempt made by the present Byng and by Blakeney to effect such communication, but it does not appear to have been of a determined character, and it failed. La Galissonière was now bearing down on Byng, and the next day, the 20th of May, the two fleets confronted each other. Byng, about two o'clock, gave the signal to rear-admiral West to engage, which West did with such impetuosity, that he drove several of the French ships out of the line. But Byng himself did not follow the example of West; he hung back, and thereby prevented West from following up his advantage. It was in vain that Byng's own captain urged him to advance; he pretended that it could not be done without throwing his ships out of regular line; and he kept at such a distance that his vessel, a noble ship carrying ninety guns, never was fairly in action at all, and had not a single man killed or wounded. Thus deserted, West was compelled to fall back; and La Galissonière, who showed no disposition to continue the fight, sailed away.

A brave commander would now have renewed the attempt to support the garrison on shore, but Byng was clearly thoroughly discouraged. He called a council of war, stated that he had forty-two men killed, including captain Andrews, of the "Defiance," and a hundred and sixty-eight wounded; that his ships and guns were inferior to the French; that his vessels were too much damaged to keep the sea; that it was impossible to relieve St. Philip; and that, should Galissonière return, he had neither sufficient ships nor guns to cope with him. He proposed, therefore, to return to Gibraltar, which might need protection, and to this the council consented—for a faint-hearted commander can very readily infect those under him. Several officers afterwards, on the court-martial who tried Byng, deposed that they saw no signs of fear in him during the action; but it is but too plain, from the whole of his conduct, that he had none of that quality expressed in the vigorous modern term "pluck," without which a commander is a hopeless automaton.

At the sight of Byng sailing away, the French fired a *feu de joie* from all their lines, and Blakeney saw that he was left to his fate. He determined still to defend the place, but Richelieu sent in haste to Toulon for fresh reinforcements. The fort was soon surrounded by twenty thousand men, with eighty-five pieces of artillery. In about a week, Richelieu carried one of the breaches by storm, though with great loss, and Blakeney capitulated on condition that the English should march out with all the honours of war, and should be conveyed in the French ships to Gibraltar. Thus was Minorca lost to England through the shameful neglect of a miserably incompetent aristocratic clique called a ministry, and a faint-hearted admiral.

The tidings of this disaster roused the people of England to a pitch of desperation. The ministers were condemned for their gross neglect and imbecile procrastination, and Byng was execrated as a coward and a traitor. Ministers, awaking when it was too late, sent out admirals Hawke and Saunders to take the command in the Mediterranean, and to send home both Byng and West as prisoners. Full justice was done to Blakeney, who, as soon as he landed at Portsmouth with his garrison, was created an Irish baron. Tyrawley, who had himself been absent from his post of governor of Minorca, at this important crisis was sent to supersede Fowke as governor at Gibraltar, and Fowke, too, was sent home for trial. As for Byng, on being arrested, he showed as much insolence and folly towards those on whom his fate depended as he had shown himself incompetent at port Mahon. He wrote a fierce letter, throwing all the blame on ministers. When Byng arrived a prisoner at Portsmouth, throngs pressing down to the quay threatened to tear him to pieces, and it was necessary to protect him by soldiery, and to send a party of sixty dragoons to guard him to London. His younger brother, who came to meet him on his landing, was so affected by the sight of him and by the rage and imprecations of the people, that he died in convulsions the next day. Byng was lodged a close prisoner in Greenwich Hospital, where he persisted in his insolent mood, abusing the admiralty and ministry, and vindicating himself. On the other hand, Newcastle, who was equally or more culpable, instead of endeavouring to appease the popular indignation against the unhappy admiral, most freely encouraged it, because it turned the just censure from himself. To a demand from the city of vengeance on Byng, he replied in haste, "Oh, indeed, he shall be tried and hanged directly!" The whole kingdom was in a frenzy of rage against Byng; his effigy was burnt in all the chief towns, in London the streets and shops were deluged with caricatures of him, and ballads against him. His house and park in Hertfordshire were rescued with difficulty from the mob. West, on the contrary, was at once set at liberty, and praised for his bravery. Lord Anson took him to court, and the king complimented him on the noble discharge of his duty, and wished every one had done like him.

The vengeance against Byng was sharpened by the scarcity and excessive price of corn. Addresses to the king came pouring in from all quarters, demanding inquiry and justice on the guilty for the loss of Minorca. The members of parliament received others, calling on them to insist on scrutiny and justice, or stopping of the supplies. No such excitement had been seen since the days of the South Sea bubble.

Meantime, the most culpable man of all, Newcastle—if his sheer imbecility did not shift that culpability still higher, to the king, who could intrust the fortunes of the nation to such a man—was trembling with terror, and endeavouring to find a scapegoat somewhere. Fox was equally trembling, lest Newcastle should make that scapegoat of him. He declared to Dodington, that he had urged Newcastle to send succour to Minorca as early as Christmas, and that Cumberland had joined him in urging this to no purpose. He declared that Newcastle ought to answer for it. "Yes," replied Dodington, "unless he can find some one to make a scapegoat of." This was the very fear that was haunting Fox, and he hastened, in October, to the king, and resigned the seals. This was a severe blow to Newcastle, and he immediately thought of Murray to succeed him; but, unfortunately, Sir Dudley Ryder, the lord chief-justice, just then having died, Murray had fixed his ambition on occupying his seat on the bench. Newcastle dreading to lose Murray from the house of commons, where there was no one else capable of competing with Pitt, implored him to accept the office, or any other there—the tellership of the exchequer, or the duchy of Lancaster, for life. He offered him six thousand a year in pension, but all in vain; Murray declared he would have the chief justiceship, or he would not even continue attorney-general. They were obliged to give it to him, with the title of Mansfield, or make a mortal enemy of him. Newcastle then thought of conciliating Pitt; but Pitt was in close alliance with Leicester house, and to Leicester house Newcastle had given mortal offence, by refusing lord Bute the office of the groom of the stole, in the household of the prince, as long as he could. Pitt refused to belong to any ministry at all in which Newcastle remained. Newcastle, in his perplexity, next tried lord Egmont, and even old Granville, but both declined the honour; and not a man being to be found who would serve under him, he was compelled most reluctantly to resign. He had certainly presided over the destinies of the nation far too long. He had held the office of secretary of state and first lord of the treasury for thirty-two years. Hardwicke, also, resigned the office of lord chancellor, which he held for nearly twenty years with great ability and credit. Sir George Lyttleton was dismissed from the chancellorship of the exchequer, but was raised to the peerage, and retired to the country to cultivate literary pursuits. Lord Anson was removed from the admiralty, having made himself unpopular with the nation, for declaring the miserable fleet sent to Minorca quite sufficient.

The king now thought of placing Fox at the head of a new administration; but when Fox asked Pitt to join he refused, and the king was obliged to send for Pitt, much as he hated him. Pitt replied that he was laid up with the gout—a complaint which troubled him, but which he frequently found it convenient to assume. George then prevailed upon the duke of Devonshire, a man of no commanding ability, and averse to office, but of the highest integrity of character, to accept the post of first lord of the treasury, and to form a cabinet. Though the friend of Fox, he felt that statesman to be too unpopular for a colleague, and offered Pitt the seals of secretary of state, which he accepted; Legge was re-appointed chancellor of the exchequer; Pitt's brother-in-law, lord Temple, first lord of the admiralty; his next brother, George Grenville, treasurer of the navy; the third brother, James Grenville, again was seated at the treasury board; lord Holderness was the second secretary of state, to oblige the king; Willes, chief justice of the common pleas; the duke of Bedford was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, it was said, by Fox's suggestion, as a thorn in the flesh to Pitt, and, as Horace Walpole sarcastically remarked, Pitt had not Grenville cousins enough to fill the whole administration; Charles Townshend was made treasurer of the chamber, though his talents and eloquence, in which he excited Pitt's jealousy, deserved a much higher office.

The ministry being complete, parliament met on the 2nd of December. It was found that the new administration had not that influence in the boroughs that Newcastle, who had cultivated it, had; and several members of the cabinet, Pitt amongst them, had difficulty in getting returned, as was the case with Charles Townshend. In the king's speech, his majesty was made to speak of the militia, which he was known to everybody to hold in sovereign contempt, as the best and most constitutional means of national defence. He announced also that he had ordered the return of the Hanoverian troops to their own country; and the duke of Devonshire inserted in the address from the lords an expression of thanks for having brought them over. Pitt had declared that he would quit the cabinet if such a vote was passed, and Temple came hurrying down to the house—Pitt being absent from the commons with the gout—and declared that he had quitted a sick bed to protest against it. This was an unlucky beginning. It was clear that there was want of unity in the cabinet at its very birth, and out of doors the people were loudly complaining of the scarcity, and bread-riots were frequent. The king himself could not help ridiculing the speech his new ministers had put into his mouth; and a poor printer being arrested for putting another speech into his mouth, George said he hoped the man might receive very lenient punishment, for, so far as he could understand either of the speeches, he thought the printer's the best. To abate the ferment out of doors, the commons passed two bills: one prohibiting the export of grain, flour, or biscuit; the other prohibiting, for several months, the distillation from wheat or barley.

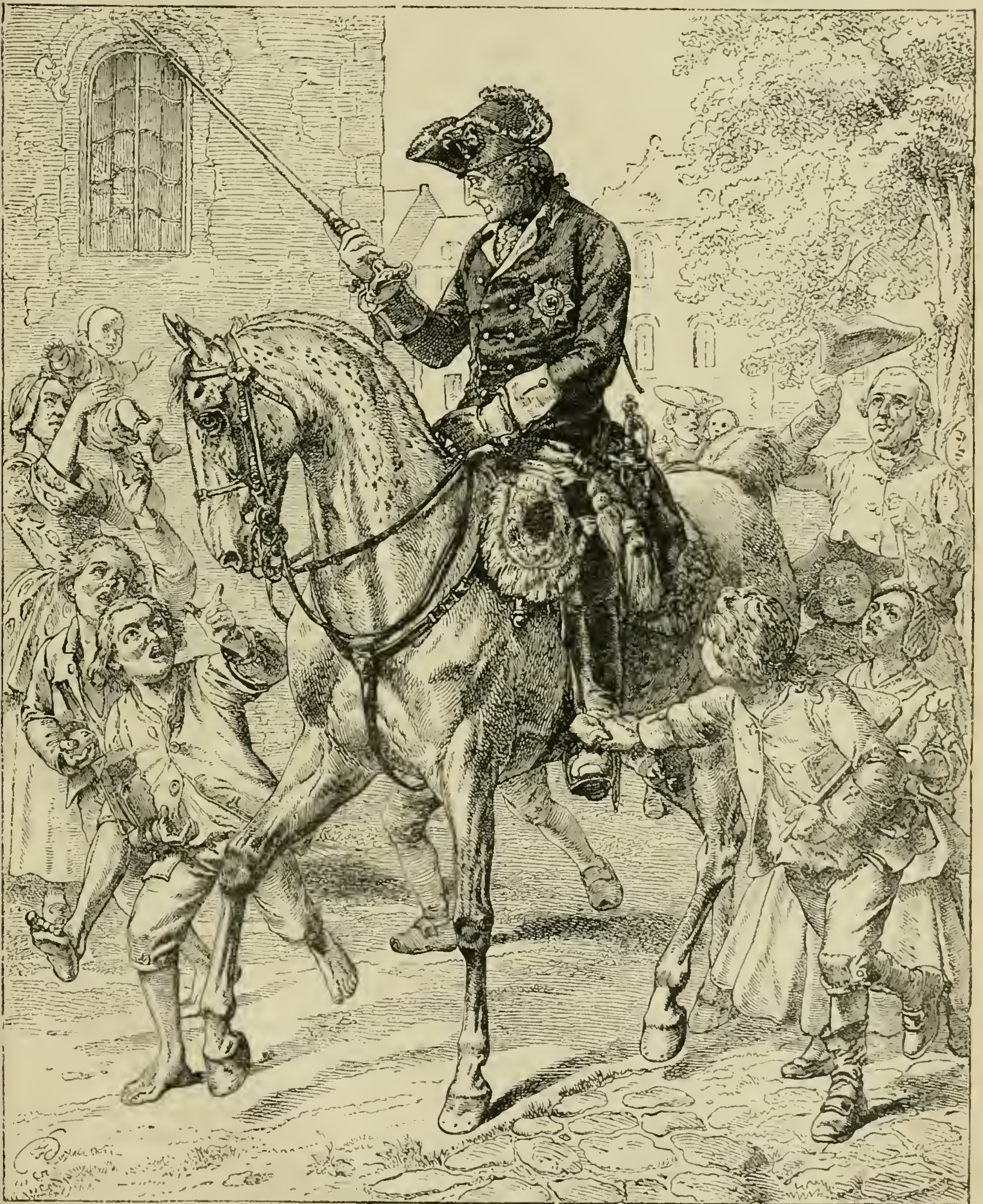
But though Pitt protested against thanking the king for bringing over Hanoverian troops, he found it necessary to support the king's German treaties and alliances, which were avowedly for the defence of Hanover. Fox reminded him of his favourite phrase, that Hanover was a mill-stone round the neck of England; but it was not the first time that Pitt had had to stand the taunt of eating his own words, and he braved it out, especially voting two hundred thousand pounds to Frederick of Prussia. A wonderful revolution in continental politics had now converted this long-hostile nephew of George II. into an ally, if not a friend.

The empress Maria Theresa, never reconciling herself to the seizure of Silesia by Frederick, and not finding England disposed to renew a war for the object of recovering it, applied to her old enemy, France. It required some ability to accomplish this object of detaching France from its ancient policy of hostility to Austria, pursued ever since the days of Henry IV., and in severing the alliance with Prussia; but her minister, Kaunitz, who had been her ambassador in Paris, contrived to effect it. The temptation was thrown out of the surrender of Belgic provinces to augment France, in return for assistance in recovering German possessions from Prussia. To add fresh stimulus to this change, the vengeance of offended woman was brought into play. Madame Pompadour, Louis XV.'s all-powerful mistress, had sent flattering compliments to Frederick by Voltaire; but the Prussian king only repaid them with sneers. On the other hand, the virtuous Maria Theresa did not blush to write, with her own hand, the most flattering epistles to the Pompadour. By these means, the thirst of revenge raised in the heart of the French mistress, worked successfully the breach with Prussia and the alliance with Austria. The same stimulus was tried, and with equal effect, on the czarina Elizabeth, on whose amorous license the cynical Prussian monarch had been equally jocose. Kaunitz knew how to make the sting of these ungallant sallies felt at both Paris and St. Petersburg, and the winter of 1755-6 saw the Russian alliance with Prussia and England renounced, the English subsidy, with far more than German probity, renounced too, and Russia pledged to support Austria and France. The elector of Saxony, Augustus, king of Poland, who amused himself with low, pot-house companions, and tame bears, and left his affairs to his minister, count Brühl, was also drawn, by the promise of Prussian territory, to join the league; and even Sweden, whose queen, Ulrica, was sister to Frederick, was drawn over to take side against him, in the hope of recovering its ancient province of Pomerania. This confederation of ninety millions of people, leagued against five millions, was pronounced by Pitt "one of the most powerful and malignant ones that ever yet threatened the independence of mankind."

The confederates endeavoured to keep their plans profoundly secret till they were ready to burst at once on the devoted king of Prussia; but Frederick was the last man alive to be taken by surprise. The secret was soon betrayed to him, and, at once waving his dislike of the king of England, he concluded a convention with him in January, 1756, and bound himself, during the disturbances in America, not to allow any foreign troops to pass through any part of Germany to those colonies, where he could prevent it. Having his treasury well supplied, he put his army in order, and in August of that year sent a peremptory demand to Vienna, as to the designs of Austria, stating, at the same time, that he would not accept any evasive reply; but the reply being evasive, he at once rushed into Saxony at the head of sixty thousand men, blockaded the king of Saxony in Pirna, and secured the queen in Dresden. By this decisive action, Frederick commenced what the Germans style "The Seven Years' War." In the palace of Dresden, Frederick made himself master of the secret correspondence and treaties with France, Russia, and Austria, detailing all their designs, which he immediately published, and thus fully justified his proceedings to the world.

PLYMOUTH.

The Austrians advanced under marshal Brown, an officer of English extraction, against Frederick, but after a hard-fought battle at Lowositz, on the 1st of October, Frederick beat them, and soon after compelled the Saxon army, seventeen thousand strong, to surrender at Pirna.



FREDERICK THE GREAT OF PRUSSIA. FROM A RARE PRINT OF THE PERIOD

The king of Saxony, who had taken refuge in the lofty rock fortress of Königstein, surrendered too, on condition of being allowed to retire to Warsaw, and Frederick established his headquarters for the winter at Dresden, levying heavy contributions throughout Saxony. The Aulic council, under the dictation of Austria, denounced Frederick as a rebel and a public disturber; but with one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers at his command, and the reputation of the greatest general in Europe, he only smiled at their impotent anger.

During this campaign little was done in America. General Bradstreet defeated a body of the enemy on the river Onondaga, and, on the other hand, the French took the two small forts of Ontario and Oswego.

The year 1757 opened amid very gloomy auspices. War, of a wide and formidable character, was commencing in Europe, and the house of commons was called on to vote no less than eight millions three hundred thousand pounds for the supplies of the year, and to order fifty-five thousand pounds for the sea service, and forty-five thousand pounds for the land. The national debt had now reached seventy-two million pounds, and was destined to a heavy and rapid increase, and still chiefly for the defence of Hanover. Pitt commenced the admirable plan recommended years before by Duncan Forbes, of raising Highland regiments from the lately disaffected clans. The militia was remodelled, it was increased to thirty-four thousand, and it was proposed to exercise the men on Sunday afternoons, to facilitate their progress in discipline; but an outcry from the dissenters put a stop to this. Serious riots, moreover, were the consequences of forcing such a number of men from their homes and occupations in the militia ranks; and the public discontent was raised to a crisis by the voting of two hundred thousand pounds, avowedly for the protection of Hanover. A measure which the nation beheld with astonishment, Pitt himself introduced, notwithstanding his many thunderings against the Hanover millstone.

Amid these angry feelings admiral Byng was brought to trial. The court martial was held at Plymouth. It commenced in December, 1756, and lasted the greater part of the month of January of the present year. Byng was conveyed from Greenwich to Portsmouth, and carried on board the St. George, where the court martial was held. He showed far more spirit now than he did at Minorca, and was so confident of acquittal, that he kept a post-chaise standing ready every day to carry him to London, where he determined immediately to take his place in the house of commons, where he would turn the charge upon his enemies, and he had written out the heads of his accusations. Besides this, he had already published a statement in his vindication. In this he showed how his own letters and reports to the admiralty had been garbled before they were published in the Gazettes, so as to favour the charge of cowardice against him—certainly a most unworthy and unwarrantable proceeding. During the trial a letter was received from M. Voltaire, inclosing another from the duke of Richelieu to Voltaire, bearing the most decided testimony to the brave but prudent conduct of Byng, asserting that, from the bad state of his ships and deficient crew of men, to have continued the action would only have been to run upon certain destruction. But this evidence was not likely to avail much with men who knew how often our admirals had defeated much superior and better-appointed French fleets. After a long and patient examination, the court came to the decision that Byng had not done his utmost to defeat the French fleet, or relieve the castle of St. Philip. The court, however, sent to the admiralty in London to know whether they were at liberty to mitigate the twelfth article of war, which had been established by an act of parliament of the twenty-second year of the present reign, making neglect of duty as much deserving death as treason or cowardice. They were answered in the negative, and therefore they passed sentence on Byng to be shot on board such of his majesty's ships of war, and at such time as the lords of the admiralty should decide.

No sooner was the sentence passed than his judges were seized with a vehement desire to procure a pardon for the admiral. They made the most urgent entreaties to the admiralty for that purpose, and captain Augustus Keppel authorised Horace Walpole to say that he and four others of the members of the council had something of importance to communicate, and desired to be relieved from their oath of secresy. The house of commons was quite ready to pass a bill for the purpose, and the king respited the admiral till all such inquiries had been made. But when the bill had been passed by one hundred and fifty-three to twenty-three, it turned out that these five officers had nothing of consequence to disclose. Still lord Temple, who was at the head of the admiralty, was greatly averse to the carrying out of the sentence, which, in fact, was greatly disproportioned to the crime. Pitt also interceded with the king, and renewed applications were made to the admiralty; but, on the other hand, the people were smarting under the loss of Minorca, and demanded the execution of the sentence. Handbills were posted up, "*Hang Byng, or take care of the king.*" The house of lords, when the commons' bill was carried up to them, however, settled the matter. Murray and lord Hardwicke demanded of every member of the court martial at the bar of the house, whether they knew of any matter which showed their sentence to be unjust, or to have been influenced by any undue motive; and as all declared they did not, the lords dismissed the bill. The sentence was therefore fixed for execution on the 14th of March. Byng, both during the trial, and now when brought on board the Monarch in Portsmouth harbour to be shot, showed no symptoms of fear. When one of his friends, to prevent a man coming in to measure Byng for his coffin, said, standing up by him, "Which of us is the taller?" Byng immediately replied, "Why this ceremony? I know what it means; let the man measure me for a coffin." On the deck he wished to have his eyes left unbound, but when told it might frighten the soldiers and distract their aim, he said, "Let it be done, then; if it would not frighten them, they would not frighten me." He fell dead at the discharge.

From his conduct under these circumstances, it has been argued Byng's sentence was unjust; that he had shown no cowardice; indeed, several of his officers who were near him in the action gave evidence that he showed no backwardness or marks of fear at that time; but though, under ordinary circumstances, Byng could not be called exactly a coward, nothing was clearer than that he was destitute of that vigorous courage which defies difficulties. He certainly did not support West in the action, nor did he act in any part of his command with a daring and spirit which became an English admiral, and which might have produced even victory when he only achieved disgrace. The undue severity of his sentence proceeded from the bloody nature of the articles of war passed in this reign through the influence of Cumberland.

Cumberland was now appointed to command the troops in Hanover, intended to co-operate with Prussia against France and Austria; but he had an intuitive dread of Pitt, and was very unwilling to quit the kingdom whilst that formidable man was paymaster of the forces. He therefore never rested till the king dismissed him from office. George himself required little urging. He had always hated Pitt for his anti-Hanoverian spirit, nor had his conduct in office, however respectful, done away with his dislike. Mediocrity has a sympathy with mediocrity, and an antipathy to genius. George therefore was desirous to get rid of the able Pitt and recall the imbecile Newcastle. He complained that Pitt made harangues, even in the simplest matters of business, which he could not comprehend, and as for lord Temple, his brother-in-law, he declared him to be pert and insolent. Temple was said to have given George unpardonable offence, in pleading for the pardon of Byng, by some way comparing his conduct at Minorca with George's at Oudenarde, from which George inferred that Temple had considered that, if Byng was shot for his behaviour at Port Mahon, George ought to have been hanged for his at Oudenarde. George therefore sent lord Waldegrave to Newcastle to invite him to return to office, saying, "Tell him I do not look upon myself as king whilst I am in the hands of these scoundrels, and am determined to be rid of them at any rate." Newcastle longed to regain his favour, but he was afraid of a notice made in the house of commons for an inquiry into the causes of the loss of Minorca. The king, nevertheless, dismissed Temple and Pitt, and Legge and others resigned. Cumberland, in great delight, then embarked for Hanover, thinking the main difficulty over, but, in fact, it had only just begun. The inquiry into the Minorca affair was, indeed, so managed that it did not absolutely condemn the ministry of Newcastle, neither did it fully acquit them; whilst, at the same time, the public was highly incensed at the dismissal of Pitt, whom they rightly deemed the only man with abilities in the two houses capable of conducting the affairs of the nation successfully. Addresses and presentations of the freedom of their cities came pouring in to Pitt from all the great towns of the kingdom. Horace Walpole said it literally rained gold boxes. Legge, as the firm ally of Pitt, received also his share of these honours.

But for Newcastle to form a cabinet was no such easy matter. Pitt refused to take office with him unless he had the whole management of the war and foreign affairs. The king then agreed to send for Fox, who accepted the office of chancellor of the exchequer; but Newcastle was so sensible of Fox's great unpopularity that he was terrified at undertaking an administration with Fox and without Pitt, though he was equally reluctant to stand, or to let a cabinet be formed without him. For three months the fruitless endeavours to accomplish a ministry went on; parliament sitting all the time, and a great war commencing. Finally, the king and Newcastle were compelled to submit to the terms of "the great commoner," as they called Pitt, who became secretary of state, with the management of the war and foreign affairs. Newcastle became again first lord of the treasury, but without one of his old supporters, and Legge as chancellor of the exchequer; Holderness, a mere cypher, was the other secretary of state; Anson was placed at the head of the admiralty; lord Temple was made lord privy seal; and Pratt, an able lawyer and friend of Pitt, attorney-general. Fox condescended to take the office of paymaster of the forces; and thus, after a long and severe struggle, the feeble aristocrats, who had so long managed and disgraced the country, were compelled to admit fresh blood into the government in the person of Pitt. But they still entertained the idea that they only were the men, and that wisdom would die with them. One and all, even the otherwise sagacious Chesterfield, prognosticated only dishonour and ruin for such a plebeian appointment. "We are no longer a nation," said Chesterfield; "I never yet saw so dreadful a prospect."

And, for some time, events seemed to justify these apprehensions by the old governing class. Not a plan of Pitt's but failed. His first enterprise was one of that species that has almost universally failed — a descent on the coast of France. Some years before an English officer had noted that the defences of Rochefort were ruinous and neglected. This account was now brought to Pitt, and he immediately thought he had a fine opportunity of making a bold diversion in favour of the duke of Cumberland and the king of Prussia. A hundred thousand French troops had marched into Germany, and had left the French coast, from St. Valery to Bordeaux, very scantily defended. Early in September, a fleet of sixteen ships of the line, attended by transports and frigates, was dispatched to Rochefort, carrying ten regiments of foot, under the command of Sir John Mordaunt. Sir Edward Hawke commanded the fleet, and the troops were landed on a small fortified island named Aix, at the mouth of the Charente. There, spite of strict orders, the English soldiers and sailors became awfully drunk, and committed shocking excesses and cruelties on the inhabitants. The rumour of this made the forces in Rochefort furious for vengeance; and when the army was to be landed within a few miles of the place in order to its attack, as usual in such cases, the admiral and general came to an open quarrel. Mordaunt betrayed great timidity, and demanded of Hawke, in case of failure, how the troops were to be brought off again. Hawke replied, that must depend on wind and tide — an answer which by no means reassured Mordaunt. General Conway, next in command to Mordaunt, was eager for advancing to the attack; and colonel Wolfe — afterwards the conqueror of Quebec — offered to make himself master of Rochefort, with three ships of war and five hundred men at his disposal. The brave offer was rejected, but the report of it at once pointed out Wolfe to Pitt as one of the men whom he was on the look-out to work with. Howe, the next in command to Hawke, proposed to batter down the fort of Fouras, before advancing on Rochefort; but Mordaunt adopted the resort of all timid commanders—a council of war, which wasted the time in which the assault should have been made, and then it was declared useless to attempt it; the fortifications of Aix were destroyed, and the fleet put back.

Mordaunt, like Byng, was brought before a court-martial, but with very different results. He was honourably acquitted—perhaps, under the atrocious 12th article of war, the court feared even to censure; and it was said by the people that Byng was shot for not doing enough, and Mordaunt acquitted for doing nothing at all.

If this transaction was pitiable, the next proposal of Pitt was disgraceful. Lord Stanhope, when minister, had entertained the idea of giving up Gibraltar to Spain: Pitt now renewed the infamous project. He saw that the people had been greatly exasperated by the loss of Minorca, and it occurred to him that to repurchase it by the surrender of Gibraltar—worth a hundred Minorcas—would be a meritorious action. He therefore dispatched a proposal to this effect to our excellent ambassador in Spain, Sir Benjamin Keene, on condition that Spain assisted us in the war against the French, and for the recovery of the lost island. Still more: he engaged that we should surrender our establishments at Honduras and on the Mosquito shore. When Sir Benjamin Keene—who had grown old in defending our interests in Spain—read this dispatch, he flung his cap on the ground, exclaiming, in rage, "What can they mean? Are they mad on the other side of the water?" Fortunately, the Spanish court did not listen to the insane offer; they were afraid to commence another war with France, even for such an object, and Gibraltar was saved.

In North America, matters were still more unprosperous. Lord Loudon had raised twelve thousand men for the purpose of taking Louisburg, and driving the French from our frontiers; but he did nothing, not even preventing the attack of Marshal Montcalm, the commander-in-chief in Canada, on Fort William Henry, which he destroyed, thus leaving unprotected the position of New York. At the same time, Admiral Holbourne, who was to have attacked the French squadron off Louisburg, did not venture to do it, because he said they had eighteen ships to his seventeen, and a greater weight of metal. Such was the condition into which an army and navy, once illustrious through the victories of Marlborough and Blake, were reduced by the aristocratic imbecility of the Newcastles, Bedfords, and Cumberlands. This last princely general had, in fact, put the climax to his career. He had placed himself at the head of fifty thousand confederate troops, in which there were no English, except the officers of his own staff, to defend his father's electorate of Hanover. But this ruthless general, who never won a battle except the solitary one of Culloden, against a handful of famished men, was found totally incompetent to cope with the French general, d'Estrees. He allowed the French to cross the deep and rapid Weser, and continued to fall back before them as they entered the electorate, until he was driven to the village of Hastenbeck, near Hameln, where the enemy overtook and defeated him. He then continued his retreat across the desolate Lüneburg heath, to cover Stade, near the mouth of the Elbe, where the archives and other valuable effects of Hanover had been deposited for safety.

At this time Richelieu succeeded to the command of d'Estrees in this quarter, and he continued to drive Cumberland before him, taking Hameln, Göttingen, and Hanover itself, and soon after Bremen and Verden. Thus were Hanover and Verden, which had cost this country such millions to defend, seized by France; nor did the disgrace end here. Cumberland was cooped up in Stade, and compelled, on the 8th of December, to sign a convention at Closter-Seven, by which he engaged to send home the Hesse and Brunswick troops, and to disperse the Hanoverians into different quarters, not to serve again during the war.

This most ignominious termination of Cumberland's military ambition excited the most hearty execrations of both the Prussians and the English. The fallen butcher returned to London in October, where the king received him with freezing coldness, and the cutting observation—"Here is my son, who has ruined me and disgraced himself." The crestfallen duke, who had never spared a fallen enemy, now retired from a command which he was so incompetent to hold. He resigned his post of captain-general, and threw up everything except his allowance out of the privy purse, and his fifteen thousand pounds a year as victor at Culloden. He retired into obscurity, and the poor men massacred in their flight from Culloden, or in their distant highland homes, might have been in some degree consoled, could they have seen the latter years of their oppressor. Scorned and hated by the nation, treated with utter forgetfulness, with cold reproach by the ministers of his father, he died in 1765 unlamented, in his forty-sixth year. One man alone dared to defend him from the bitter accusations of his father, and that was Pitt, whom he had always fiercely opposed, and injured to the utmost of his ability. When George II. said, in Pitt's hearing, that he had given Cumberland no orders for such a convention, Pitt replied boldly, "But full powers, sir—very full powers!"

Meantime, Frederick of Prussia was waging a tremendous war with France, Russia, and Austria. To disable Austria before her allies could come up to her aid, he suddenly, in April, made an eruption into Bohemia. His army threaded the defiles of the mountains of the Bohemian frontier in different divisions, and united before Prague, where marshal Brown and prince Charles of Lorraine met him with eighty thousand men, his own forces amounting to about seventy thousand. A most obstinate and sanguinary conflict took place, which continued from nine in the morning till eight at night, in which twenty-four thousand Austrians were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and eighteen thousand Prussians. The generals on both sides animated their troops by their examples. Frederick, his brother, prince Henry, and the prince of Brunswick, exposed themselves everywhere: old marshal Schwerin fell with the banner in his hand, which he snatched from an ensign, to lead forward a wavering regiment himself. On the other hand, marshal Brown was killed. The Prussians were destitute of pontoons to cross the Moldau, or their writers contend that not an Austrian would have escaped. But marshal Daun advancing out of Moravia with another strong army, to which sixteen thousand of the fugitives from Prague had united themselves, Frederick was compelled to abandon the siege of Prague, and march to near Kolin, where he was thoroughly defeated by Daun, with a loss of thirteen thousand of his bravest troops.

This was a blow which for a time completely prostrated the Prussian monarch. He sat for hours on a hollow tree perfectly overwhelmed, and giving no answer to any of his officers who came to him for orders, but continued mechanically drawing lines in the sand with his cane. Nothing but the necessity of saving the remnant of his army and retreating out of Bohemia could move him. It was only by extraordinary personal exertions and the most incessant watchfulness that he escaped. His brother, prince William, his heir presumptive, suffered great loss in the retreat, and was so fiercely upbraided for it by the exasperated king, that he threw up his commission, and died, a few months after, of chagrin. Never was a martial and ambitious monarch in so desperate a condition. The Russians had invaded Prussia with one hundred thousand men, the Swedes had entered Pomerania, the Austrians had another great army, under general Haddick, in Lusatia, marching direct on Berlin, his capital; the French were advancing through Westphalia with eighty thousand men; another Austrian army under Nodasti appeared in another quarter, and, to complete his dismay, Cumberland, who should have kept the French in check, at this juncture failed altogether, and made his famous convention of Closter-Seven. Nothing but the most indomitable spirit and the highest military talent could have saved any man under such circumstances. But Frederick had disciplined both his generals and soldiers to despise reverses, and he relied on them keeping at bay the host of enemies with which he was surrounded till he had tried a last blow. He had with him but twenty-two thousand men, yet with these he determined to give battle to the French under the prince de Soubise, and, if he failed there, to perish, for which purpose he carried in his pocket a small bottle of strong poison, should he not fall by the chance of battle. As he marched he endeavoured to keep up his courage by composing doggerel and often very ribald French verses, for he was possessed of all the French spirit of the time—atheism and mockery of all that was spiritually pure and great.

On the field of Rosbach, near the plain of Lützen, where Gustavus Adolphus fell, after having relieved marshal Keith at Leipsic, Frederick gave battle to the united French and Austrians. The French numbered forty thousand men, the Austrians twenty thousand; yet, with his twenty thousand against sixty thousand, Frederick, on the 5th of November, took the field. His inferior numbers favoured the stratagem which he had planned. After fighting fiercely for awhile, his troops gave way, and appeared to commence a hasty retreat. This, however, was continued only till the French and Austrians were thrown off their guard, when the Prussians suddenly turned, and received the headlong squadrons with a murderous coolness and composure. The Austrians, confounded, fled at once; and Soubise, a general of the princely house of Rohan, who owed his appointment to Madame Pompadour, was totally incapable of coping with the Prussian veterans. He saw his troops flying in wild rout, and galloped off with them, leaving a vast number slain, seven thousand prisoners, and the greater part of his baggage, artillery, and standards in the hands of the enemy.

The battle of Rosbach raised the fame of Frederick wonderfully all over Europe; and whilst his martial glory was streaming over plain and mountain throughout Germany, the strange monarch was sitting in his tent on the field of victory, writing the most vile and ribald rhymes in French on the French defeat. He soon roused himself, however, for fresh efforts. Whilst he had been thus engaged on the Saale, the Austrians had again overrun Silesia, defeating the Prussians under the duke of Bevern, storming the great fortress of Schweidnitz, and making themselves masters of Breslau, the capital. Spite of his reduced numbers and the advancing winter, Frederick immediately directed his march towards Silesia, gathering reinforcements as he went, so that by the 5th of December, just one month from the battle of Rosbach, he encountered prince Charles of Lorraine and marshal Daun at Leuthen, a small village near Breslau, and with forty thousand men encountered and defeated nearly seventy thousand Austrians, killing and wounding twenty-seven thousand of them, taking above fifty standards, one hundred cannon, four thousand wagons, and much other spoil. This battle at once freed Silesia from the Austrians, who trooped over the mountains in all haste, and left the victorious king to close this unexampled campaign.

To add to the fame of Frederick, news arrived that marshal Lewald, with twenty thousand Prussians, had beaten the great horde of Russians at Jägerndorff, and driven them out of Prussia, with the single exception of Memel; that Lewald and Manteufel had swept the Swedes out of Pomerania, taking three thousand prisoners; and that prince Henry of Prussia, and prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, to whom Frederick, at the urgent request of England, had intrusted the command of the Hanoverian and Hessian troops which Cumberland had abandoned, had, with these very troops, driven the French from Luneberg, Zell, and Hanover. These troops, it is true, were bound by the convention of Closter-Seven not to fight again during the war; but the generals pleaded that the cruelties and rapacity of the French in Hanover were such as set aside all compacts. Such was the condition into which they threw the French army, which had so easily chased away Cumberland, that the count of Clermont, sent by Louis to take the command of it from the duke of Richelieu, reported to his majesty that he found it divided into three corps: one above ground, but consisting of robbers and marauders; the second under ground; and the third in the hospitals.

The wonderful success of the Prussian king, and especially his rescue of Hanover, raised him to the very pinnacle of hero-worship in England. Voltaire, in France, exclaimed, "Even Gustavus Adolphus never did such great things as this Frederick! We must, indeed, pardon him his bad verses, his sarcasms, and his bitter malice. All the faults of the man disappear before the glory of the hero!" But in England, from the highest to the lowest, the enthusiasm for the king of Prussia exceeded all bounds. Pitt exclaimed, "America is to be conquered through

Germany!" That meant, that whilst Frederick was thus beating and exhausting the French there, he would seize the opportunity to drive them out of our colonies, and their own too, in North America. The religious celebrated Frederick as the great "Protestant hero," very probably being quite ignorant of his utter ridicule of all religion; and publicans elevated his cocked hat and pigtail on ale-house signs, where they swing to this day.

Pitt, though he remained determined against our continuing to send soldiers to Germany, was so elated at the successes of Frederick that, on the meeting of parliament, on the 1st of December, he supported the vote of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds as a subsidy to Prussia, George having entered into a new convention with Frederick to defend his electorate. Pitt, on the same occasion, pronounced a glowing eulogium on Clive's proceedings in India. This great minister had, in fact, formed the most extensive designs for the colonial aggrandisement of England, and the repulse of France in those quarters. At his suggestion, lord Loudon had been sent to North America, and as he had failed to render any service, General Abercrombie had gone out to supersede him. Pitt already, however, had his eye on a young officer, Wolfe, whom he deemed the true hero for that service; whilst, on the opposite side of the globe, he was watching the proceedings of another young officer with immense pleasure—namely, Clive. These two remarkable men, under the fostering genius of Pitt, were destined to destroy the ascendancy of France in those regions, and to lay the foundations of British power on a scale of splendour beyond all previous conception.

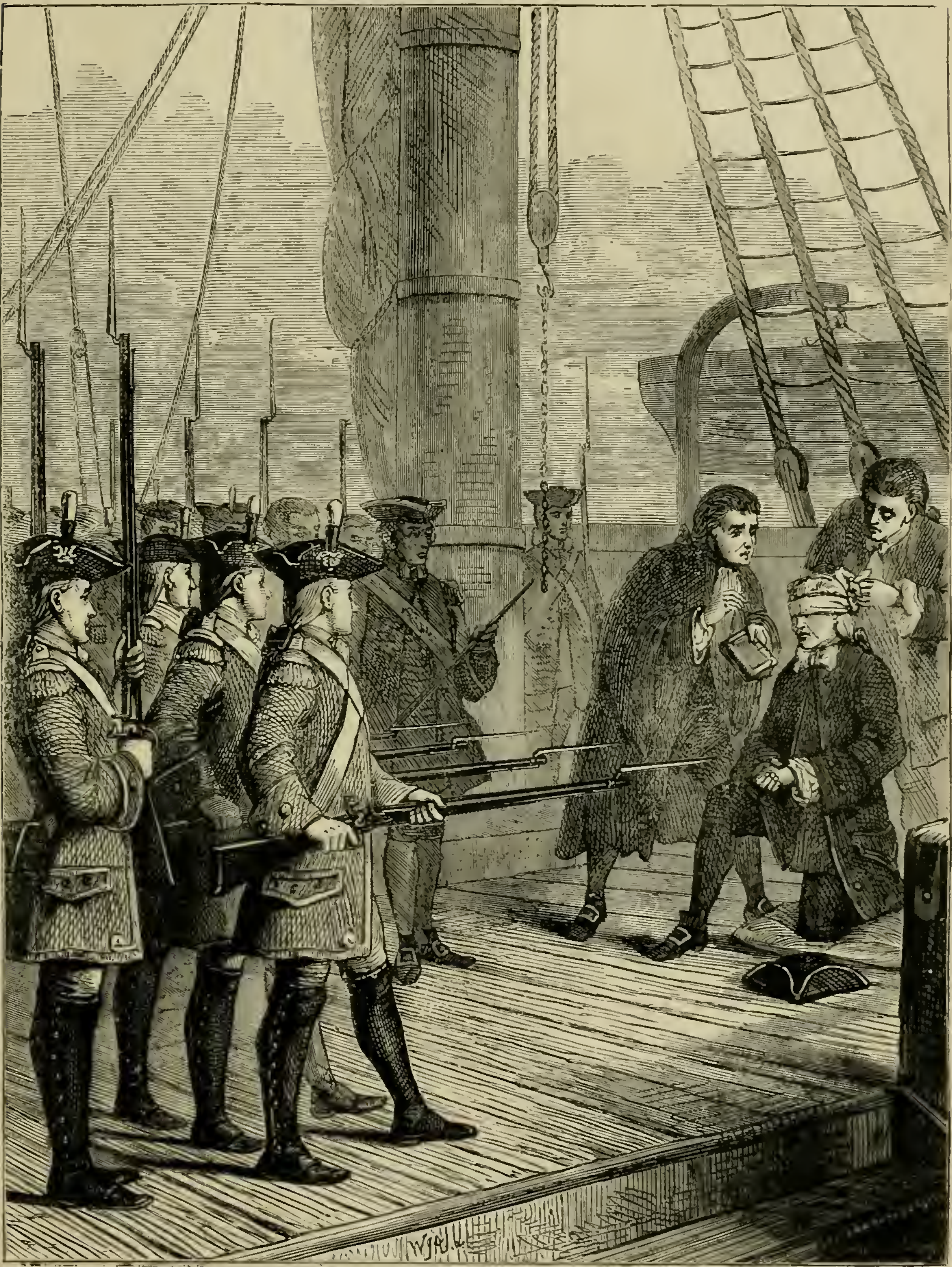
Clive, a young company's clerk at Madras, had deserted his desk, taken a commission, and, as early as 1748, had distinguished himself by baffling the French commanders Duplex and Bussy, at Pondicherry. In 1751 he had taken Arcot from Chunda Sahib, the viceroy of the Carnatic, and, aided by the Mahrattas, defeated Rajah Sahib, the son of Chundah, in a splendid victory at Arnee. In 1752 he raised the siege of Trichinopoly, where the nabob of Arcot was besieged by the French. In 1755, landing at Bombay from England, he, with admiral Watson, made an expedition to Geriah, the stronghold of the celebrated pirate Angria, demolished it, and seized the spoils, valued at one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. In 1757 he took Calcutta from the nabob Sujah-u-Dowlah, the ally of the French, who had captured it, and shut up the English prisoners in the memorable Black-hole, where, in one night, out of one hundred and forty-six persons, one hundred and twenty-three perished. He took also the city of Hooghly, utterly defeated Dowlah, and compelled him to cede the city and vicinity. He then drove the French from their fortress and factory of Chandernagore; marched forward on Moorshedabad, defeated Sujah-u-Dowlah in a battle extraordinary for the rout of an immense army by a mere handful of men, at Plassy; deposed him, and seated on his throne Jaffier Ali Cawn. From this day dates our supremacy in India; and thus was laid the foundations of our vast empire there.

The close of this year, both in Ireland and England, was not without its discontents. Ireland had been for some time very quiet; but with the accession to the viceroyalty by the duke of Bedford, attended as his secretary and manager by Rigby, a very profligate person, the quiet ceased. Under the administration of Bedford and his man, great violence of faction broke out, and Bedford incurred much odium by his helping his wife's sister, lady Betty Waldegrave, to the pension of eight hundred a-year, which had fallen in by the death of the queen-dowager of Prussia, the sister of George II., and the mother of Frederick the Great. In England, at the same time, Bedford's seat, Woburn Abbey, had a narrow escape from being burnt down by the enraged peasantry, who rose there, as well as in many other counties, against the aristocracy, whom they charged with being the authors of a new militia bill, which required ten pounds in lieu of a substitute, and yet only exempted those drawn for three years.

In spite of Pitt's magnanimous protestations against German subsidies, and that not another drop of English blood should be shed in the great German slaughterhouse, the year 1758 was opened by another subsidy to Prussia of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds, and, very soon after, it was resolved to send an auxiliary force to the Rhine. A large sum was voted for the maintenance of the Hanoverian and Hessian troops under the command of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick; and the money altogether voted for the expenses of the year was about ten millions sterling. So impossible did it seem to keep out of continental warfare, and so unanimous was parliament on the subject, that Horace Walpole said, "You might as soon expect 'No' from an old maid as from the house of commons." The only note of discord at home proceeded from an attempt of the commons to extend the beneficial operations of the habeas corpus act, which was rejected by the lords, who had shown themselves opposed to the original act in Charles II.'s time, and continued so till 1816, when such extensions as were proposed now, in 1758, were carried.

The fight of factions, which became strong on the appointment of the duke of Bedford, continued to rage, and led to riots and disorders. It was then the custom for the lord lieutenant to leave his post during his second year, and pocket the salary, without incurring its expenses. The lord lieutenant's secretary became the governor for the time; and, in the hands of men like Rigby, such a trust was pretty sure to lead to no trifling abuses. Strong opposition was raised, even amongst the chief officers, to induce the government to buy them off with a title and some other good thing; as Boyle, the speaker, was quieted by the earldom of Shannon, and a pension of two thousand pounds a year, in 1756. Besides these causes, the severe restrictions on the catholics, which were still maintained — as that of education being forbidden to their children, no papist being allowed to keep a school, and yet all catholics being forbidden to send their children for education abroad; a catholic widow not being allowed to be guardian to her own children, and scores of such hardships — made the Irish restless, and ready on all occasions to create disturbances.

As to warfare, besides paying for the campaigns of Frederick of Prussia in Europe, and undertaking expeditions of our own, we were fighting in both the eastern and



EXECUTION OF ADMIRAL BYNG.

western worlds. Everywhere we were attacking the French settlements, and everywhere they were giving way before us. Pitt had abandoned the old aristocratic system of appointing aristocratic commanders, whether they were of any ability or not; his chief men, on whom he depended both in India and America, were men of the people; and as merit, and not mere rank, was recognised, a new spirit sprung up in our ranks, and our army became everywhere victorious. Clive continued to achieve wonders in India, and Wolfe was dispatched to cope with the French in America. Nor did we leave them at peace, even on the coast of Africa. It is singular that a quaker, one Thomas Cumming—though bound by his principles not to meddle in scenes or designs of war — pointed out how easy it would be to take the French settlements on the African coast, from cape Blanco to the river Gambia, especially fort Louis and the island of Goree, and he went out with the expedition himself. He declared that, if they followed his advice, they might take them without shedding a drop of blood. And, in truth, they did take fort Louis without any contest; but not so Goree, which cost them a brisk cannonade of several hours.

In America lord Amherst took the chief command, with Wolfe as his second; Abercrombie being dispatched to reduce the French forts on Lakes George and Champlain, and thus open the way into Canada. On the 2nd of June the British fleet, commanded by admiral Boscawen, and carrying lord Amherst and twelve thousand men, anchored before Louisburg, the capital of Cape Breton. The French had six thousand men, soldiers and marines, and five ships of the line were drawn up in the harbour. The landing was therefore effected with difficulty; but Wolfe, who led the way in person, showed such spirit and activity, and the admiral and general, unlike the usual conduct on such occasions, acted together with such unanimity and zeal, that the French were compelled, towards the end of July, to capitulate, and the soldiers of the garrison were sent to England, prisoners of war. The ships in the harbour were taken, together with a great quantity of stores and ammunition. The whole island of Cape Breton submitted to the conquerors, and the island of St. John was also reduced by colonel lord Rollo. St. John's was afterwards named Prince Edward's Island, in compliment to the royal family. Great was the rejoicing in London on the arrival of the news and trophies: and eleven pairs of colours taken were carried in procession, with trumpets and kettledrums sounding, from Kensington Palace to St. Paul's.

The events on land were very different. Abercrombie, like general Braddock, advanced with all the careless presumption of a second-rate general. He had with him six thousand regular troops and ten thousand provincial militia, a force capable in good hands of accomplishing much greater things than he had in commission. The grand object was to reduce Fort Ticonderoga, built on a neck of land betwixt lakes George and Champlain. At the landing, lord Howe, one of the best officers, was killed, but they drove back the French, and advanced on the fort, which was of great strength, defended by a garrison of four thousand men, commanded by the marquis de Montcalm, the commander-in-chief of the Canadians, himself. Montcalm had raised a breastwork eight feet high, and made in front of it a barricade of felled trees with their branches outwards. Abercrombie, with a foolish confidence, advanced right upon this barricade, without waiting for the coming up of his artillery, which was detained by the badness of the roads. With a reckless disregard of the lives of his men, he commanded them to attempt to storm these defences, and after fighting with the usual courage of Englishmen for several hours, and two thousand of them being slaughtered, it was found that their efforts were useless, and they were ordered to retire. Abercrombie himself, it was said, never was nearer the scene of this unnecessary carnage than the Saw-Mills, two miles off, and when he heard of the repulse and carnage, instead of doing what he ought to have done at first, attack the fort with his cannon, he made a hasty retreat, embarked his troops, and sailed away in such trepidation that he left a number of entrenching tools, and whole boatloads of provisions. Brigadier Forbes, who had been sent against Fort Duquesne, an attempt so disastrous to both Washington and Braddock, executed his task with the utmost promptitude and success. Forbes took possession of it on the 25th of November, and, in compliment to the great minister under whose auspices they fought, named it Fort Pitt, since grown from a solitary fort into Pittsburg, the populous Birmingham of the United States.

In Europe, Pitt was still bent on those attacks on the coast of France, which long experience had shown were of little use as means of successful war, but highly objectionable, as fraught with excessive inhumanity to the innocent people of the seaboard. This, his second expedition, was aimed at St. Malo. A fleet of eighteen ships of the line, thirteen frigates, with sloops, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, was put under the command of lord Howe; but as Sir Edward Hawke, his senior, struck his flag, and refused to serve as second, lord Anson, to get rid of the difficulty, put himself nominally at the head of the squadron. The command of the troops was given to the duke of Marlborough, a brave man, but destitute of the military genius of his father, and lord George Sackville and lord Granby under him. There were fourteen thousand troops of the line and six thousand marines. With these went a number of aristocratic volunteers, amongst them lord Downe, Sir John Armitage, and Sir John Lowther, the possessor of fourteen thousand pounds a-year. On the 5th of June the transports anchored in Cancalle Bay, and the next day the troops were landed and led against St. Malo. This town, built on one of a cluster of granite rocks which rise out of the sea on that iron-bound coast, they found too strongly fortified to storm, but they burnt a hundred and thirty privateers and a great quantity of small craft in the harbour, and then returned to their ships. They then sailed for Havre, but were prevented by the wind from doing the same damage, and so continued their voyage to Granville and Cherbourg, whence they were driven by a storm; and thereupon coasting a considerable way further, but to no purpose, the fleet returned to Portsmouth, the main result being a heavy expense. Fox and the opposition in the commons called it breaking windows with guineas; and the old king, who had expressed his dislike of this sort of warfare, said we should brag of having burnt the French ships, and the French of having driven us away.

But Pitt was not yet cured of his infatuation, which he dignified with the name of making a diversion for the troops in Germany. The very next month he dispatched a smaller fleet and force to destroy the port of Cherbourg, which the French had constructed under cardinal Fleury, and, as they stated by an inscription, "for all eternity." This time the command was given to general Bligh, one of that class of worn-out old men that we, in our time, send to the Crimea and similar difficult places. Marlborough was gone to command our troops in Germany, accompanied by lord George Sackville, who had not escaped a charge of cowardice at St. Malo, and now said he was "tired of buccaneering." Howe was admiral, and on board with him went prince Edward, afterwards duke of York. On the 8th of August the troops were landed at Cherbourg, which was deserted by the garrison, and they destroyed the forts and harbour, demolished a hundred and seventy pieces of iron cannon, and carried off twenty-two fine brass ones. The soldiers, however, disgraced themselves, as usual on these predatory excursions, by drunkenness and outrages on the inhabitants. After re-embarking and returning to Portsmouth, Bligh was ordered to pay another visit to St. Malo, but still found it too strong for him; yet he landed his men in the bay of St. Lunaire, about two leagues westward of St. Malo; and the weather immediately driving Howe to sea, the army was marched over land to St. Cast, some leagues off. The soldiers were allowed to rove about and plunder, till Bligh heard that the duke of Aiguillon was advancing against them at the head of a strong force. Bligh then, but in no hurry, marched for the port of St. Cast, followed by Aiguillon, who waited till he had embarked all but one thousand five hundred men, when he fell upon them, and slaughtered a thousand of them in a hollow way amongst the rocks leading down to the shore. General Drury, attempting to swim to the ships, was shot, as well as Sir John Armitage, and other of the aristocratic volunteers. D'Aiguillon himself, mounted on a mill, watched the massacre of the English, who were surrounded by swarms of the enraged peasantry, butchering some, and carrying off others as prisoners. Such was the indignation against Bligh that he was compelled to resign. The fault was rather in those who sent such an old man out, and nothing but the great successes in India, in Nova Scotia and on the American lakes, on the coast of Africa and in the West Indies, where we took the islands of Guadaloupe, Deseada, and Marigalante, could have borne Pitt above the indignation caused by these every way ill-conceived and mischievous expeditions.

In Germany, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, after driving the French out of Hanover, had followed them across the Rhine this spring, and on the 23rd of June defeated them at Crefeld, with a slaughter of six thousand men. He then took Düsseldorff; but the French court recalling the incapable Clermont, and sending marshal De Contades with fresh forces against him, and prince Soubise defeating the Hessians, he was obliged to fall back into Westphalia, where he was joined by the duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville with the English auxiliaries, but too late to effect anything further. Shortly after the duke of Marlborough died suddenly, under strong suspicions of having been poisoned.

Frederick of Prussia, meantime, had been beset by Austrians, Russians, and French, and had never been able to retire to winter quarters. He had continued to blockade Schweidnitz amid frost and snow, and having reduced it, at the very first symptoms of spring he suddenly burst into Moravia, and invested Olmütz, its capital. There he had to contend with the able and cautious marshal Daun, the Fabius of Austria, and general Laudohn, nearly as efficient. Laudohn managed to seize three thousand wagons. bringing from Silesia supplies for Frederick; and, whilst the king was in this state of destitution for food even for his army, a hundred thousand Russians, under general Fermor, were marching steadily on Berlin. They had taken Königsberg, laid waste the whole country beyond the Vistula, and then pushed on for the Oder. They had arrived before Custrin, only a few marches from Berlin, having tracked their way with all the barbarities of their ancestors the Scythians, when Frederick, leaving his brother, prince Henry, to keep Daun and Laudohn in check before Olmütz, marched against them. A terrible battle took place on the plain of Zorndorff, near Custrin, in which neither Prussians nor Russians gave quarter, and which lasted from nine in the morning till seven at night. Twenty thousand Russians were left killed or wounded on the field, and eleven thousand Prussians. The Russians retired with reluctance, and did not wholly evacuate the Prussian territory till the end of October. But Frederick himself, long before that time, had been compelled to hurry back to the support of his brother Henry, whom Daun had driven back into Saxony. He fixed his camp at Hochkirchen, near Bautzen, close to to the Bohemian lines. His position there was so exposed, that marshal Keith warned him of his danger, saying, "If the Austrians leave us alone here, they will deserve to be hanged;" to which Frederick replied only with one of his jests—"I hope they are more afraid of us than of the gallows." But a few mornings after, before daybreak, Daun and Laudohn burst into his camp by a combined movement, and threw the whole into confusion before the troops could muster. When Frederick awoke at the uproar and rushed from his tent, all around was one fearful scene of slaughter and flight. One of the first to fall, in endeavouring to rally his forces, was the brave Scotchman, marshal Keith, who had warned him in vain. The loss of Keith was more than the loss of some thousands of ordinary men. But the loss and slaughter were great enough besides. Nine thousand men were butchered, a hundred cannon and twenty-eight standards were taken. The news of this defeat of the generally victorious Prussians threw the court of Vienna into ecstacies. for they thought that Frederick was ruined; and so he might have been had Daun been as alert to follow him up as he had been successful in surprising him. But Daun was naturally slow; a very few days sufficed for Frederick to collect fresh forces around him, and he suddenly darted away into Silesia, saying, with a sarcastic smile, "Daun did not know how to play his cards." There he raised the siege of Neisse, which was invested by another division of the Austrian army; then, falling back on Dresden, threatened by Daun, he drove him back, and, marching to Breslau, fixed there his winter quarters.

Parliament met on the 23rd of November, when thanks were voted for Boscawen and Amherst; and Pitt, justly elated by the success of his policy in America and the Indies, as well as by the recent exploits of our ally, the king of Prussia, was more loud in demanding the vigorous continuance of martial measures than he had been in denouncing them. He defied any man to object to his plans; he exclaimed, in the midst of an extraordinary speech advocating these subsidies and German wars, which he had risen into popularity by opposing, "Is there an Austrian amongst you? let him stand forth and reveal himself!" He and Newcastle had now become reconciled, and not a voice except that of a Mr. Vyner was raised in dissent. The Prussian subsidy of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds was, as usual, voted; ninety-five thousand British troops and seven thousand foreigners were sanctioned, and twelve millions of money to pay for them, which in the course of the year was exceeded by half a million, making the total expenditure of 1759 no less than twelve million five hundred and three thousand, five hundred and sixty-four pounds—a sum hitherto unexampled.

Amongst the minor events of the year were the deaths of the king's eldest daughter, the princess Anne, dowager princess of Orange; and of lady Elizabeth, second daughter of the prince of Wales. Three days before the commencement of the year had also died the king's third daughter, Caroline, who had been for many years a great invalid, from which cause, probably, she was much distinguished for her kindness to the suffering, on whom she spent her whole income, particularly on those in the gaols, who were ignorant of who was their benefactress till after her death.

During this year, too, Dr. Shebbeare was set in the pillory for violent libels on the government; and Dr. Florence Hensey, an indigent physician, was condemned to death as a traitor, by acting as a spy for the French, but was pardoned on condition that he quitted England for ever.

The year 1759 was ushered in with demands for new taxes for the support of our armaments in all quarters of the world. Duties were laid on sugar and on dry goods. Yet, much as we were spending, England showed no signs of exhaustion, whilst France was reduced to the most miserable condition. The indolent Louis XV. had at once embarked in the most ambitious wars, whilst he left both France and her armies to be governed and appointed by his mistress, Madame Pampadour, who sold places and appointed generals and admirals at her pleasure. The consequence was, that defeat followed upon defeat, disgrace upon disgrace. All public spirit was extinguished by favour and money stopping the way of merit, and the country was reduced to actual bankruptcy. Three times the government had been compelled to suspend the payment of orders on the treasury, and of the interest due on capital invested in the funds. The king, the princes of the blood, and the principal nobles, were obliged to send their plate to be melted down at the Mint for coin. An English wag inserted Louis XV. in a list of bankrupts in a newspaper, as "Louis le Petit, of the city of Paris, peacebreaker, dealer, and chapman." On the contrary, Pitt, by his own spirit, and by selecting brave and able men, had infused such ardour into our service, that our officers no longer seemed the same men. Still, France, stung by the reverses and insults which we had heaped on her, but especially by our ravages of her coast, contemplated a retaliatory descent on ours. Gun-boats were accumulated at Havre and other ports, and fleets were kept ready at Toulon and Brest, as well as a squadron at Dunkirk, under admiral Thurot, a brave seaman. The king sent a message to the commons, demanding the calling out of the militia, and the twenty-four thousand French prisoners which had been left in great destitution by their own government in our hands, were marched into the interior of the country. In July admiral Rodney anchored in the roads of Havre, bombarded the town, set it on fire in several places, and destroyed many of the gunboats. In August the Toulon fleet, commanded by admiral Clue, on its way to operate against our coast, was pursued by Boscawen, who was recently returned from America, overtaken off Lagos, in Algarve, where Clue was mortally wounded, and his ship—reckoned the finest in the French navy—and three others taken, whilst a fifth was run aground and burnt. At the same time an English squadron blockaded Thurot, in Dunkirk, and another, under Hawke, blockaded Brest.

The enemy's fleets being thus destroyed or shut up, Pitt determined on his great enterprise, the conquest of Canada. The idea was worthy of his genius. His feeble predecessors had suffered the French from this neighbouring colony to aspire to the conquest of our North American territory. They had built strong forts on the lakes and down the valley of the Ohio, to connect them with the Mississippi, and then to drive us out of the whole country. Had not Pitt come into office they would, in all likelihood, have succeeded. We have seen how all the efforts of the English to take these forts under the imbecile administration of Newcastle and his aristocratic colleagues had dismally failed. The story of Braddock will remain to all time a testimony to the wretched management under a purely aristocratic cabinet. But Pitt —in contempt called by these feeble magnates "the great commoner"—had already commenced the driving in of the French outposts, and he now planned the complete expulsion of that nation from their advanced posts and from Canada itself. His scheme had three parts, which were all to concentrate themselves into one great effort—the taking of Quebec, the capital. It was a daring enterprise, for Canada was ably governed and defended by marshal de Montcalm, a man of great military experience and talent, and highly esteemed for his noble character by the colonists and the Indians, vast tribes of whom he had won over to his interest by his courtesy and conciliatory manner, whilst the English had as much disgusted them by their haughty surliness. But Pitt had picked his men for the occasion, and especially for the grand *coup-de-main*, the taking of Quebec. He formed his whole plan himself, and though it was not perfect, and was greatly criticised by military men, it succeeded, though not in effecting the combination which he contemplated, yet in all its parts.

The left of his operations was intrusted to general Prideaux with a body of colonial militia, and Sir William Johnson with another of friendly Indians, over whom he had a wonderful ascendancy. This united force was to march against the fort of Niagara, reduce it, and then, crossing lake Ontario, advance on Montreal. The centre of his operations was intrusted to general Amherst, who superseded Abercrombie. With twelve thousand men he was again to attempt Ticonderoga, open the navigation of Lake Champlain, and then, joining Prideaux and Johnson at Montreal, descend the St. Lawrence to support Wolfe, who was to be conveyed by sea to the St. Lawrence, and to prepare for the storming of Quebec, it being hoped that, by the time of his arrival, the two other divisions of the army would have come up.

In pursuance of this plan of the campaign, Prideaux and Johnson arrived before the fort of Niagara in the middle of July, which they found very strong, and garrisoned by six hundred men. Prideaux was soon killed by the bursting of a shell, but Johnson continued the siege with great ability, having to invest the fort on one hand, whilst he was menaced on the other by a mixed body of French and Indians, one thousand seven hundred in number, who came to relieve the fort. The attack upon him commenced with a terrible war-whoop of the Indians, which, mingling with the roar of the great cataract near, made the most horrible din imaginable. But this did not disconcert the English and their savage allies, who received them with such steady courage, that in less than an hour they were put to the rout in sight of their own garrison, and pursued for five miles with dreadful slaughter. The garrison thereupon capitulated, remaining prisoners of war. There, however, Sir William Johnson's career stopped. From various causes, not foreseen, he was not able to advance beyond the Ontario to unite with Amherst. That general had fully succeeded in taking Ticonderoga and Crown Point, but he found the French so strongly posted on the Isle aux Noir, at the upper end of Lake Champlain, that he was compelled to stop and build boats to enable his army to reach and dislodge them ; and it was not till October that he was ready to proceed, when he was driven back repeatedly by tempests, and compelled to go into winter quarters.

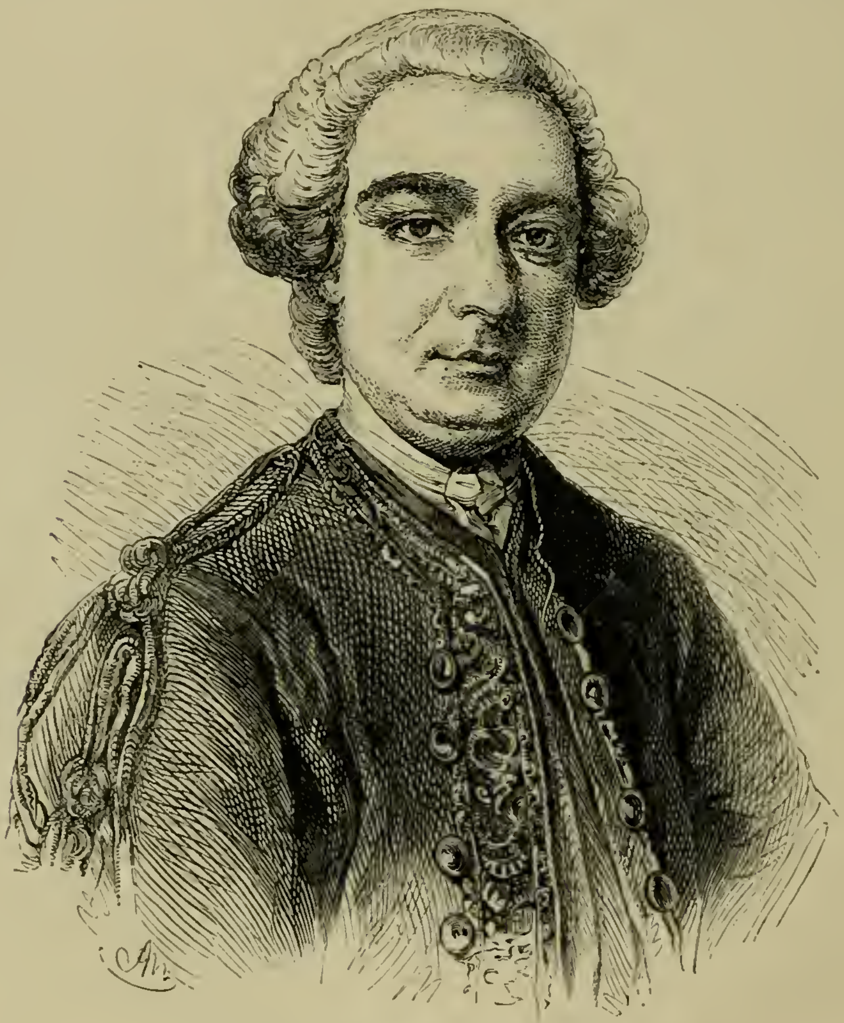
Wolfe, meantime, had reached the St. Lawrence in June, on board a fleet commanded by admiral Saunders. The navigation of that river was considered very dangerous, but in ascending they captured two small storeships, and found on board some excellent charts of the river, which enabled the admiral to ascend safely. On the 27th of June the army was landed on the Isle of Orleans, in the middle of the St. Lawrence, in front of Quebec.

The Canadas, now become so populous, and carrying on so valuable a commerce with the mother-country, at that period contained only about sixty thousand souls, Quebec about seven thousand. But the city occupied a most formidable site. It stands on a steep and rocky promontory running into the left bank of the St. Lawrence, about a hundred leagues from its mouth, and where the river, from a breadth of from twelve to twenty miles, rapidly narrows to about one mile. The city is partly built on the rocky heights, part on the slopes below. Up the river from the city rose still higher and almost inaccessible steeps, called the Heights of Abraham, and, on the other hand, the side of the city down the stream was bounded by the river St. Charles, which there runs into the St. Lawrence. The stretch of ground betwixt the St. Charles and the stream of Montmorenci, some miles lower, called Beauport, was connected by a bridge with Quebec. On this ground Montcalm had encamped his army, as the most accessible side of the city, consisting altogether of ten thousand French, Canadians, and Indians.

Such were the place and opponent which Wolfe was to compete with and to conquer, if possible. Wolfe was then in his thirty-third year, but he had already had a considerable military experience. He entered the army at fourteen years of age, was in the battle of Dettingen when only sixteen, in that of Fontenoy at nineteen, and in that of Lauffeld at twenty-one. He was afterwards at the conquest of Cape Breton, and had everywhere distinguished himself by his martial energy and enthusiasm. He was a lieutenant-colonel at twenty-two, and was fixed upon by Pitt as the man for a dashing and difficult enterprise. All his soul was in his profession, and his only fault was that of being likely to forget the security of his person in his ardour for victory. No news of Amherst or of Johnson had reached him; yet Wolfe, though he had only eight thousand men, and many of these now become unfit for service from disease on the voyage, determined to attack the enemy. He made his camp on the point of the isle of Orleans nearest to the city, and on the 29th of June dispatched brigadier Monckton to take possession of Point Levis, on the right bank of the river, also facing the city. The view of the town, with its bishop's palace, its cathedral, and the castle of St. Louis crowning the summit of the hill, was defiant with its strong fortifications; but the defences of Nature were still more imposing. The reflection which Wolfe made as he gazed upon it was, that it was "the strongest country in the world, perhaps, to rest the defence of the town and colony upon."

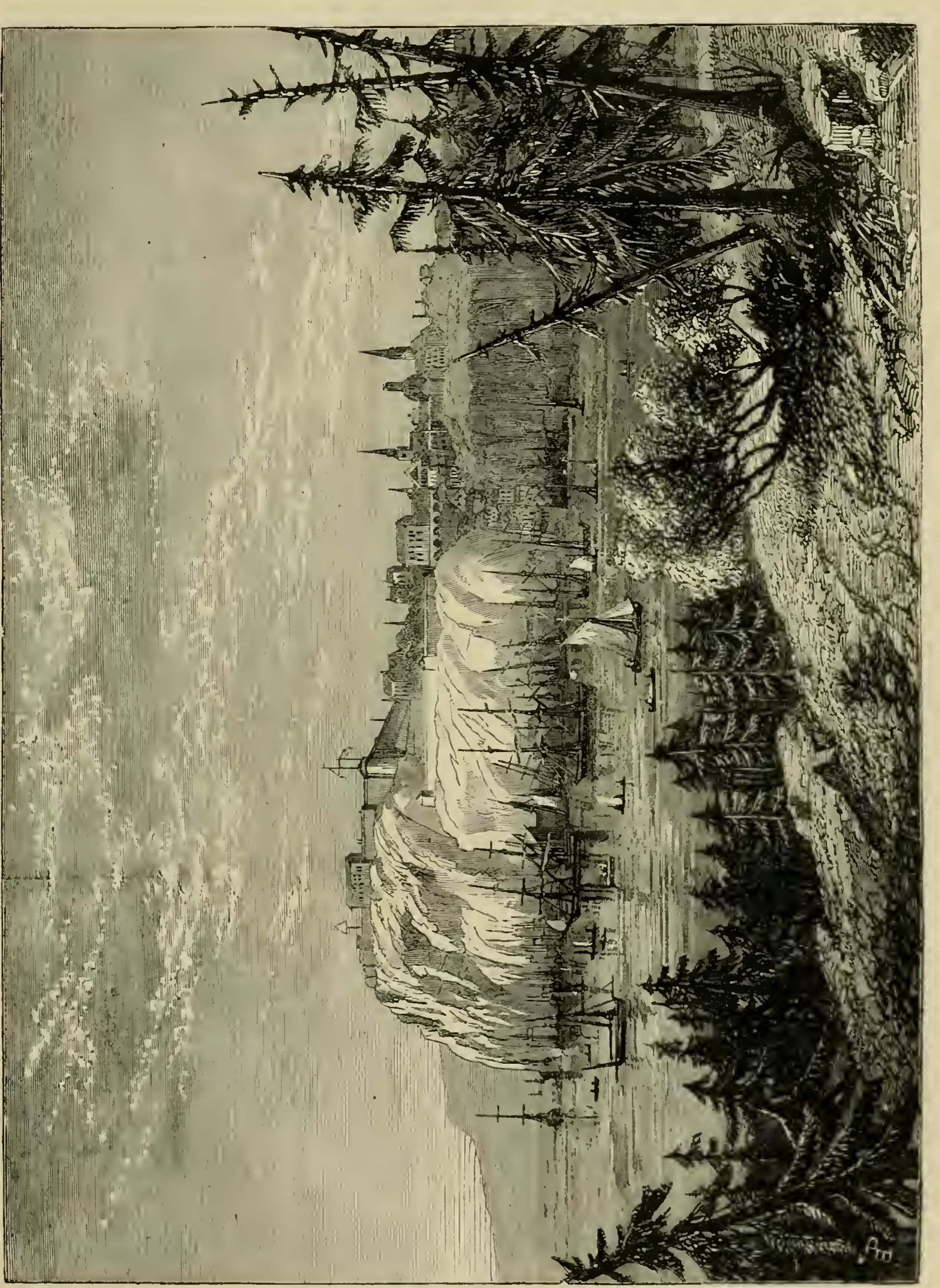
Wolfe endeavoured to conciliate the natives and the colonists around by issuing a proclamation that their persons and property should be safe so long as they took no share in the war; but this had no effect, for the colonists, old and young, concealed in the woods, destroyed every straggler that they could. He therefore ordered every farmhouse and hut, and even the standing corn all round his camp, to be set fire to, that they might not conceal these inveterate enemies. But a storm setting in which drove the ships from their anchors, and the transports one upon another, advantage was taken of it by Montcalm to send down in the night fire-ships, which came blazing down the river, and taking their course direct for our shipping, threatened its utter destruction. But the sailors, fearlessly entering their boats, boarded these fire-ships, secured them with chains, and towed them to the side of the island, where they burned to the water's edge without doing any mischief. These having failed, a number of rafts piled with burning timber were sent down after them, and were treated the same.

Wolfe raised batteries at Levis Point and on the island, and bombarded the town, but he could not draw the wary Montcalm from his strong position. In his front lay the river and some unapproachable sandbanks, behind and around him rocks and dense woods inaccessible. Once only he made a rush across the river, and endeavoured, with a detachment of one thousand six hundred men, to gain the batteries on Point Levis; but his troops soon saw the attempt to be hopeless, and retired. No measures were neglected by Wolfe, on his part, to draw Montcalm from his position. He marched along the banks of the Montmorenci opposite to him, and made feints as if he would cross it somewhere above him, but to no purpose—Montcalm knew his advantage. Wolfe wrote home, that if Montcalm had but shut himself up in Quebec, he could have taken the town very easily, but he could not readily force him from his admirable position. Growing at length impatient, he determined to attack him where he was, and he dispatched admiral Holmes up the river with a number of transports, as though he contemplated something in that quarter. He then landed, on the 31st of July, a body of troops near the mouth of the Montmorenci, which there falls three hundred feet into the St. Lawrence. He had discovered a ford at some distance up the river, and dispatched brigadier Townshend to cross there and attack Montcalm in flank, whilst he himself, by means of the ships and their boats, gained the beach and attacked in front. The "Centurion" man-of-war was placed to engage a battery which swept the place of landing, and then the troops were conveyed in boats, which drew little water, towards the shore. Some of these, however, got entangled amongst some rocks, and created a delay in getting them off. By this time the French were hurrying down towards the landing-place with their artillery, and began to fire murderously from the banks above upon them. Wolfe, seeing that Townshend would cross the ford before they were ready to co-operate, sent an officer to recall him. At this time, the grenadiers having reached the beach, rushed forward upon the intrenchments before the rest of the troops could be got out of the boats to support them. They were met by such a destructive fire that they were compelled to fall back with much slaughter. By this time night was setting in, attended by a storm, the roaring of which, mingling with the roar of the mighty St. Lawrence as the tide fell, seemed to warn them to recover their camp. The word was given to recross the river, and they made good their retreat without the French attempting to pursue them, though the Indians lurked in the rear to scalp such of the dead and such of the wounded as could not be brought off.



GENERAL WOLFE. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

This check, attended with considerable loss, greatly dispirited the troops, and threw the general into a condition



VIEW OF THE CITY OF QUEBEC, CANADA.

of deep anxiety. The evening before his embarking for this expedition, Wolfe had dined with Pitt and lord Temple, when, giving way to one of his fits of enthusiasm, he drew his sword, struck the table with it, and, walking violently about the room, had boasted what he would do when he once got to Canada. Pitt was struck with terror, and the moment that Wolfe was gone he had exclaimed, "Good God! that I should have trusted the fate of the country and of the administration to such hands!" Probably Wolfe might ponder on his boast now that he lay baffled in his camp, his forces having shrunk, from illness and death, to little more than three thousand six hundred effective men. Agonisingly did he listen for tidings of the approach of Amherst and Johnson. He learned that Niagara and Ticonderoga had fallen, but no news of the army's advance reached him. His intense anxiety at length threw him into a violent fever, and, as soon as he recovered in some degree from it, he called on the admiral and the chief engineer to assist him in inspecting, as nearly as they could, the defences of the city, to see whether an assault was by any means practicable. The depressing conclusion was, that it would be hopeless. He then held a council with his two next in command, the brigadiers Monckton and Townshend, and they resolved, as a desperate attempt, to move up the river, and thus endeavour to draw Montcalm from his unassailable position. Accordingly, leaving detachments to defend the isle of Orleans and Point Levis, the rest of the army ascended the St. Lawrence for some miles, and pitched their camp on the right bank. To attract still more attention, admiral Holmes was ordered to put his vessels in active motion for some days, as if seeking a landing-place higher up the river. This stratagem, however, produced no other result than that of Montcalm sending a detachment of one thousand five hundred men to watch their proceedings. He himself maintained his old ground.

Completely disheartened by this result, Wolfe for a moment felt despair of his object, and in that despairing mood, on the 9th of September, he wrote to Pitt. He said that, "to the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy had added, for the defence of the river, a great number of floating batteries and boats; that the vigilance of the Indians had prevented their effecting anything by surprise; that he had had a choice of difficulties, and felt at a loss how to proceed; and he concluded with the remark, that his constitution was entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the state, or without any prospect of it."

This was very different language from what Pitt had hoped to hear from Wolfe, and he must have recurred with horror to the last scene in the dining-room. When the news got abroad, the public was excited by anger and consternation, and there was a general expectation that the next news would be that the army had been destroyed, or had capitulated.

But the despondency of Wolfe was but for a moment. Suddenly a new idea—an inspiration, it seemed—burst upon him: he would scale the Heights of Abraham—the point where no mortal ascent was dreamed of, and which therefore was less defended, except by nature, than the rest of the vicinity of the city. The ships were immediately ordered to make a feint, under admiral Saunders, opposite Montcalm's camp at Beauport, and those under Holmes, at a point higher up the river. Attention being thus drawn from himself, on the night of the 13th of September, when it was pitch dark and the tide flowing, he put across the river to a small inlet about two miles above Quebec, which ever since bears the name of Wolfe's Cove. As they crossed in silence, Wolfe repeated in low tones to the officers in the boat with him some stanzas of Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," including words which had a prophetic sentiment in them—"The paths of glory lead but to the grave;" and he declared that he would rather have written that poem than take Quebec.

They succeeded in landing unobserved by any of the sentinels posted along the shore, where they had to wait for the boats fetching over the second detachment, there not being boats enough. Before this arrived they began to climb the rocks by a narrow track, so steep and rugged that they could only ascend by clinging to the bushes and projecting crags. Directly above their heads was a watch-post of a captain and a hundred and fifty men. There, as they drew near the summit, colonel Howe—a brother of lord Howe, who fell at Ticonderoga—leading the van, the watch became aware of a noise, and fired down the rocks, directed by the sound. The English soldiers imprudently returned the volley upwards, instead of reserving it for their gaining the ascent. They continued their scramble up, however, with redoubled ardour, and the French, on their sudden appearance, panic-struck, fled. The captain was wounded and seized, and begged the English officers to give him a certificate of his bravery, otherwise he declared he should be shot. The second detachment soon followed them, and the whole little army stood on the heights above the town before the break of day.

When Montcalm was informed of this wonderful fact, he thought it merely some new feint to draw him from his lines; but when he had ascertained with his own eyes the truth, he said, "I see them, indeed, where they ought not to be; but, as we must fight, I shall crush them." He immediately led his troops over the bridge of the St. Charles, and up to the eminence above the town. There he found the English already advanced in order of battle to within cannon-shot of Quebec. Wolfe had drawn them up with much judgment. His left wing was formed in what military men call *en potence*, that is, facing two ways, so as to guard against being outflanked. In this wing, too, he had placed a regiment of Highlanders, one of those which Pitt had formed, and which had already shown its bravery. On this occasion they had been the first to scale the precipice, and, climbing like cats or monkeys, by seizing rocks and bushes, had greatly encouraged the rest. His right, extending towards the St. Lawrence, had in the van the grenadiers who had distinguished themselves at the taking of Louisburg, supported by a regiment of the line. Wolfe had taken his post on this wing. The sailors had managed to drag up one cannon, and they had seized four other small guns at the battery they had passed; that was all their artillery. But in this respect Montcalm was no better off, for in his haste he had only brought along with him two guns. He had ordered a cloud of Indians to hover on the left of the English, and had lined the thickets and copses with one thousand five hundred of his best marksmen. These concealed skirmishers fired on the advancing picquets of the English with such effect, that they fell back in confusion; but Wolfe hastened forward, encouraged them to dash on, and ordered the first line to reserve their fire till within forty yards of the enemy. The men well obeyed the order, and marched briskly on without firing a shot, whilst the French came hurrying forward, firing as they came. They killed many of the English, but, as soon as these came within the forty yards' distance, they poured so steady and well-directed a volley into the enemy as did dreadful execution. Wolfe, with his characteristic enthusiasm, was in the front line, encouraging them by voice and action, and in less than half an hour the French ranks broke, and many began to fly. Meantime Wolfe, exposing himself to the very hottest fire, had been wounded in the wrist by nearly the first discharge; and he had scarcely wrapped his handkerchief around it, when another bullet hit him in the groin. Still appearing to pay no attention to these serious wounds, he was in the act of inciting his men to fresh efforts, when a ball pierced his chest, and he fell. He was carried to the rear, and, whilst he seemed to be in the very agony of death, one of those around him cried, "See how they run!" "Who run?" exclaimed Wolfe, raising himself, with sudden energy, on his elbow. "The enemy," replied the officer; "they give way in all directions." "God be praised!" ejaculated Wolfe; "I die happy!" and, falling back, he expired. Nearly at the same moment brigadier Monckton was severely wounded, and brigadier Townshend took the command, and completed the victory. Montcalm, also, had fallen. He was struck by a musket-ball whilst endeavouring to rally his men, and was carried into the city, where he died the next day. When told that he could not live—"So much the better," replied this brave and able man; "I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec." His second in command was also mortally wounded, and being taken on board the English ships, also died the next day. Of the French, one thousand five hundred had fallen, and six hundred and forty of the English. On the 18th September, five days after the battle, the city capitulated, the garrison marching out with the honours of war, and under engagement to be conveyed to the nearest French port. Other fragments of the defeated army retired to Montreal.

Whilst the people of England were awaiting, in gloomy anticipation, the news of our discomfiture in Canada, in three days after Wolfe's desponding letter came the news of his victory and his death, with the assurance that the capital of Canada was in our hands, and, in effect, that that great colony was our own. The effect may be conceived. Astonishment, sorrow, and rejoicing were wonderfully mingled; mourning was worn by all classes for the fallen conqueror. His remains were soon after received with the highest honours, and laid by those of his father in the parish church of Greenwich. A monument in Westminster Abbey was proposed for him by Pitt, and unanimously voted by the commons. Since then, at the suggestion of lord Dalhousie, the people of Quebec, who are a mixture of French and English, have raised an obelisk in the government gardens of that city, bearing the names of both Wolfe and Montcalm. There also stands a small column on the Heights of Abraham, marking the spot where Wolfe fell.

Whilst this glorious news came from the west, from the east kept coming tidings equally stirring. In India colonel Coote, afterwards famous as Sir Eyre Coote, defeated the French under Lally, and made himself master of all Arcot. General Ford defeated the marquis de Conflans, and took Masulipatam, and afterwards defeated a detachment of Dutch, which had landed from Java to aid our enemies in Bengal. Ford completely routed them, and took the seven ships which had brought them over, and which lay in the Hooghley.

At sea, Sir Edward Hawke attacked the French fleet under admiral Conflans at the mouth of the Vilaine in Quiberon Bay. The situation, amid rocks and shoals, and with a sea running high, so late in the year as the 20th of November, was most perilous, but Hawke scorned all danger, attacked the French fleet close under their own shores, took two men-of-war, sunk four more, including the admiral's ship, the "Soleil Royal," and caused the rest, more or less damaged, to take refuge up the river. Two of our own vessels were stranded in the night, but their crews and stores were saved. For this brilliant action, which crippled the French navy for the remainder of the war, Hawke was thanked by parliament, received from the king a pension of one thousand five hundred pounds a-year for his own and his son's life, and, in the next reign, was raised to the peerage. Thurot, meantime, had escaped out of Dunkirk. but with only five ships, which kept out of the way by seeking shelter in the ports of Sweden and Norway.

In Germany, Frederick of Prussia was hard put to it. A fresh army of Russians, under general Soltikow, advanced to the Oder, and another army of Austrians, under Laudohn, advanced to form a junction with them. To prevent this, Frederick sent general Wedel to encounter the Russians, but he was defeated by them on the 23rd of July, with heavy loss. Frederick himself then hastened against them, but, before his arrival, the Austrians had joined Soltikow, making a united force of sixty thousand, which Frederick attacked, on the 12th of August, with forty-eight thousand, at the village of Kunersdorff, close to Frankfort-on-the-Oder. At first, he was successful; but, attempting to push his advantages, he was completely beaten, the whole of his army being killed or scattered to three thousand men. So completely did his ruin now seem accomplished, that, expecting the Russians, Austrians, Poles, Swedes, and Saxons, to come down on him on all sides, he once more contemplated taking the poison that he still carried about him; wrote a letter to that effect to his prime minister, and directed the oath of allegiance to be taken to his nephew, and that his brother, prince Henry, should be regent; but finding that the Russians, who had lost twenty thousand men, were actually drawing off, he again took courage, was soon at the head of thirty thousand men, and with these was hastening to the relief of Dresden, when he was paralysed by the news that general Finck, with twelve thousand men, had suffered himself to be surrounded at Maxen, and compelled to surrender. Despairing of relieving Dresden during this campaign, Frederick eventually took up his winter quarters at Freyberg, in Saxony, and employed himself in raising and drilling fresh soldiers; compelled, however, to pay his way by debasing both the Prussian coin and the English gold, which he received in subsidy, by a very large alloy.

Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick was more successful. He was at the head of an army of fifty-five thousand men, including ten or twelve thousand English, under lord George Sackville. As the French bad taken Frankfort-on-the-Maine, he left the British and Hanoverian troops, amounting to twenty-eight thousand men, to watch the French, under marshal de Coutades, upon the Lippe, and set out to drive back the other divisions of the French, under De Broglie. He found these amount to thirty-five thousand strong, but ne did not hesitate to engage them at Bergen, on the Nidda, near Frankfort. After a hard-fought battle, he was defeated with a loss of two thousand men and five pieces of cannon. De Broglie pushed rapidly after him, formed a junction with Coutades, and speedily reduced Cassel, Munster, and Minden. There appeared every prospect of the whole electorate of Hanover being again overrun by them. The archives were once more sent off to Stade, ready for embarkation. But Ferdinand now displayed the superiority of his generalship. He left five thousand of his troops, with an air of carelessness, in the way of the French, who, unsuspicious of any stratagem, hastened forward to surprise them, when, to their astonishment, they found the whole of Ferdinand's army had been brought up in the night, and were drawn up behind a ridge near Minden. To approach Ferdinand's forces, they were obliged to pass a narrow ground betwixt a river and a marsh, and were so cramped that they committed the very error which cost them the battle of Blenheim. They placed the cavalry in the centre, and made wings of their infantry. The cavalry made a succession of furious charges on Ferdinand's centre, but this stood compact and immovable, till the French horse, being discouraged, the allies charged in their turn, and the centre of the army, the cavalry, being thus driven back, the whole line gave way.

At this moment, Ferdinand sent orders to lord George Sackville to charge with the cavalry, which had been kept in reserve, and thus complete the destruction of the flying French. But lord George, who had at St. Malo been charged with cowardice, and who had been constantly quarrelling with Ferdinand, as well as his own second in command, the marquis of Granby, now, like lord Lucan since at Balaklava, did not appear to comprehend the order, and sate still. Ferdinand had sent first captain Wintzingerode, whom he possibly did not fully understand; but he then dispatched to him captain Ligonier to order him to charge with the cavalry. Instead of obeying, he declared the orders contradictory, for colonel Fitzroy now rode up ordering him to advance with the *British* cavalry. Ligonier said, "They disagree in numbers only: the order is the same—to advance," and Fitzroy added, "My orders are positive; the French are in disorder! Here is a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves!" Colonel Sloper, who heard the words, said to Ligonier, "For God's sake, repeat your orders to that man, that he may not pretend not to understand them, for it is near half an hour ago that he has received orders to advance, and yet we are here still; but you see the condition he is in!" But all was in vain; lord George exclaimed, "Surely his highness does not mean me to break the line; I will ride to the prince himself." But Ferdinand, having lost patience, sent word to the marquis of Granby to advance, and he promptly obeyed, but it was now too late; the French had got half an hour's start. Thus the English cavalry was deprived of all share in the victory; but the English foot had borne the chief brunt of the attack, being in the centre. Six British regiments, in fact, for a time maintained the whole shock of the French.

On the same day Ferdinand's nephew, the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who was also nephew of Frederick of Prussia, defeated the duke de Brissac, who was posted to keep open the French communication with Hervorden, so that, the passes being closed, the French were compelled to retreat to Frankfort again, where they took up their winter quarters; but Cassel, Munster, and Marburg were again cleared of them, nor would they have remained in quiet at Frankfort, but that Ferdinand was obliged to send the hereditary prince with strong reinforcements to Frederick after the defeat of Kunersdorff, and the surrender at Maxen. The rejoicings in England over the victory of Minden were great. George sent prince Ferdinand twenty thousand pounds, which, however, he took care to charge to the house of commons, and settled on him a pension of two thousand pounds a year. Frederick repaid him in a cheaper manner—by an indifferent ode in French.

As for lord George Sackville, he was so indignant at the pointed manner in which prince Frederick noticed his disgraceful conduct in his general orders, thanking Granby for his prompt advance, adding the assurance that, had he been at the head of the cavalry, the result would have been very different, and warning all his generals to obey instantly all orders brought by his aides-de-camp, that he demanded leave from home to resign and return to England. These requests were immediately complied with, and on arrival he called for a court-martial, which was granted. On this occasion, like Byng, he was as haughty and overbearing as he had been backward in the battle. He browbeat the witnesses and insulted his judges, so that Horace Walpole observed, had he been for an instant as resolute at Minden, his character had been established for ever. After a patient hearing of evidence on both sides, the court-martial decided that lord George had been guilty of disobeying the orders of his commander-in-chief, and was unfit to serve his majesty in any capacity whatever. Fortunately for lord George, as for some aristocratic officers of our time, if he did not immediately become promoted for his bad conduct, he did in the next reign, for to have incurred the censure of George II. was the direct road to the regard of George III.

On the 10th of August of this year died Ferdinand VI. of Spain. He was a well-meaning but weak monarch. The death of his queen, Barbara of Portugal, who had kept him firm to the English alliance in the preceding August, preyed on his mind and hastened his own. He was succeeded by his half-brother, the king of Naples, who ascended the throne as Charles III., and his third son, Don Ferdinand, succeeded him as king of Naples under a regency. Charles was a man, like his predecessor, of no striking abilities, but of much justice and mildness; and during his reign he kept down the inquisition, abolished torture, and was a friend to literature, art, and general improvement. He banished the late king's minion, the singer Farinelli, and retained as minister general Wall, an Irishman, who had been Spanish ambassador in London.

The parliament of England met on the 13th of October. Pitt, not without cause, assumed much merit from the successes of the year; and, in truth, so far as military matters went, rarely had this country reaped such fame. We had triumphed in every quarter of the world. In January came the news of the capture of Goree; in June, of Guadaloupe; in August, that of the victory of Minden; in September, of the victory off Lagos; in October, of the conquest of Quebec; in November, of Hawke's victory off Quiberon. Horace Walpole said, "victories came so thick, that every morning we were obliged to ask what victory there was, for fear of missing one." At the same time, the condition of our commerce warranted the inscription afterwards placed on Chatham's monument in Guildhall, that he caused commerce to flourish with war. The spirit of one man, risen strong and fresh from the people, had infused life, valour, and enterprise into every department of the public service—a sufficient warning to England to put its public business not into the hands of mere aristocracy unused to business, but into those of men who make no pretensions to ancestry, but have real ones to talent. Frederick of Prussia said that England had at length produced a MAN, and the splendour of this man so completely eclipsed his aristocratic colleagues, that even the duke of Newcastle seemed forgotten, except by people hunting after favours. Pitt, indeed, had been forced to act in the teeth of all his previous life; in other words, he professed to have unlearned his errors, and now contended that the cheapest policy in the end was to push on expense, and bring wars to an early and brilliant close. He declared at the same time that all was owing to Providence, which loves to reward virtue; and truly he seemed to put a wonderful trust in Providence, when we regard the boldness with which he proposed and carried a vote for fifteen millions of pounds for the year's expenditure, for eighteen thousand militia, and including them, for one hundred and seventy-five thousand troops altogether in the British pay. He said in private, that some time ago he should have been contented to bring France to her knees, but now he would not rest till he had laid her on her back.

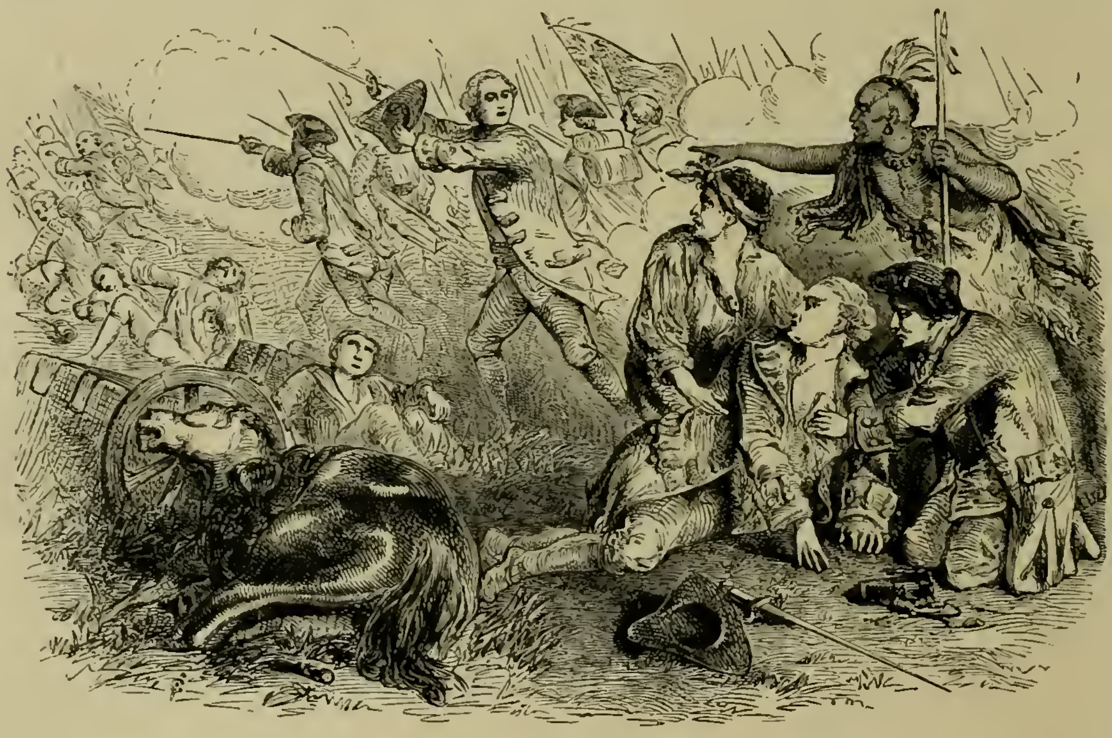
Almost the only jar in his administration was occasioned by the ambition of his brother-in-law, lord Temple, for the order of the garter. Pitt solicited for him, and grumbled in no mild terms when he was refused, saying, when next his reluctant steps carried him to the stairs of Kensington palace, and mixed him with the dust of the antechamber, perhaps he might learn, once for all, whether the king would still inexorably persist in refusing to him and his what he granted to all others. The king, however, who had lately conferred the title of earl on Temple, whose squab and awkward figure promised no great grace to the order, still refused him, and Temple resigned, the day after the meeting of parliament, the privy seal. He was persuaded, nevertheless, to resume it, and in the following February, there being three vacancies, his wishes were complied with, the other garters being conferred on prince Ferdinand and lord Rockingham.

During this session a bill passed both houses to prevent the frauds committed by members of parliament under the Qualification Act of queen Anne, obliging every candidate for a seat in the commons to show that he was worth six hundred pounds a year in land if for a county, and three hundred pounds if for a borough. This had been evaded by mere sham transfers of property, which were destroyed as soon as the member obtained his seat. By this bill, every member presenting himself to take his seat, was obliged to produce a schedule of his lands to the speaker of the house, explain his qualifications, and swear to the truth of them. Time, however, showed that the only effect of this bill was to increase the crime of perjury.

The earliest martial event of the year 1760 was the landing of Thurot, the French admiral, at Carrickfergus, on the 28th of February. He had been beating about in the stormy seas betwixt Scandinavia and Ireland till he had only three of his five ships remaining, and six hundred soldiers only. But Carrickfergus was most negligently garrisoned; Thurot made his way into the town and plundered it, but was soon obliged to abandon it, and was overtaken by captain Elliot and three frigates before he had got fairly out to sea, his ships taken, himself killed, and his men carried prisoners to Ramsay, in the Isle of Man.

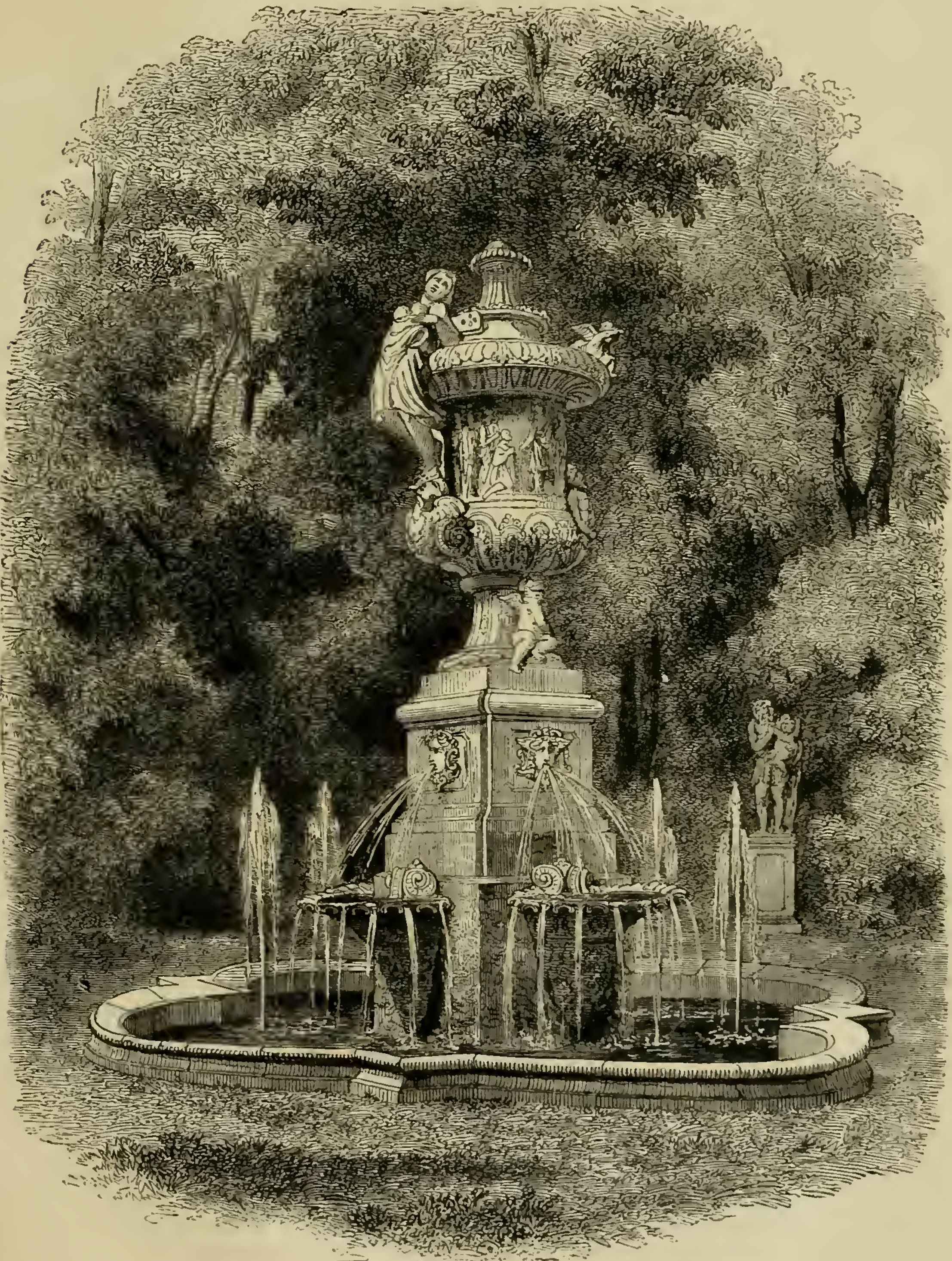
In April the French made an attempt to recover Quebec. Brigadier-general Murray had been left in command of the troops, six thousand in number, and the fleet had returned to England. The marquis de Vaudreuil, now the French governor at Montreal, formed a plan of dropping down the St. Lawrence the moment the ice broke up, and before the mouth of the river was clear for ships to ascend from England. He therefore held in readiness five thousand regular troops, and as many militia, and the moment the ice broke in April, though the ground was still covered with snow, he embarked them in ships and boats under the command of chevalier de Levis, an officer of reputation. On the 28th of that month they were within sight of Quebec. They had landed higher up than where Wolfe did, and were now at the village of Sillery, not far from Wolfe's place of ascent. Murray, who had only about three thousand men disposable for such a purpose, the rest having been reduced by sickness, or were needed to man the fortifications, yet ventured to march out against them. He was emulous of the fame of Wolfe, and attacked this overwhelming force with great impetuosity, but was soon compelled to retire into Quebec with the loss of one thousand men killed and wounded. This was a serious matter with their scanty garrison, considering the numbers of the enemy, and the uncertainty of the arrival of succour.

Levis, who knew that his success depended on forestalling any English arrivals, lost no time in throwing up trenches and preparing batteries. Had the river continued closed, Quebec must soon have reverted to the French; but, on the 11th of May, the English were rejoiced to see a frigate approaching, and this, only four days after, was followed by another frigate and a ship of the line. These, commanded by lord Colville, immediately attacked and destroyed or run on shore the French flotilla, and at that sight Levis struck his tents and decamped as rapidly as he had come, leaving behind him his baggage and artillery. Nor was the marquis de Vaudreuil left long undisturbed at Montreal. The three expeditions, which had failed to meet the preceding summer, were now ordered to converge on Montreal—Amherst from Lake Ontario, Haviland from Crown Point, and Murray from Quebec. Amherst had been detained at Oswego by an outbreak of the Cherokees against us. This native tribe had been friendly to us, and we had built a fort in their country, and called it Fort Loudon, after lord Loudon; but in the autumn of 1759 they had been bought over by the French, and made a terrible raid on our back settlements, murdering and scalping the defenceless inhabitants. Mr. Lyttleton, the governor of South Carolina, marched against them with a thousand men, and compelled them to submission; but no sooner had he retired than they recommenced their hostilities, and Amherst sent against them colonel Montgomery, with one thousand two hundred men, who made a merciless retaliation, plundering and burning their villages, so as to imprint a sufficient terror upon them.


DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE.

Amherst had now ten thousand men; and though he had to carry all his baggage and artillery over the Ontario in open boats, and to pass the rapids of the upper St. Lawrence, he made a most able and prosperous march, reducing the fort of Ile Royale on the way, and reached the isle of Montreal on the very same day as Murray, and a day before Haviland. Vaudreuil saw that resistance was hopeless, and capitulated on the 8th of September. The French were, according to contract, sent home, under engagement not to come against us during the remainder of the war. Besides this, lord Byron chased a squadron of three frigates, convoying twenty store-ships to Quebec, into the Bay of Chaleurs, and there destroyed them. Thus all the French possessions in North America, excepting the recent and feeble settlement of New Orleans, remained in our hands.

The war in Germany grew more and more bloody. Frederick of Prussia, in his winter quarters at Freyberg, seems to have ruminated gloomily on his situation. In his desperate conflict of five millions of people against ninety millions, he had certainly shown that he was a great military genius, but that was his only greatness. The whole of this bloody struggle had been produced by his unprincipled invasion of his neighbours' territories in order to enlarge his own; and, however human policy may endeavour to reconcile such conduct to the rules of Christian truth and morality by the mere phrases of "great talent," "martial glory," "expansive policy," and the like, these phrases do not any the more render robbery and murder for your own self-interest the less criminal and disgraceful; if they did, they would loosen all the bonds of society, and the man in private life who murdered his neighbour and seized his estate, would be worthy of our applause instead of the gallows. It is in vain that human ambition endeavours to disguise its truculence under the robes of a specious rhetoric—villany remains villany for ever. But Frederick was freed, or endeavoured to be so, from the bonds which Christians at once profess to wear, and yet ignore at their will and convenience. He laughed at all ideas of revealed religion, scoffed with Voltaire, who was his guest at Sans Souci, at the immortality of the soul, and persuaded himself that his battle of poison could



GARDENS OF THE ROYAL RESIDENCE AT POTSDAM.

reduce him to an equality with his dogs and horses, which he buried on the terrace of his garden at Potsdam, and ordered his own carcase, which he would fain think his only remains, to be laid beside them. Yet his theory of materialism did not render him any the more happy or cheerful. During this winter he wrote the most lugubrious letters, in which he seemed to have a lucid glimpse of his real life and character, which, however, produced no result beneficial to mankind. "Wretched fools that we are!" he says, "who have but a moment to live! we make that moment as painful as we can. We delight in destroying those masterpieces of industry which even time has spared. We seem resolved to leave a hateful memory of our ravages, and of all the calamities that we have caused!"

Yet how completely Frederick uttered this wisdom without any real appreciation of it we shall soon see at Dresden. In fact, he had reduced his whole kingdom, as well as those of his neighbours, to the most frightful condition. According to Archenholz, in his "History of the Seven Years' War," he had so drained his country of men, that he resorted to the swindling trick of offering commissions in his army to young men of all ranks all over Germany. His agents were everywhere making these engagements, and that in the form of written patents for the posts of lieutenants and captains; but when these young men, many of them of family and education, arrived at headquarters, they were unceremoniously made privates of, and, if they resisted, were cudgelled into obedience. By such means did his great kidnapper, colonel Coligny, and his assistants, entrap thirty thousand men. Besides these, not only were the poor peasantry dragged away to his bloody wars, but prisoners were treated the same. Without being asked whether they would become Prussian soldiers or not, they were forced to the standards, compelled to swear allegiance, and marched off to fight for Prussia and against their own countrymen! By such means was the kingdom of Prussia put together, and by such means Frederick earned the prostituted epithet of "Great!" The condition to which his people were reduced may be imagined; and when he came into the neighbouring countries he swept up everything before him, till, though before him might be a garden, behind him was literally a desert. On Mecklenburg and Saxony he levied the most rigorous assessments; from Leipsic alone, in this present year, he forced one million one hundred thousand dollars. He felled the woods of Saxony, and sold them to speculators for what he could get; he left all his civil officers unpaid, and only paid his army by the English subsidy of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds, and that after it and all other coin had been enormously adulterated.

Russia and Austria came down upon him this year with great forces. Daun entered Saxony, Laudohn and Soltikow, Silesia. Laudohn defeated Fouqué at Landshut, and took the fortress of Glatz, and compelled Frederick, though hard pressed by Daun, to march for Silesia. The month was July, the weather so hot that upwards of a hundred of his soldiers fell dead on the march. Daun followed him, watching his opportunity to fall upon him when engaged with other troops, but on the way Frederick heard of the defeat of Fouqué and the fall of Glatz, and suddenly turned back to reach Dresden before Daun, and take the city by storm; but as Daun was too expeditious for him, and Maguire, the governor, an Irishman, paid no heed to his demands for surrender, Frederick, who had lately been so beautifully philosophising on the inhumanities of men, commenced a most ferocious bombardment, not of the fortress but of the town. He burnt and laid waste all the suburbs, fired red-hot balls into the city to burn it all down, demolished the finest churches and houses, and crushed the innocent inhabitants in their flaming and falling dwellings, till crowds rushed from the place in desperation, rather facing his ruthless soldiers than the horrors of his bombardment. Such were the doings of this sentimental atheist, who had just before lamented over the "destruction of those masterpieces of industry which Time had spared," and that men "left a hateful memory of their ravages, and of all the calamities they caused!"

Prevented by the arrival of Daun from utterly destroying Dresden, though he had done enough to require thirty years of peace to restore, Frederick marched for Silesia. Laudohn, who was besieging Breslau, quitted it at his approach; but the Prussian king, who found himself surrounded by three armies, cut his way, on the 15th of August, at Liegnitz, through Laudohn's division, which he denominated merely "a scratch." He was instantly, however, called away to defend his own capital from a combined army of Russians under Todtleben, and of Austrians under Lacy, another Irishman; but before he could reach them they had forced an entrance, on the 9th of October. The Russians, in a most extraordinary departure from their usual custom of plunder, touched nothing, but levied a contribution of one million seven hundred thousand dollars on the city. Prince Esterhazy, who commanded at Potsdam, was equally honourable—how different to Frederick at Dresden!—but Lacy and his Austrians plundered the palaces of Charlottenburg and Schönhausen, and ravaged the suburbs. At Frederick's approach they withdrew.

But there was no rest for Frederick. Daun was overrunning Saxony; had reduced Leipsic, Wittenberg, and Torgau. Frederick marched against him, retook Leipsic, and came up with Daun at Torgau on the 3rd of November. There a most sanguinary battle took place, which lasted all day and late into the night. Within half an hour five thousand of Frederick's grenadiers, the pride of his army were killed by Daun's batteries of four hundred cannon. Frederick was himself disabled and carried into the rear, and altogether fourteen thousand Prussians were killed or wounded, and twenty thousand of the Austrians. It was a most revolting spectacle of butchery, many of the wounded being, moreover, stripped and left naked all night on the field in a severe frost. This scene of savage slaughter closed the campaign. The Austrians evacuated Saxony, with the exception of Dresden; the Russians repassed the Oder, and Frederick took up his winter quarters at Leipsic.

Prince Ferdinand this summer had to contend with numerous armies of the French. De Broglie marched from Frankfort into Hesse with a hundred thousand men. On the 10th of July they met the hereditary prince of Brunswick at Corbach, and defeated him, though he gained a decided advantage over them a few days after at Emsdorff, taking the commander of the division and five battalions prisoners. This was followed by Ferdinand himself, who was at Warburg, where he took ten pieces of artillery, killed one thousand five hundred of the French, and drove them into the Dimel, where many were drowned. The British cavalry had the greatest share in this victory. In fact, the marquis of Granby led them on all occasions with such spirit and bravery, that Ferdinand placed them continually in the post of danger—or, as it is termed, honour—where of course they suffered more severely than the other troops.

Notwithstanding these checks at Emsdorff and Warburg, the French obtained possession of Göttingen and Cassel. Ferdinand attempted, but in vain, to dislodge them from Göttingen, and the hereditary prince, attempting to surprise the marquis de Castries at Wesel, was repulsed with a loss of one thousand two hundred men at Closter-Campen, near that town, and was compelled to retreat. This closed the campaign, and the French took up their winter quarters at Göttingen and Cassel.

Whilst these things were happening, but two days before the mail arrived bringing the news of the defeat of Closter-Campen, and the surrender of Berlin, died George II. He had, till within about two years ago, enjoyed robust health. He had then a severe attack of gout, and from that time his eyes and hearing had failed. He complained that everybody seemed to have a black crape over their faces. On the morning of the 26th of October, he rose at his usual hour of six, drank his chocolate, inquired how the wind was, being anxious for the arrival of the mails, and then suddenly fell, uttered a groan, and expired. He had burst the right ventricle of the heart. He was about seventy-seven years of age. Since his ascension of the throne, England had been almost continually engaged in the wars of Germany, and had spent a vast amount of money and English blood for Germanic objects. Of late years, Pitt had won for the country far more valuable victories in India and America, and therefore, by a very common figure of speech, the poor old king, who would still have been in the hands of an imbecile and losing ministry of aristocrats if he could, died, according to Horace Walpole, "full of years and glory; without a pang, and without a reverse."

CHAPTER XIII.

PROGRESS OF THE NATION.

From the period at which we reviewed the state of the nation, namely, that of the revolution of 1688, to the present era, closing the reign of George II., the most striking feature of our history is the almost perpetual wars in which our countrymen were engaged. From the day that we received a continental monarch, we became involved in all, or nearly all, the quarrels of the continent. First, Dutch William engaged us in the defence of Holland, on the plea that we were not fighting for Holland, but only in the same cause as Holland, that of constitutional liberty, and still more for protestantism. France, a great catholic and despotic power, ambitious of extending her empire at the expense of Spanish, afterwards Austrian, Flanders, was considered to be identical with popery assaulting protestantism, though Spain and Austria were as much popish as France. As this fact was too palpable, another reason for engaging us in these wars, which virtually were for the defence of Holland, was the favourite idea of the balance of power. France, enlarged at the expense of Spain or Austria, after Austria inherited Flanders, was represented in most frightful colours, as a power which would domineer over the whole world—as if Austria and Spain united, and these, according to the fitful changes of politics, in alliance with France, would not be equally formidable. In fact, to prevent this very contingency, Dutch William was driven to most unjustifiable interference with the laws of nations, in what was called the Partition Treaty. The theories of William were inherited by queen Anne, and hence the great wars of her time. To Anne succeeded the Hanoverian monarchs, and thus we were engaged with first one power and then another for the defence of the little electorate of Hanover. For a long time we fought with Austria against France and Prussia, and then with Prussia against Austria and France. Amid all the pretences for these wars, nothing was so clear as that the true cause for which we fought was the defence of Holland, so long as we had a Dutch monarch, and then for the defence of Hanover, so long as we had a Hanoverian one. Nothing can be more certain than that, had we not had continental kings, we should have had no interest in continental wars, and that continental nations, compelled to take care of themselves, would have left the balance of power just where they had found it, and that we should have escaped an enormous expenditure of energies, and an equally enormous debt, which still remains, under which we suffer, and which we must inevitably hand down as an incubus on the energies of our posterity.

The question is whether, involved in all this foreign war—foreign to our interests and our necessities—we still made progress as a nation? It cannot be denied that we gained great *prestige* as a most brave and wealthy nation. The name of Marlborough became exalted above all the names of military commanders of modern times, and the valour of the British soldier as unparalleled; but to have purchased this at the cost of some hundreds of millions of money, and of some hundreds of thousands of lives, was a dear purchase. It is certain that we could have achieved an equal name on our own element of the ocean at a far less cost, and have acted as a friend and peacemaker amongst the conflicting nations. That we did make progress both in wealth, in national activity, and in colonial expansion, in spite of these monstrous wars, is sufficient proof that without them we should have made infinitely more. If the men and money which were buried on the reeking plains of Flanders—that great slaughter-house of Europe—had been employed in defending, and populating, and improving our great colonies of North America and the West Indies, how much more rapidly would our colonial commerce—that great source of our national power—have been developed!

As it was, with this mighty drawback, we made considerable progress in that direction. In 1704 admiral Rooke took and secured Gibraltar for us, which has given us such power and security in the Mediterranean, wonderfully promoting our commerce on the shores of that sea, and keeping open the shorter way to our Indian possessions. Under Georges I. and II. we took Guadaloupe—which we retained till 1810—St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and other West Indian Islands, from the French. Under the second George, we effectually planted the colony of Nova Scotia, by building Halifax in 1759, though we had won and lost that territory once or twice before. At the same time, we made the great conquest of Canada, and drove the encroaching French out of the whole of North America, with the exception of New Orleans. About the same time, we laid the foundations of our vast East Indian empire, through the victories of Clive, of Eyre Coote, the conqueror of Arcot, and other generals. We were also then making settlements on the Mosquito shore, in the Gulf of Mexico, and getting a firm foothold in the Bay of Honduras. We drove the French from many of their settlements in both the East and West Indies, North America, and on the African coast. These were proofs of the immense extension of our empire, which we might have accomplished in that direction so consonant to our naval habits, and so conducive to our commerce, had we thus employed our power instead of wasting it on the continental nations, from whom were never reaped anything but ingratitude, and who were always ready to fight against us the moment we ceased our subsidies. But whilst we were thus, through the misguidance of our monarchs, abusing our wealth and energies, we accomplished certain internal labours which became sources of immense strength, and, by the prosperity they gave birth to, enabled us to sustain, with comparative ease, the wonderful sacrifices that we endured for our continental neighbours; these were acts of union and peaceful policy. The first, and undoubtedly the fountain of all the rest, was the Revolution of 1688. This, accomplished through the medium of Dutch William, we may certainly place as a grand item in the balance against the mischiefs into which he afterwards led us. The revolution established our liberties on a firm and permanent basis, and stands a great monument of popular achievement, from which we date all the clear principles of our constitution—principles which are so deeply and jealously laid in the British heart, that no monarch or ministry can, spite of the wonderful patience of Englishmen, long infringe them with impunity. It is to purge our constitution of all the feculence of aristocratic selfishness and assumption, and bring our executive system to the plane of these great principles, that all our reforms and agitations for reform tend.

The next great act of internal peace and strength was the union with Scotland, effected in queen Anne's time. By this means a thousand causes of international jealousy and heart-burning were done away; invidious distinctions were obliterated; the whole people was taught to consider itself as one race; a great simplicity in the functions of government was introduced; and to the industrious and enterprising Scots a much wider field for their energies and ambition was opened in England, in its commerce and its colonies. They were no longer confined to their beautiful, but, to a great extent, barren country, but were free of the whole great empire. The revolution of 1745 tended to settle the Highlands, as the victories of Dutch William had settled Ireland; and though, in both countries, Ireland and the Highlands, a partial and severe regime was maintained, the way was opened for the broader sympathies which now operate towards these quarters of the empire; and the sons of those who had been the most violent opponents of the British government, became gradually the most valiant of the common defenders.

The influence of these auspicious events were, before the termination of the period under notice, obvious enough in the growth of our commerce, of our wealth, and our population. This growth, though at the present time it may appear inconsiderable, was a growth, notwithstanding the vast and violent exhaustion of our wars. During this period our exports had increased from an annual average value of three million five hundred thousand pounds to fourteen million seven hundred thousand pounds. Our colonies were already taking considerable quantities of our goods, and sending us in return, coffee, sugar, indigo, timber, rice, molasses, dye-woods, cocoa, spices, cotton, furs, copper, hides, tobacco, corn, flour, provisions, and many other articles, showing what the colonial trade would eventually grow to. The tonnage of the merchant navy, including foreign ships employed in our trade, showed also this steady growth. The tonnage of the merchant navy in 1697 amounted to two hundred and forty-four thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight tons; in 1760, the year of George II.'s death, to five hundred and seventy-three thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight; that of the royal navy, at the end of queen Anne's reign, was only one hundred and seventy thousand eight hundred and sixty tons; at the end of George II.'s reign it was three hundred and twenty-one thousand one hundred and four tons. The population at the time of the revolution of England and Wales was about five million four hundred thousand; at the end of George II.'s reign, notwithstanding the enormous drain for the wars, it was seven millions. The establishment of the Bank of England, established in king William's reign, was a great means of extending mercantile transactions, and, towards the end of this period, great improvements in agriculture, breed of cattle and sheep, horticulture, &c., were introduced. The reign of machinery was beginning. Watt, Arkwright, Hargrave, Crompton, and others, were engaged in preparing those machines which were to make such an amazing revolution in our manufacturing system. Brindley was making canals; Savary, Newman, and others were employing steam for draining and working our mines. The first silk mill was erected, and many other improvements were in progress for the manufacture of broad cloaths, cutlery, plated ware, glass, paper, &c. In short, that reign of steam and steam-driven machinery was commencing, the particulars of which we have to write under different heads of this review, and which was about to make England the great workshop of the world.

The progress of material improvement was marked and substantial; in the intellectual and moral phases it was not so satisfactory. In our literature there was more smartness and cleverness than creativeness or originality. There was a French style, a glaring deficiency of elevation of tone, or depth of religious feeling. The same low tone ran through the principles of government, through the spirit of parliament, and that of society. Education of the people was utterly neglected; drunkenness, especially in gin, was on the increase; and crime and the defective nature of our police regulations went hand-in-hand. England was materially, rather than spiritually, growing, both at the end of this period and for a long time after; but the dawn of a more encouraging era appeared in the birth of Methodism, which took place now.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS.

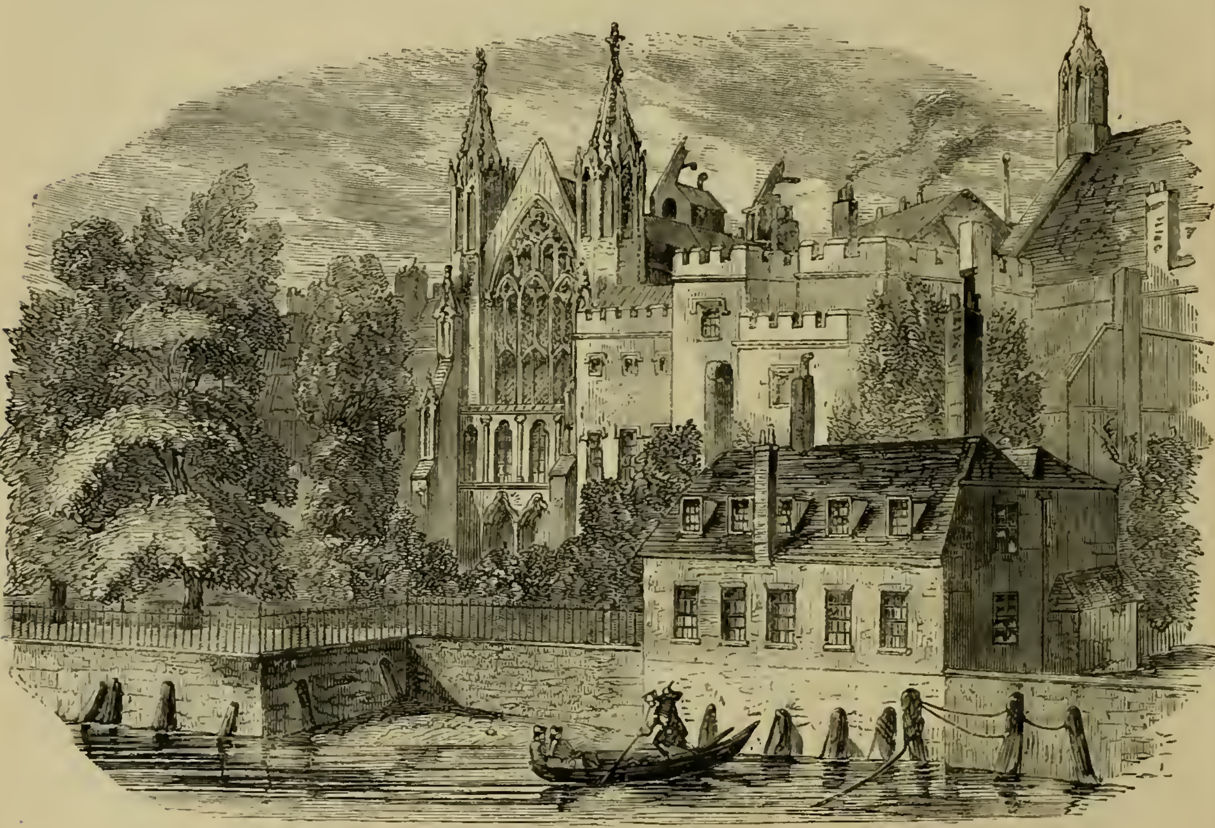
At the commencement of this period the greatest change in the constitution took place which it had ever undergone. The revolution of 1688, which introduced Dutch William.

introduced also the Act of Settlement, comprised in the Bill of Rights. This event was a far greater triumph for the people than the acquisition of Magna Charta. The people of this country had enjoyed charters from the Saxon times, which recognised those popular rights which were contained in the charter of king John. John having repudiated that charter as soon as granted, under a plea considered entirely valid by all nations and ages—namely, that it was obtained from him by coercion—it became consequently a dead letter. but the same popular liberties were again established by the charter obtained by the people under Hugh de Burgh and William de Collingham. This charter—which Blackstone very properly contends is our true charter—however, like all that went before it, left untouched the doctrine of "the right divine of kings to govern wrong." That doctrine remained in force till it was destroyed by the commonwealth, but was again introduced at the Restoration. At the revolution of 1688 it received its final death-blow from the pride of William of Orange, who refused to accept the crown as the hereditary right of his wife, and the whigs of that day were thus reluctantly compelled to recognise the doctrine, that all power resides in the people, and that kings have no right to reign except as conferred by them. In our history of that period we gave the whole particulars of this grand step in the establishment of constitutional liberty, but we may here with advantage advert briefly to its great principles.

The Bill of Rights, indeed, admits that William and Mary were, are, and, of right, ought to be liege lord and lady—king and queen of England; but then it declares them to become so by accepting the crown from the representatives of the people in parliament assembled. In no other sense could they be the rightful sovereigns, for James II., the rightful sovereign according to the principle of right divine, was still living; and though the act of parliament declared that he had "abdicated," that was a fiction—James neither having then, nor at any other time, abdicated, but continued to demand his crown, and to attempt its recovery by force and arms. Had he abdicated, his son was the true heir, on the divine-right principle. This principle the parliament of England had broken in favour of the objects of their free choice. The Scotch, more properly, never pretended even that James had abdicated, but declared him to have "forfaulted"—that is, forfeited—the crown by his tyranny. The Bill of Rights again declared the lawful issue of William and Mary, were there such, should succeed to the crown; in default of that, the issue of the princess Anne, &c. But it took care to preserve the right of the people to elect or set aside its monarchs, by declaring that in case the next heir at any time should either be a catholic or marry a catholic, he or she should be excluded, and the succession should pass on to the next heir. Having deposed the monarch for attempting to violate the fundamental principles of the constitution, there was no occasion to assert that a repetition of such attempt would necessarily produce the same result; but it enumerated what were those rights of the people, which it was forfeiture to infringe; more, that the pretended power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, was illegal; that the erection of the late high commission court and other courts of like nature—meaning the Star Chamber, &c.—was illegal; that it was the same to raise soldiers, or keep a standing army in time of peace, without parliamentary authority; that it was the right of the people at all times to petition the king, and to prosecute or commit to prison for the exercise of such right, was a violation of the constitution; that the subjects, being protestants, were entitled to have arms for self-defence; elections to be free, and freedom of speech and debate in parliament was not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament; that excessive bail, excessive fines, or punishment, were illegal, and all grants or promises of fines and forfeitures before conviction equally so; that jurors were to be properly empanelled and returned, and were to be freeholders in cases of high treason; and that, for the preservation of these rights, for redress of grievances, and the making and amending the laws, frequent parliaments should be held.

By the offer of the crown on these terms, and by acceptance of it under them by persons out of the proper course of succession according to the divine-right theory, the whole of those pernicious notions of the deity of kingship, which had led to such monstrous acts under the Tudors, and still more under the Stuarts, which had constantly led the monarchs to oppress and insult the people, and brought the people at length to rebel against and put to death the king, was put an end to. Monarchs could no longer defend their arbitrary acts by declaring, as James I. did, that, as God was God in heaven, and could kill or save alive, so he was God on earth, and could there do the same rightfully. From that day English kings and queens have known that their right to reign lies in the will of the people; and though they have occasionally attempted to invade popular liberty, the powers confessedly residing in the people have soon recalled them to their senses. Since then, the great violation of popular right, and the wasteful expenditure of the public money, has proceeded rather from the aristocracy than the crown, and to regain the popular influence usurped by the aristocracy in parliament, has continued, and still continues, the great struggle of the public, the great theme of reform.

Unfortunately, the same event which introduced so signal a benefit introduced also evils of gigantic magnitude. As we have just observed, continental monarchs involved us in continental wars, these wars in a rapidly-increasing expenditure, and this expenditure in a hitherto unparalleled accumulation of national debt. In narrating the events of the restoration, we exhibited the fatal fact that the aristocracy at that period, by a bargain with Charles II., freed themselves from the feudal burdens on their lands, the condition on which they held them, and threw the support of the crown, which hitherto had been their duty, on the public at large. Having done this, and, instead of bearing nearly the whole charge of the royal expenditure, except what accrued from the crown lands, they were no longer averse to the creation of a public debt, which, till then, they always had been. Now they would only have to pay a certain quota of its interest in common with the whole population, and they soon saw that by the emoluments of war, of which, at home and abroad, they would have the management, they would derive infinitely more for themselves and relatives. From this time, therefore, date the greatest wars that we ever waged, the frightfully accumulating weight of taxation, and the creation and growth of the most stupendous debt that the world ever saw. We have just spoken of the real nature of these wars during the period under review, that they were wars for Holland and Germany, not for England. Mr. Spackman, in his Statistical Tables, in 1846, calculated the cost of these foreign wars and their interest to that year as follows. To this let the reader add thirteen years' more interest, and he will furnish himself with a subject of serious reflection :—



RIVER FRONT OF THE OLD HOUSE OF PEERS.

The war of 1688 lasted nine years, and cost at the time	£36,000,000
Borrowed to support it, twenty millions, the interest of which, in 152 years, at 3½ per cent., amounts to	186,400,000
The war of the Spanish succession lasted eleven years, and cost	62,500,000
Borrowed to support it, thirty-two and a half millions, the interest of which, in 127 years, amounts to	114,464,500
The Spanish war of 1748 lasted nine years, and cost	54,000,000
Borrowed to support it, twenty-nine millions; the interest in 102 years amounts to	103,530,000
The war of 1756 lasted seven years, and cost	112,000,000
Borrowed to support it, sixty millions; the interest in 77 years amounts to	161,700,000

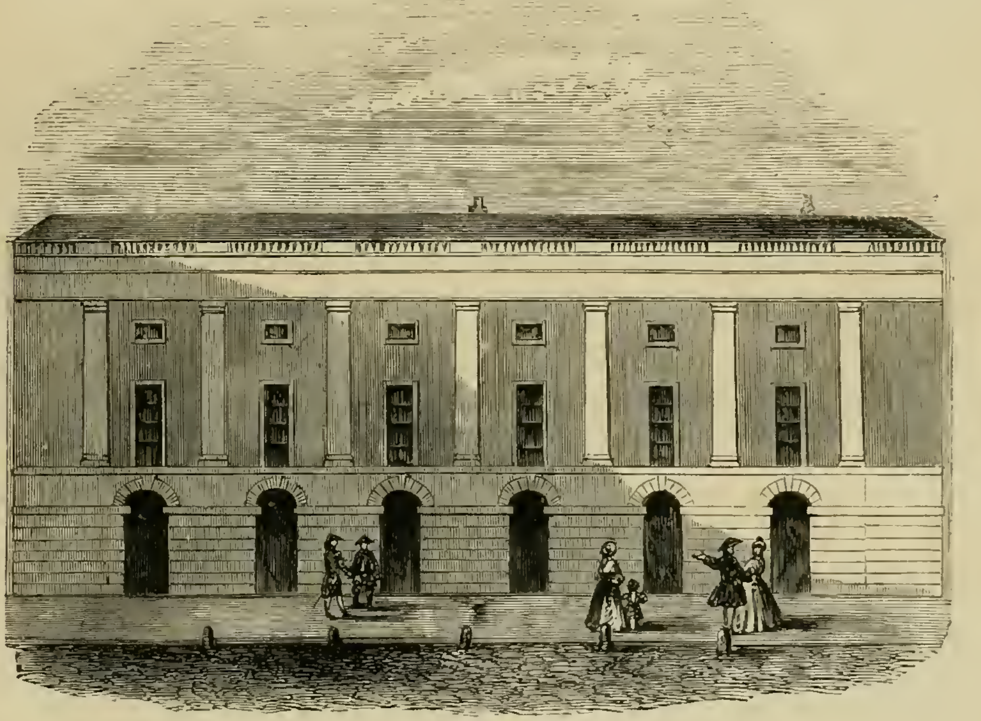
The national debt at the commencement of Dutch William's reign amounted only to the sum of £1,328,526, which Charles II. had robbed the London merchants of, and which was not formally recognised as a national debt till 1701, the concluding year of William's reign. It is true there were £580,000 of arrears due to the army at the revolution, and £60,000 of arrears to the late king's servants, but for these there was money enough in the exchequer. At the commencement of William's reign the whole of the national debt was £1,328,526; but, according to the above statement, by the end of the reign of George II. it had grown to £141,500,000! The expenditure occasioned by these wars had risen in these seventy-two years from £2,000,000 a year, which it was the last year of James II., to £8,523,540, which it was in the last year of George II., and in several years of that reign it had been as high as thirteen and fifteen millions. The whole cost of these wars, and the interest of them down to 1846, is the astounding sum of £830,592,500! For these wars of seventy-two years of our Dutch and Hanoverian sovereigns, our posterity will owe in part, and will have paid in interest for these wars very soon, ONE THOUSAND MILLIONS! And, besides this, it has been calculated that there were slain in these wars of British alone the following numbers:—

In the war ending 1697	180,000
In the war begun in 1702	250,000
In the war hegun in 1739	240,000
In the war hegun in 1756	250,000
Total	920,000!

It would puzzle the boldest advocate of wars and of interference in continental quarrels to trace the smallest advantage that this country received for upwards of eight hundred millions of money and nine hundred thousand lives spent by our Dutch and Hanoverian kings in these seventy-two years!

Of the folly, and, worse, the wickedness, of such wars these figures stand a most awful testimony.

That the revenue of the country during this sanguinary and extravagant period rose from two to eight millions per annum is evidence of the substantial growth, notwithstanding, of the industry, capital, and resources of the country. Yet the government was driven to the imposition of many new and some singular taxes. Though the aristocracy had got rid of their feudal tenures, which amounted to a land-tax, they were soon compelled to submit to a land-tax in its own proper name. This was always granted for only a year at a time, originally of one shilling in the pound, but it rose afterwards to four shillings, was at length fixed not to exceed that on the original valuation of the land in William's time, at which it still remains, except where it has been permanently purchased by the landowner from government. In William's reign was laid a tax on marriages; additional taxes on foreign wines; additional duties on spice, exportation of coals, and on almost all articles of foreign importation; excise on home-made liquors, tanned hides, candles, paper, pasteboard, vellum, silks, calicoes, and numerous other things. Rates of postage were raised; then stamps imposed on all sums paid with clerks and apprentices on deeds of transfer, debentures, policies of insurance, on pamphlets, advertisements, &c. In every reign of this period, these impositions grew heavier and more numerous. At the end of the reign of George II., there were thirty-eight branches of customs, twenty-eight of excise, nineteen of inland duties — in all, eighty-five different kinds of taxes. The creation of the debt had produced a numerous race of stockjobbers, and the frauds which they practised induced the government, in 1697, to pass an act "to restrain the number and ill practices of brokers and stockjobbers." Their number was not to exceed a hundred, and stringent regulations were made to defeat their fraudulent practices in selling and discounting bank-stock, bank-bills, and joint-stock shares, &c., as well as their dishonest stratagems for raising or falling the value of such stocks.



OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE.

The funded debt underwent various modifications during this period. In the early part of queen Anne's reign the Bank of England and the East India Company advanced large sums, which were converted into stock, along with stock created by successive lotteries, till this stock amounted to nearly twelve millions, bearing six per cent. Then the arrears in the war and naval departments were converted into another stock of upwards of nine millions, and the holders were formed into a company called the South Sea Company, with the exclusive privilege of trading to the west coasts of America. In George I.'s reign all the different stocks were rearranged into three—namely, the South Sea Fund, established in 1711; the Aggregate Fund, in 1714; and the General Fund, in 1716. In this same year the Sinking Fund was inaugurated by Sir Robert Walpole, though planned by lord Stanhope. This fund was to consist of the surpluses of the three other funds, and to be employed in paying off gradually the debt. For some time it worked well, but the necessities of the state soon induced Sir Robert Walpole to invade its sanctity, and it speedily became a mere name. In 1720 appeared the memorable scheme by which the South Sea Company engaged to pay off the whole national debt, which, as we have related, ended in a terrible explosion, and wide ruin to speculators. The result to the nation, instead of the discharge of the debt, was its augmentation by upwards of three millions. The South Sea Company still continued to hold a considerable portion of it in 1750. The interest, however, in 1727, was reduced to four and to three per cent. At this time the debt was resolved into the three per cent. reduced annuities and the three per cent. consolidated annuities, since better known by the abridged name of consols, now constituting the much larger part of the debt. The mode of forestalling the receipt of the taxes by the issue of exchequer bills, was introduced in 1696 by Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, then chancellor of the exchequer. These bills, now only issued at a hundred pounds each, were then, many of them, sold only for sums of five pounds and ten pounds.

Whilst parliament during this period was very liberal in granting the people's money, it was at the same time extremely tenacious of its own privileges. At no time has it appeared more so, or inclined to carry that privilege to such absurd lengths. Privilege of parliament is equivalent to prerogative of royalty, and evidently springs from the same source—the assertion of the superiority of the person or body in which it resides to the ordinary dominion of law. As kings formerly deemed themselves above and independent of parliaments, the grand source of law, and therefore arrogated to themselves peculiar rights and privileges called prerogatives, and not within reach of the ordinary courts of law, so parliament, when it came to exercise its legitimate influence, as one of the great organs of legislation, likewise asserted similar defensive and dignifying privileges. These privileges it was the more inclined to insist upon, because it came later into the exercise of them, and had to resist through them the power of the crown. But, like many new functions, there was a tendency to extend them beyond their proper bounds, and this was now particularly conspicuous. In the great conflict betwixt the crown and the parliament, which ended in the destruction of the monarchy, the whole of the privileges of parliament were fought out, but then the privileges of the body were considered rather than those of the individual members; now, those of the individual seemed to assume the most conspicuous form. Both the collective and the individual privilege had been asserted and defended, and the violators of either, though commissioned by the highest courts of law, punished. The collective privilege was held to cover everything concerning the honour and free functions of the houses of parliament. Not even a pardon under the great seal was to defeat any impeachment by the commons. Both houses claimed the right to punish political offences, and others which did not expressly concern themselves. Such were the cases of the Kentish Petition in 1701, and that of Ashby *v.* White in 1704; and in the following year, when the commons imprisoned five burgesses of Aylesbury for carrying the case of a contested election into a court of law, but, in the last instance, without establishing their authority. So also Floyd, for merely speaking disrespectfully of the elector-palatine and his wife in conversation, was severely punished by the lords in the reign of James I. But in the reign of George I. an equal stretch of parliamentary power was exercised by the commons, by committing Mist, the publisher of "Mist's Journal," for a libel which in no wise concerned them.

The power of punishing their own members, which has been established as a genuine privilege, and also that of determining everything relating to their own elections, was now settled. A great case, regarding jurisdiction over their own members, which became a precedent, was that of Mr. Arthur Hall, who, in 1580, published a book or pamphlet reflecting on some of the members, and which was also considered to be derogatory to the general power and dignity of the house of commons, for which he was expelled, fined, and imprisoned. But in queen Anne's time, the commons grossly exceeded their jurisdiction by expelling Sir Richard Steele for publishing a pamphlet called the "Crisis," which did not reflect at all on the house, but only on the ministry. In some other cases parliament endeavoured to stretch its power to still more preposterous lengths, by declaring parties incapable of sitting in parliament for such extraneous offences.

The intention of individual privileges of members was to protect them from arrest on civil actions during the sittings of parliament, and to give them exemption from prosecution for the freedom of speech and in debate within their respective houses. But this was soon extended not only to members at all times, but as the king claimed privilege for his servants, parliament claimed the like for the servants, and even tenants, of members; nay, they extended the same privilege to the property of members. At various times during the reign of George II. it was voted a breach of parliamentary privilege to trespass on the lands of members, to interfere with their footmen, to have killed some of lord Galway's rabbits, caught some of Mr. Jolliffe's fish, cut down some of Mr. Hungerford's trees, dug some of the coals of Mr. Ward, and the lead of Sir Robert Grosvenor. It was held that even an execution could not be levied on a member's goods for debt. The act of 12 William III., c. 3, restrained the privilege of members from arrest to the time of the actual session of parliament, but all these other overstrained personal exemptions remained till the 10th of George III.

There were various attempts during this period to limit the powers of the crown, some of which were easily overridden by the standing, and often well-paid, majorities of ministers. In the reign of queen Anne, a new act of settlement was made conferring the succession, in default of issue by the queen, on the electress Sophia of Hanover and her posterity. In this act, taught by the evils which had arisen in Dutch William's reign from these causes, it was provided, that whoever wore the crown should not be at liberty to leave the country without consent of parliament, and, moreover, that this country should not be obliged to go to war to defend any other country which the king or queen might possess. But the clause respecting the king going abroad, was immediately repealed on the accession of George I., and though the country was not actually obliged to go to war to defend Hanover, the obsequious parliament rushed into the most ruinous wars on that account.

By this act of settlement it was also sought to limit the power of the crown by making all paid servants of the crown, from the highest minister to the lowest deputy, pensioner, door-keeper, or messenger, incapable of sitting in parliament; but by an act of queen Anne, of the year 1705, this sweeping clause was repealed, and any member of the commons appointed to an office under the crown, was compelled to vacate, but was immediately capable of re-election.

The same act of settlement established the judges in their office for life, thus rendering them independent of the crown, and only to be removed upon the address of both houses of parliament. Till then, judges had been dismissible at the pleasure of the monarch, and the consequences at times, but especially in the reign of the Stuarts, had been most deplorable. Independent and incorruptible judges had been dismissed because they would not do the arbitrary pleasure of the monarch, and men of pliant minds, and others of coarse and savage character, like Jeffreys, had been set on the bench, and every man and every constitutional right placed at their mercy. This was a noble step in the path of justice and popular liberty.

An act of the year 1715 was far from being so creditable to parliament. This was the act of 1 George I., which abolished triennial parliaments, and substituted septennial in their stead. The Triennial Act had been passed in 1693, in the reign of William and Mary; but, in the second year of George I., the whigs, who had had the honour of passing the Triennial Act, now committed murder upon it. The first rebellion had just been crushed, and the new Hanoverian king and his whig minister, fearful of allowing the least chance of the return of Jacobite members to parliament, resolved to extend the term. In the following year the then parliament would have terminated; therefore, such men as the dukes of Devonshire and Argyll, lords Dorset, Carteret, and Cowper, such commoners as Stanhope and Craggs, who had been the stanchest promoters or supporters of triennial parliaments, were seen shamelessly undoing their own work, or condemning what, till then, they had professed to admire.

Amongst the laws passed in this period the following deserve particular mention. In 1695 an act was passed to regulate trials for treason and misprision of treason, which gave to the accused advantages which they never possessed before. Persons charged with treason were to have a copy of the indictment, five days before the trial, on paying for it. No person was to be tried for high treason except there were two witnesses against him, nor was one witness for one treason, and another for another treason, to be deemed two witnesses. The indictment must be laid within three years of the offence; no evidence was to be admitted that was not in the indictment; and the accused was to be furnished, two days at least before the trial, with the list of the panel of jurors who was to try him, and he was to have the same power to compel the attendance of those for him, as the crown had to compel the attendance of those against him.

A statute of the 7th of Anne extended these privileges. The indictment was to be delivered to the accused not five, but ten days before the trial, in the presence of two or more witnesses; and to the list of jurors, their names, professions, and places of abode, were to be appended, to facilitate their summons. Since that time lawyers have exerted their arts and their chicanery to elude the provisions of these statutes; to drag in, contrary to these acts, evidence not in the indictments, and to give a constructive interpretation of treason; but these are the faults of the legal profession, instigated by bad governments, and not of the statutes themselves.

By statute 5 Anne, c. 6, a great amelioration of the law relating to benefit of clergy took place. The privilege of benefit of clergy first extended only to clergymen, who were exempt from the jurisdiction of the civil tribunals, had been extended to all who could read, which in early ages was considered a proof of learning. But a layman could only enjoy this privilege once, and, to show that he had enjoyed it, he was burnt in the hand. By this statute of queen Anne, the benefit was granted in any case where it was a legal right, whether the person could read or not, but it was at the option of the judge, besides the burning in the hand, to add committal to the house of correction for a specified time. By other statutes of George I., burning in the hand was commuted at the option of the judge for transportation to America for seven years. Benefit of clergy has since been wholly repealed by statutes 7 and 8 George IV. These statutes mark strikingly the progress of a more humane tone in society.

In our narrative of the general transactions of this period we have recorded the enactment of the property qualification for a seat in the commons; one for the prevention of clandestine marriages, and for the freedom of the persons of ambassadors, owing to the Russian ambassador having been arrested for debt. There were also various enactments to prevent treating and bribing at elections; for the selecting of jurymen, and better conduct of trials; the regulation of fees to jurymen, &c. But the most important of all these was statute 4 George II., which ordered that all proceedings in courts of justice, and in the courts of exchequer in Scotland, should no longer be in Latin, but in plain English. In short, notwithstanding the gross and wasteful wars of this period, and the low moral tone of most of the cabinets, when we sum up the constitutional events of this epoch, they display a substantial advance in constitutional liberty. The revolution of 1688; the limitations of the crown by the acts of settlement; the extension of privilege of parliament; the union with Scotland, thus invigorating by unity the popular force; the achieved independence of the judges; the amelioration of barbarous practices in the courts of justice; and the reformation of various laws, are steps in the progress of national freedom and civilisation, such as few other periods of our history can parallel.

RELIGION AND THE CHURCH.

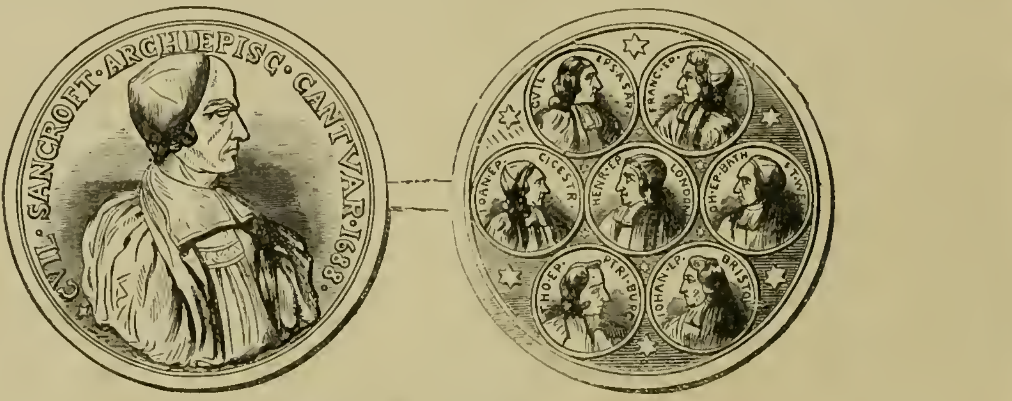
The revolution of 1688, which overthrew absolutism in the state, overthrew it also in the church. The political principles of William of Orange, and the whigs who brought him in, were not more opposed to the absolutism of the Stuarts than the ecclesiastical principles of the new king and queen, and the prelates which they introduced into the church, were to the high-churchism of Laud, Sancroft, Atterbury, and their section of the establishment. As the reformation had been a victory over popery, the revolution was a victory over both popery and its congener, high-churchism; and as the Jacobites continued—till they were finally crushed at Culloden—a violent warfare against the new dynasty in the state, so the ecclesiastical Jacobites, the high-churchmen, or tories in black, continued as violent a warfare against the monarch as spurious, and against all concessions to the dissenters as a renunciation of the absolute principles and ascendancy of orthodoxy.

When parliament, on the accession of William and Mary, presented the oath of allegiance to the lords and commons, eight of the bishops, including Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, refused it; and of these, five were of the number of the seven who had refused to sign James II.'s declaration of indulgence, and thus gave the immediate occasion to the outbreak ending in the revolution. Amongst those who took the oath, however, was Lamplugh, archbishop of York. This man was bishop of Exeter, and, on the landing of William, he fled to London, where, for his zeal, he was immediately created archbishop of York; thereupon he did homage to James at Whitehall, and, two days afterwards, joined the lords spiritual and temporal at Guildhall, to invite William to accept the administration of the government! The rest of the bishops complied on more or less honourable principles; but four hundred of the inferior clergy followed the example of the bishops, and refused the oath to the new sovereigns. Thus a fresh faction was produced in the establishment, that of the nonjurors, who were, after much delay and patience, finally excluded from their livings. Besides these avowed nonjurors, there remained, however, in the church a large class of clergymen of all ranks, who were equally averse to the new dynasty, and the new principles of church administration, but who took the oaths to save their livings; and these half-concealed enemies became by far the most troublesome, as we shall see.

As the existing law could not touch the non-juring bishops so long as they absented themselves from parliament, where the oath had to be put to them, a new act was passed, providing that all who did not take the new oaths before the 1st of August, 1689, should be suspended six months, and at the end of that time, in case of non-compliance, should be ejected from their sees. Still the act was not rigorously complied with; they were indulged with a trial for a year longer, when, continuing obstinate, they were, on the 1st of February, 1691, excluded from their sees. Two of the eight had escaped this sentence by dying in the interim—namely, the bishops of Worcester and Chichester. The remaining six who were expelled were Sancroft, the primate, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Lloyd of Norwich, and White of Peterborough. In the room of these were appointed prelates of whig principles, the celebrated Dr. Tillotson being made primate. Lamplugh of York also died in 1691, and Sharpe, one of the most eloquent preachers of the time, was put in his place. Other vacancies had recently or did soon fall out; so that, within three years of his accession, William had put in sixteen new bishops, and the whole body was thus favourable to his succession, and, more or less, to the new views of church administration.

Having obtained a favourable episcopal bench, king William now endeavoured to introduce measures of the utmost wisdom and importance—measures of the truest liberality and the profoundest policy—namely, an act of toleration of dissent, and an act of comprehension, by which it was intended to allow presbyterian ministers to occupy livings in the church without denying the validity of their ordination, and also to do away with various things in the ritual of the church which drove great numbers from its community. By the Act of Toleration—under the name of "An act for exempting their majesties' protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws"—dissenters were exempt from all penalties for not attending church and for attending their own chapels, provided that they took the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribed to the declaration against transubstantiation, and also that their chapels were registered, and their services conducted without the doors being locked or barred. As the quakers would take no oaths, they were allowed to subscribe a declaration of fidelity to the government, and a profession of their Christian belief.

But the Comprehension Bill was not so fortunate. The bigots in the church, who had not dared to oppose the extension of some freedom to the dissenters, so that the catholics and socinians were not included in this case, and who, accordingly, were excluded from the benefit of the Toleration Act, became furious at the proposal to liberalise


GVIL. SANCROFT. ARCHIEPISC. CANTVAR. 1688.
GVIL. EPS. ASAP.
FRANC. EP.
IOAN. EP. CICESTR.
HENR. EP. LONDON.
IOH. EP. BATH & WE
THO. EP. PTRI. BURG.
IOHAN. EP. BRISTOL

MEDAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS.

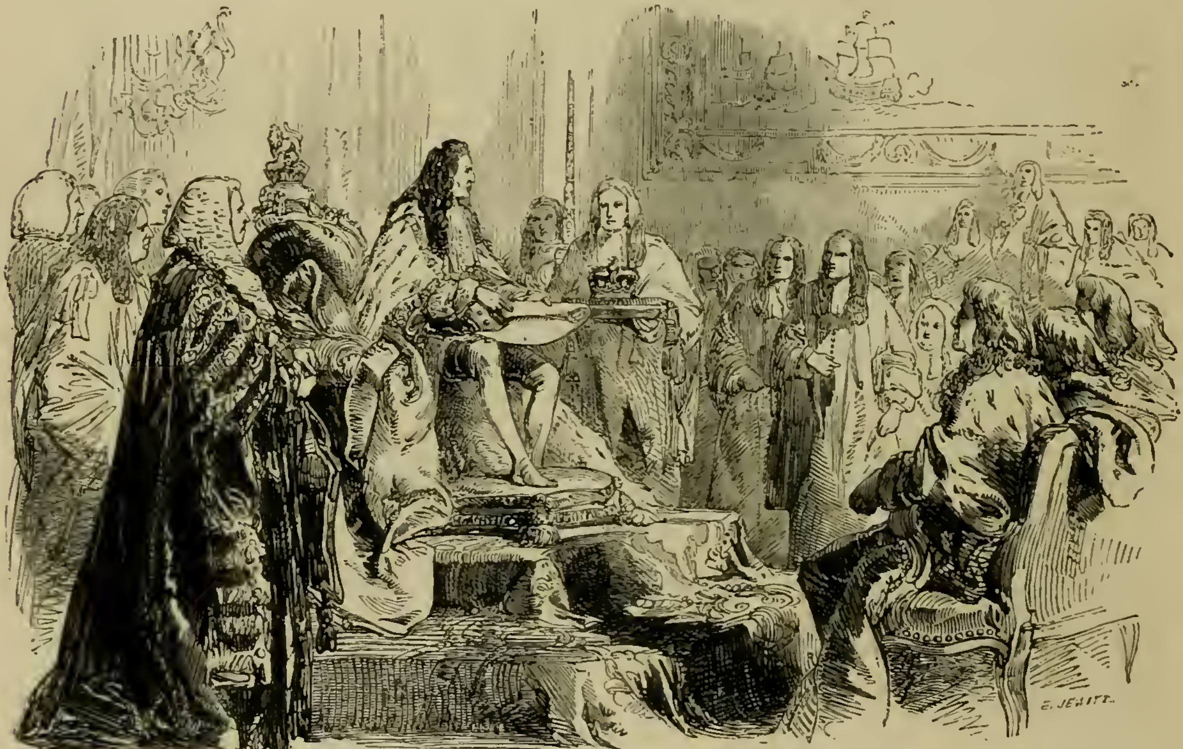
the rites and canons of the church. They already beheld, with extreme indignation, the elevation of such men as Tillotson, Burnet, Sharpe, Patrick, More, Cumberland, and Fowler to the episcopal bench. Sixteen such men raised to that bench within three years, men esteemed amongst the most wise, learned, and exemplary who ever bore that dignity, and some of them the ablest preachers of their time, was a sight which made the Laud and Sancroftites gnash their teeth with rage. These men, preaching diligently in their dioceses, were ridiculed by them as "preaching bishops;" an extraordinary cause for censure in prelates of the church of England. But now ten of these preaching bishops, with twenty dignified clergymen, were appointed as a commission to make such alterations in the liturgy and canons, and such plans for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts as, in their opinion, best suited the exigencies of the times, and were necessary to remove the abuses, and render more efficient the services of the church. The list of these commissioners comprised such men as Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Sharpe, Kidder, Hall, Tenison, Fowler, &c. They met in the Jerusalem Chamber, and began their labours preparatory to this great comprehensive bill. "They commenced," says Dr. Nichols, in his "Defence of the Church of England," "with reviewing the liturgy, and first they examined the calendar, in which, in the room of apocryphal lessons, they ordered certain chapters of canonical scripture to be read. Athanasius' Creed, because of the damnatory clauses, was left to the minister's choice to use it, or change it for the Apostles' Creed. New collects were drawn up, more agreeable to the epistles and gospels, for the whole course of the year; and these with that eloquence and brightness of expression, and such a heat and flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect and excite the hearts of the hearers, and raise up their minds towards God. They were first drawn up by Dr. Patrick; Dr. Burnet added to them yet further force and spirit; Dr. Stillingfleet afterwards examined them with great judgment, and carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. Tillotson had the last hand, giving them some masterly strokes of his great and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder, who was well versed in the oriental tongues, made a new version of the Psalms, more agreeable to the original. Dr. Tenison made a collection of the words and expressions through the liturgy, which had been excepted against, and proposed others in their room that were clear and plain, and less liable to exception. Other things also were proposed that were left to be determined by the convocation: as first, that the cross in baptism might be used or omitted at the choice of the parents; second, that a nonconforming minister going over to the church, should not be ordained according to the common form, but rather conditionally, much in the same manner as the baptising of infants is ordered in the church, if there be not evidence of their being baptised before, with the addition of the episcopal benediction, as was customary in the ancient church, where clerks were received who had been ordained by heretics, of which archbishop Bramhall had given a precedent, when he received some Scotch presbyters into the church in Ireland."

It was, moreover, proposed to lay aside chanting in cathedrals; to administer the sacrament to such as objected to kneel in receiving it, in their pews; to abolish all high titles to the king, queen, &c., in the prayers, retaining merely the word sovereign, as more accordant with the simplicity of Christian worship; to omit the prayer beginning, "O God, whose nature and properties," as full of strange and impertinent expressions, and, moreover, as not being in the original, but foisted in by another hand; to allow such as desired to omit godfathers and godmothers for their children, and the children merely presented in their own name for baptism.

In order to sanction these changes, a convocation was summoned, and then the storm broke loose. The Jacobites and the discontented cried out they were going to pull the church down; the high churchmen declared it was a scheme to hand over the church to the presbyterians; the universities cried that all the men engaged in the plan were traitors to the true faith, and the king himself was not spared. The bigots who were included in the commission fled out of it amain, and the convocation threw out the whole reform as an abomination. Here were those reforms which the fathers of the English church, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Tindale, Coverdale, Hooper, &c., had declared were absolutely necessary to its perfect reformation, and for endeavouring to carry which out they had suffered in property and life, now, under the direct sanction of the royal head of the church, prepared by such a constellation of its own divines as, for learning, eloquence, wisdom, piety, and prudence, the church had scarcely seen at one time, and could not, at any one time, hope to see again. Here were those reforms which would give to the ritual of their church an eminent character for liberality and Christian wisdom, and to its offices, in the words of one of its own members, "such eloquence and brightness of expression, such a heat and flame of devotion, that nothing more could affect and excite the hearts of the hearers, and raise up their minds towards God." Here were the means, offered by its own bishops and dignitaries, which would annihilate that dissent of which it expressed such jealousy and alarm, by absorbing it into its own substance, and thus strengthening its own constitution, and expanding its own borders beyond all reach of envy or enmity, and the whole rejected with an infatuation incalculable in its consequences. Convocation having given this blow to all hopes of ecclesiastical reform, was prorogued to the 24th of January, 1690, and on the 6th of February was dissolved with the parliament, nor was it suffered to meet again for business till the last year of the reign of king William.

The fierce spirit of resistance to all reform shown by the bigots of the church was equalled by the spirit of cruel intolerance shown to the catholics and anti-trinitarians. The unitarians were excluded from all benefit of the act, and the catholics were subject even to fresh rigours. It would have been much worse had not king William, to whom all persecution was abhorrent, assured his subjects that outrages on the catholics would create another catholic league on the continent. Yet, in 1699, an act was passed, offering one hundred pounds to every person who should apprehend any catholic priest, bishop, or Jesuit, and prosecute him to conviction for saying mass, or performing any other sacerdotal function. Any catholic keeping a school was to be imprisoned for life—yea, even for interfering in any degree with education; and any priest taken was to suffer the same penalty. Any person sending a child abroad to be educated by catholics was liable to one hundred pounds penalty, all of which was to go to the informer. Every person who, within six months after reaching the age of eighteen, did not renounce his or her religion by signing a declaration against transubstantiation, invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass, could not inherit any property, but it must go to the next *protestant* heir. No catholic was to be allowed to purchase any landed or household property, either in his own name or the name of another; and all catholics who did not assign a fitting maintenance to their children, so that they might receive a protestant education, were to be subjected to an order of the lord chancellor for the purpose. At the commencement of the reign of Anne, a similar act was passed for Ireland, where the population was chiefly catholic; and that the protestant dissenters of that country might not escape, the sacramental test was tacked to the act. These monstrous acts — passed simultaneously with, or after the Toleration Act — say very little for the real toleration of that age. They were in fact, however, too brutal to be reduced to very extensive practice. In the last year of the reign of Anne, an act was passed to strengthen the old act against papist patrons presenting to church livings; and after the rebellion of 1715, compelling all papists of the age of twenty-one to register their names and estates, with their yearly rental, in books kept by the clerk of the peace in each county.

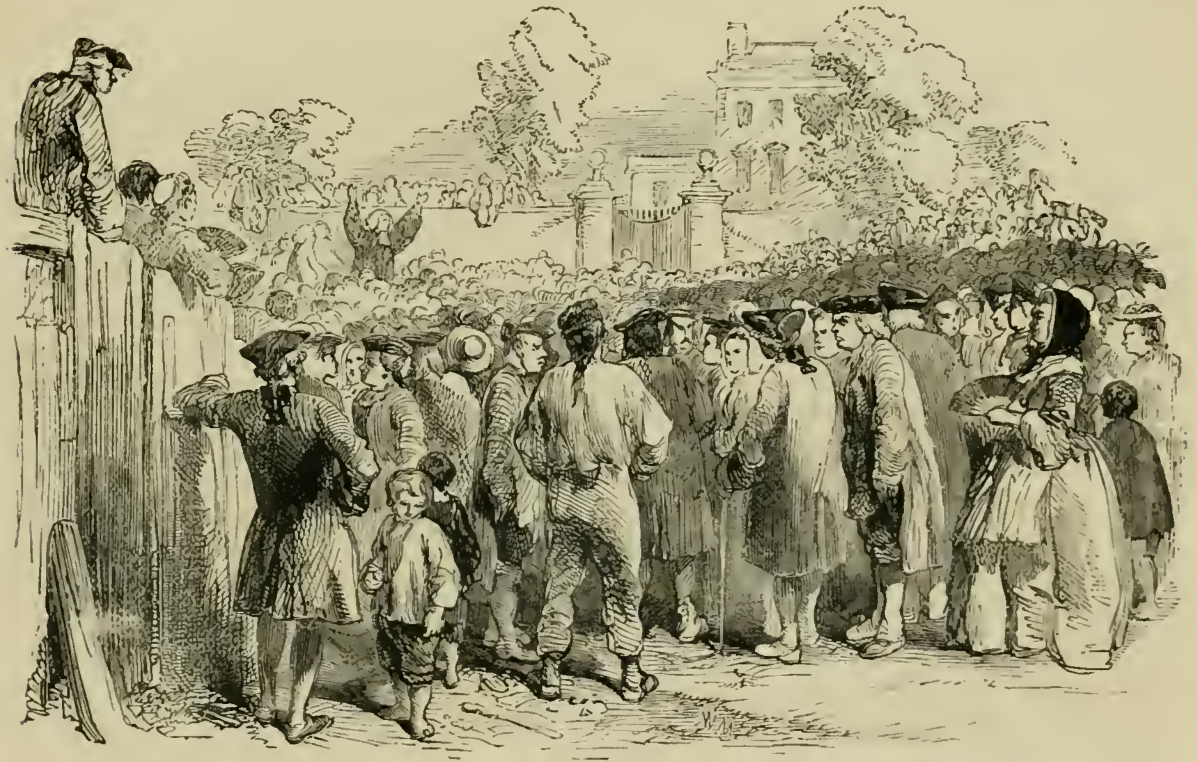
Two years after the act compelling catholics to have their children educated in protestantism, a similar act was passed relating to the Jews; which law, it is said, has never been repealed. In 1753 an act was passed permitting any Jew who had resided three years in England and Ireland to be naturalised, without taking the sacrament; but this raised such a clamour, that it was repealed the very next session. Yet all the time there was an act of 1740 in force, which allowed the naturalisation of any Jew who had lived seven years in any of our colonies, without being more than two months absent at any one time, and that without taking the sacrament, or repeating demands "upon the true faith of a Christian." All other foreigners were entitled to be naturalised by a similar residence in our colonies. In 1729 Quakers were admitted to make an affirmation instead of an oath in all cases; but were not to serve on juries in criminal cases, or to give evidence in such cases, or to hold any place of honour or profit under government. In 1728 the Indemnity Act was passed, which allowed persons who had accepted any office, for which they had not qualified themselves by taking the Test and Corporation Act, still to qualify themselves, and gave so much time as brought them within the next passing of such an act, which was passed every year, so that it amounted to a perfect neutralisation of the act, till the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts altogether, a century later. In 1711 passed the celebrated act against occasional conformity; and in 1714 one for preventing the growth of schism; but these were deprived of their force by another act in 1718.



WILLIAM III. GIVING HIS ROYAL ASSENT TO THE TOLERATION ACT.

The condition of dissenters, however, continued most unenviable through all this period, down to the reign of

George III. William, though he achieved the toleration, never could, as we have seen, reform the state church. In fact, all history testifies to the great fact, that a state church never can remodel itself; a fact which is every day now rendering more and more of the members of an Anglican establishment desirous that their church should be freed from the trammels of the state. They begin to perceive that a state requires the church it patronises to support its own measures, right or wrong, rather than to support christianity; and that, to flourish fully, a church must be free. They see that a state church, once organised, can never undergo any change, except that which time ploughs upon it, in bringing it to the earth. Like those tabernacles and towers which bear its own name, amid the everlasting freshness and vitality of nature, it grows grey, and crumbles piecemeal to the dust. Around it the elements of free mind, the winds of discussion, the dews of pure and heartfelt sentiment, the fructifying seas of knowledge, nay, the very thunder and blackness of opposition, keep the whole world beautiful in perpetual youth; whilst over its walls creep grey lichens of age, humid mosses of superstitious stagnation; the worm and the weather work faster than hands which dare not renew, lest they endanger, and the whole huge fabric stands a venerable ruin! In our own time, in consequence, how many of its best sons and daughters behold with consternation the rents, and schisms, and struggles, which are going on in its interior, whilst, bound by political chains, it knows not how to cast out its sorrows. William's intended reforms were a vain attempt to escape from this ancient law of establishments; the only consequence of which was to rouse the elements of antagonism against him. Anne was a Stuart and a tory, and, no sooner was she on the throne, than the whole brood of church absolutists raised their heads, and endeavoured to revoke the Act of Toleration. They sought to do this by the Occasional Conformity Act—an attempt to crush opinion instead of influencing understandings; to convict where they could not proselytise; to swell the nominal numbers of churchmen with slaves and hypocrites. Three times was this infamous bill introduced, in still fresh shapes, and three times, though passed by the commons, rejected by the lords, where still sate the liberal bishops, created by William. This defeat roused the old cry of "the church is in danger!" Bishop Burnet, who, whilst he never failed to stand firm for religious liberty, and to whom the people of England are, and ever will be, indebted for his liberal acts and counsels, and for his faithful record of the civil and ecclesiastical transactions of his time, was always, at the same time, watchful for the real wants of his own church. Seeing now the destitute condition of many of the small livings, he prayed the queen to bestow on these the tenths and first-fruits, which at the time amounted to sixteen thousand pounds a year. It was hoped that this would soothe the angry spirit of the high churchmen; "but," says Burnet, "the clergy took it, and scarcely showed themselves thankful for it." The benefit, in fact, did not fall to the rich pluralists who were making all the riot, but to the humble and quiet portion of the clergy.



WHITEFIELD PREACHING.

Oxford fanned the flame of party conflict which raged for so many years in the convocation. "It aimed," says Burnet, "to fill the church with a race of the most hardened bigots, by corrupting the principles of those sent thither to be educated, so that few of them escaped the taint of it, and the generality of the clergy were not only ill-principled, but ill tempered." Failing to gain their object through the convocation and parliament, the clergy determined to try what could be effected by raising the mob and intimidating government. We have heard the history of this in the famous Sacheverel affair.

This success attained, the bigots pushed on their cause. The queen, encouraged by the public current of opinion, seized the opportunity, dismissed the whig ministry, and chose a tory one after her own heart, the very first-fruits of whose existence was the passing of the oft-defeated Occasional Conformity Bill. Fifty new churches were ordered to be built in London and its suburbs, and, to extinguish the dissenters, they passed the famous Schism Bill. By this bill, dissenters, like the catholics, were forbidden to educate children, or to have any education for their own. No person was to be allowed to keep any public or private school, or to teach or instruct youth, as tutor or schoolmaster, unless he subscribed a declaration that he conformed to the church of England, and had a license from the archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the place, under his seal of office. All offenders against this Nebuchadnezzar decree were to be imprisoned for three months; and if any person thus licensed did not teach the catechism set forth in the book of Common Prayer, his license became void, and he became liable to all the penalties of the act. This act, if Englishmen had been submissive enough to succumb to it, would have exterminated dissent. A dissenter must not have his children taught, or even teach them himself. All learning must be monopolised by the church, and dissent must go down in Gothic darkness. This bill passed in 1714, having, however, two mitigatory clauses gained by the house of lords; one, that dissenters might have a *schoolmistress to teach their children to read*; the other, that they might teach *reading, writing, or arithmetic.* Everything like the education of a gentleman or a minister, and which might open the way to advancement in the state, or enable the dissenter to propagate truth from the pulpit, was carefully guarded against. Such was the fate prepared for the dissenters by the state clergy in 1714; but Providence defeated this worse than murderous object. On the very day on which the act came into operation queen Anne died, and George I, a friend, though not always a firm one, to religious liberty, ascended the throne.

Burnet describes the state of religion and intelligence in the nation at this period as most lamentable, the clergy as "dead and lifeless: the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives," of all that he had seen amongst all religions at home or abroad; the gentry "the worst instructed and the least knowing of any of their rank that he ever went amongst;" and the common people beyond all conception "ignorant in matters of religion." The Jacobite and torified clergy had brought the whole public mind to a pretty pass—a brute multitude ready to do any deed of vandalism to which they excited them. So, though the prince was liberal, the blatant beast still raged. Not being able to spread its intended boon of mental darkness over the dissenters, the church was again in danger. Oxford, the old hot-bed of bigotry, was again in tumult. As the liberal protestant prince would not serve its turn, it determined on getting back the papist one, and immediately began its plottings with the Pretender, who, however, was defeated. At Oxford the students, faithfully copying their teachers, came out in mobs, broke into the meeting-houses of the quakers, presbyterians, and baptists, gutted them, and made bonfires of the seats, doors, windows, &c., on the anniversary of the restoration of Charles II. Similar outrages were perpetrated in Birmingham, Norwich, Bristol, and other large towns. It was a bitter pill to this savage party to see the Schism and Occasional Conformity Bills repealed in 1719, in which the celebrated Dr. Hoadley took a decided part. To this noble-minded prelate, who ought to be held in everlasting honour by all lovers of freedom of conscience, it was also in a great measure owing that this convocation was prorogued, never to meet for business again.

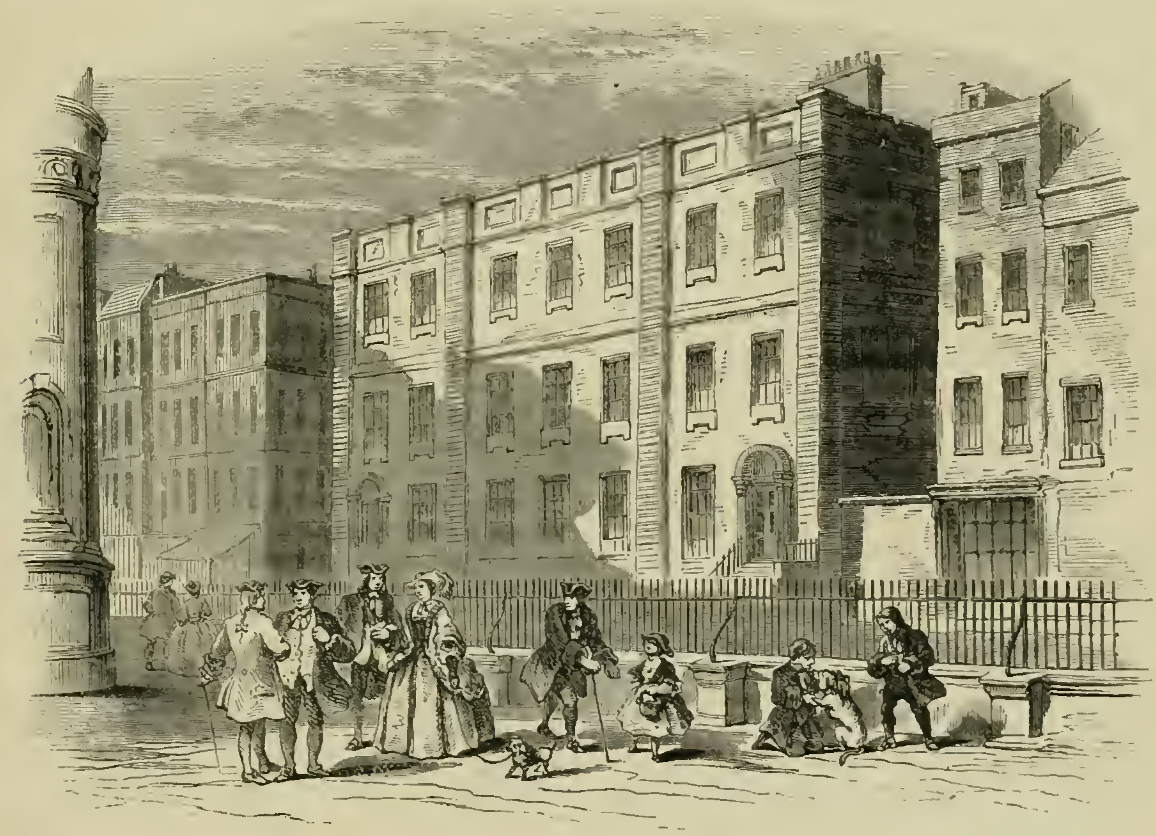
The history of convocation during this period is a most painful history. After being restrained for many years from doing more than meeting, and being instantly prorogued, on account of its producing nothing but the bitterest dissensions, from the time that it was allowed to enter on discussion again in the last year of William III. to the year 1717, when it was prorogued, and not allowed to meet again for business, the whole of the time of the lower house, consisting of the deans, prebendaries, archdeacons, and clergy of the province of Canterbury, was spent in quarrelling with the upper house, in which sat the liberal bishops. Never did the *odium theologicum* flame out so fiercely as amongst these official ministers of peace and Christian love. They seemed to emulate the house of commons in a question of privilege. They declared their right to assemble and prorogue themselves without any interference of the upper house. When ordered to prorogue by the archbishop, they continued still sitting. In all these proceedings the litigious tory and Jacobite Atterbury took a very prominent part. He attacked the supremacy of the crown, both in speeches and pamphlets. They passed severe censures on the works of liberal bishops and divines; but at length their whole fury fell on Dr. Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, for a sermon he preached before George I., in 1717, and printed with the title "On the Nature and Kingdom of Christ." In this he openly asserted that Christ alone is head of his own church; that religion is entirely a spiritual matter, with which the civil magistrate has no right to interfere. A violent controversy, by denunciations in convocation, by polemic sermons and pamphlets, was soon on foot, called the Bangorian controversy, which convulsed the church, in which Dr. Snape, Nicholson, bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Kennet, Dr. Sherlock, and others figured, and which became so fierce, that the king suddenly prorogued the convocation; and it never was again allowed to enter on any business, having shown itself incapable of anything but mutual bickerings and rancour.

In the reign of George II. the clergy, though much curbed in their malice towards the dissenters, still continued to show that it existed. From the very passing of the

Toleration Act to that time, tithes and church-rates enabled them to plunder and imprison, even to death, many of the quakers. So long as the Schism Act existed, they continued to make ample use of it against their dissenting fellow-subjects. Dr. Doddridge, by the advice of Dr. Watts, and the leading independents, commenced an academy at Northampton for training students for the ministry; but he was speedily prosecuted by the clergy in the spiritual court, and it was only by the king's express commands that the proceedings were put a stop to.

The treatment of Wesley, and Whitefield, and their companions, was of the most disgraceful kind. These remarkable men might be said to be the landmarks raised by Providence to show that spiritual darkness, ignorance, bigotry, and decline of morals had reached their climax. The whole nation, with some few bright exceptions, lay in the most deplorable condition of moral and religious destitution possible. The government had ceased to interest itself in almost everything except foreign wars and official corruption; the people at large were left totally without education or moral training; the clergy was become worldly, bitter, and persecuting, and indifferent to, or incapable of, their proper religious duties; the literature of the country was tainted by the most repulsive grossness and sensuality; and, in short, the whole land lay one frightful scene of mental poverty and abjectness. We have quoted the words of Burnet; those of Atterbury, a high tory, were quite as strong. A description of the state of religion in the country, drawn up by him, was presented by convocation to the queen, which stated that "the manifest growth of immorality and profaneness," "the relaxation and decay of the discipline of the church," "the disregard to all religious places, persons, and things," had scarcely had a parallel in any age. Dr. Calamy, a great nonconformist, equally complains that the "decay of real religion, both in and out of the church," was most visible. In Ireland, it was confessed that things, if possible, were still worse.

It was at this era of darkness, depravity, ignorance, and crime, that John, and Charles Wesley, his brother, and George Whitefield, came forward to preach a revival, and laid the foundation of Methodism—one of the most extraordinary instruments of religious, moral, and social regeneration which has appeared in any age of the world, and which not only stands as the far greatest fact of this particular period, but has operated in the great mass of the people an unparalleled life and elevation of mind and character, such as it is difficult to comprehend or calculate, and of which there are few who are fully aware. But, the more any one informs himself of the spirit and tone of the age we are describing, and then makes himself acquainted with this revival in the swarming populations of our manufacturing towns and districts, our great mining districts and coal districts, and



CONVOCATION HOUSE, ST. PAUL'S.

weaving, and spinning, and pottery districts, and then traces its benign and invigorating influence over the wide regions of America and our colonies, the more he will stand amazed at the achievements of Methodism, and venerate its founders as amongst the greatest humanisers, civilisers, and benefactors of mankind. Nor is it amongst the masses only that Methodism has worked this beneficent work—its leaven has gone upwards through hierarchical and aristocratic heights, and may be safely said to have vivified the very throne. For nothing is more striking than the new life and zeal which have of late years pervaded the church, and nothing is so certain that this sprung from the root of Methodism, necessitated by the very sense of self-preservation, and, no doubt, increased by nobler motives, by their catching a portion of that same spreading and pervading fire, which was thrown into the darkness of the world by Whitefield and the Wesleys, but especially by the latter.

These young men, students at Oxford, all of them originally of clerical families but Whitefield—immediately the son of an innkeeper—with Hervey, afterwards the author of the well-known "Meditations amongst the Tombs," &c., and some others of their fellow-collegians, struck by the dearth of religious life of the time, met at their rooms for prayer and spiritual improvement. They were soon assailed with the nicknames of Sacramentarians, Bible Moths, and finally, Methodists, a term current against the puritans in those days, and suggested by the appellative *methodistæ*, given to a college of physicians in ancient Rome, in consequence of the strict regime which they prescribed to their patients.

In 1734 the Wesleys commenced their career as preachers to the people, and were soon followed by Whitefield. This may, therefore, be considered the date of the foundation of Methodism. None of them had any the remotest idea of separating from the church, or founding new sects. The Wesleys made a voyage to Georgia, in America, and, on their return, found their little party not only flourishing in Oxford but in London, where they had a meeting-house in Fetter-lane. Whitefield, however, was the first to commence the practice of field-preaching, amongst the colliers at Kingswood, near Bristol; but in this he was soon imitated by Wesley. As they began to attract attention by the ardour of their preaching and the wonderful effect on the people, this became necessary, for speedily all church doors were closed against them. John Wesley had a peculiar genius for the construction of a new religious community, and he was ready to collect hints for its organisation from any quarter. The most prolific source of his ordinances for his new society was the system of the Moravians, whose great settlement at Herrnhuth, in Germany, he visited, and had much consultation with its head, count Zinzendorf. From it he drew his class-meetings, his love-feasts, and the like. In framing the constitution of his society, Wesley displayed a profound knowledge of human nature. The system of the Anglican establishment has this radical defect—that it makes the hierarchy everything, the laity nothing. No layman has any voice in its administration, except the sovereign, who is the head, and the humble churchwarden, sexton, clerk, and bell-ringer, who are the tail. Hence the little interest which the mass of the population feel in its movements. Wesley saw this and avoided it. He took care that every man and woman in his society counted for something more than a mere unit. If an individual was not a wheel in the system, he was, at least, a cog in a wheel. The machinery of class-meetings and love-feasts brought members together in little groups, where every one was recognised and had a personal interest. Numbers of men, who had no higher ambition, could enjoy the distinction of class-leaders. It did not require a man to go to college and take orders to become a preacher. Thomas Maxwell with Wesley, and Cowel Harris with Whitefield, led the way from the plane of the laity into the pulpits of methodism, and have been followed by tens of thousands who have become able if not learned, and eloquent if not Greek-imbued, preachers. A new, and vast, and animating field was thus opened to native talent, sufficient of itself to create an ardent attachment in the hearts of the multitude to the new system. Wesley divided the whole country into districts, into which he sent one or more well-endowed preachers, who were called circuit preachers, or round preachers, from their going their rounds in their particular circuits. Under the ministry of these sprung up volunteer preachers, who first led prayer-meetings, and then ascended to the pulpit in the absence of the circuit preachers, and most of them—mere workmen, or labourers as they were, weavers, miners, smiths, butchers, potters, shepherds—soon discovered unexpected talents, and edifying their own local and often remote or obscure little auditories, became styled local preachers. Out of these local preachers ever and anon grew men of large minds and fertilising eloquence, who became the burning and shining lights of the whole firmament of methodism. Such was the origin of that great body of Methodists, now divided in various sections, which has done so much for the people, before utterly left to a dreary heathendom, and, by collateral action, so much for the general life of religion, all over the Anglo-Saxon world.

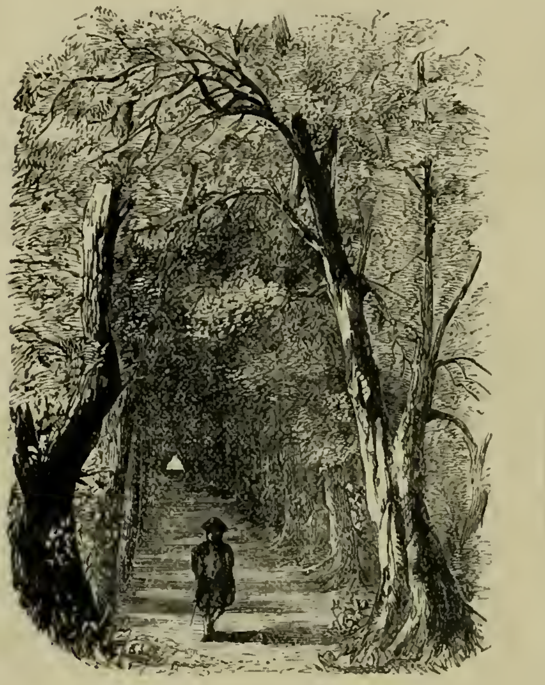
Whitefield and Wesley soon separated into distinct fields of labour, as was inevitable, from Whitefield embracing Calvinism and Wesley Arminianism. Whitefield became popular amongst the aristocracy, from the Countess of Huntingdon becoming one of his followers, and, at the same time, his great patron. Whitefield, like the Wesleys, made repeated tours in America, and visited all the British possessions there. When in England, he generally made an annual tour in it, extending his labours to Scotland and several times to Ireland. On one of his voyages to America he made some stay at Lisbon. Everywhere he astonished his hearers by his vivid eloquence; and Benjamin Franklin relates a singular triumph of Whitefield over his prejudices and his pocket. He died at Newbury Port, near Boston, United States. If Whitefield did not found so numerous a body as Wesley, he yet left a powerful impression on his age; and we still trace his steps, by little bodies of Calvinistic methodists, in various quarters of the kingdom, especially in Wales.

In Scotland the revolution of 1688 completely prostrated episcopalianism as the state church, and restored presbyterianism. The bishops to the last clung to James II., who had forced them on Scotland, and refused to acquiesce in the new settlement, fondly hoping that James would come back again. William therefore left the Scots to follow their predilections, and again re-established presbyterianism; and, indeed, before William had shown his bias, the people, on the fall of James, had simultaneously, on Christmas day, stripped, in the southern counties, two hundred clergymen of their canonical attire, and driven them out of their churches. In a few weeks this example had been followed over the greater part of Scotland. On the 11th of April, 1689, an act was passed by the Scottish convention, conferring the crown on William and Mary, and abolishing the episcopal church in favour of the presbyterian. In the coronation oath the Scotch, with their usual zeal against heretics, introduced a clause, making the king swear to extirpate them; but William stopped, and declared that he could not be a persecutor; and the Scottish commissioners were obliged to say that the oath did not literally require that, on which William observed that he took the oath only in that sense. When the convention was converted into a parliament, this act was formally renewed; and on the 25th of April an act was passed, authorising that such presbyterian ministers still living as were expelled in 1661, should return, and take quiet possession of their manses and pulpits. On the 7th of June, by another act, all acts passed in favour of the episcopal church were abolished, the Westminster Confession was adopted as the confession of faith of the Scottish church, and its government was recognised alike by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies. The restored presbyterian ministers, only sixty in number, were authorised to fill the rest of the vacant livings; and such episcopal ministers as had not been already found out were soon chased thence by the eager and stern aspirants to their places.

The next and most difficult thing was to satisfy all parties by the mode in which ministers should in future be chosen. There was the difficulty of deciding betwixt the noblemen and great landholders, who, under the late system, were the lay patrons; and the mass of the people were to choose their own ministers, "according to the warrant of God's Word." A compromise was eventually made. By an act of July 19th, the candidate for a living was to be first selected by the heritors (landed proprietors) and elders; but the congregation might accept or reject him, as they thought best. If rejected, the case was then referred to the presbytery, who might still confirm the appointment, if they thought the objections to him insufficient. The people's share in the choice of a minister amounted merely to a veto on the choice of the heritors and elders, which the presbytery could set aside. If the heritors and elders thought proper to purchase the right of the original lay patron, they were bound to pay him six hundred merks—thirty-three pounds sterling. Under queen Anne, as in England, the episcopalians raised their heads, and endeavoured to disturb the order of things in Scotland. They succeeded so far that, in 1712, they procured an act, setting aside this mode of choosing ministers and restored the right of the lay patrons; but by what was called the *jus devolutum*, if a patron neglected for six months to fill up a vacant charge, the presbytery should fill it up. In 1732 the general assembly enacted that in all cases in which the patron had not filled the vacancy within the proper time, the heritors and elders, as before the act of 1712, should select the candidate, the ultimate appointment still belonging to the presbytery. This, however, led to a schism. The Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, of Stirling, declaring that the right of appointment of ministers belonged to the people alone, and had nothing to do with heritors or tenure of land, objected to an act of Assembly of 1732. Being joined by his brother, Ralph Erskine, of Dunfermline, and others, the General Assembly at length, in 1740, expelled the objectors from the church, and the expelled formed themselves into what they called "the Associated Presbytery," and in 1744 they took the name of "the Associated Synod," including the three presbyteries of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dunfermline, numbering sixteen congregations more than they could find ministers for, but having a theological class, said to contain more theological students than at any of the Scotch universities, except that of Edinburgh. In 1747, however, a division took place in this body, on account of the oath which all burgesses were required to take in some of the Scotch corporations, declaring their hearty and entire agreement with the religion as by law established. This the members of the Secession, as it was called, had taken; but now many objected, and separated from the main body on that account, the party willing to take the oath being now styled Burghers, the objecting party being styled Anti-Burghers. Many of the Anti-Burghers afterwards reunited with the Burghers, and the body was then styled the "United Associate Synod;" but the parties of Burghers and Anti-Burghers have continued till the agitation of the Free-Kirk question in our time, when a great number of the Original Burgher Synod have returned into the bosom of the establishment. Besides these sects, or sections—for they all held the same religious opinions—there branched off, in 1730, a sect of independents called "Glassites," from the Rev. John Glass, the originator of the movement. In 1752 another secession took place at the instigation of the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, who was afterwards joined by the Rev. Thomas Boston. Their followers adopted the name of "the Relief Synod," who allow a greater freedom of communion than any other sect in Scotland; and, next to the Associate Synod, are the most numerous of the dissenters of Scotland. There is also a remnant of the old Cameronians, styling themselves "the Reformed Presbyterian Church," who have more than thirty congregations, chiefly in the southern counties, and an equally numerous body in the north of Ireland. They are also frequently called "Macmillanites," from Mr. Macmillan, one of their most distinguished preachers. The Free-Kirk movement is of our time, and requires no notice here.

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

The literature of this period is more distinguished for learning and cleverness than for genius. There are a few names that rise above the smartness and mere accomplishment of the time into the regions of pure genius; but, with very few exceptions, even they bear the stamp of the period—a worldly tone, destitute of those diviner qualities, the love of spiritual and intellectual beauty, the comprehension of the higher influences of the universe, the worship of God in His emanations of sublime truth, infinite greatness, and beneficence, and the appreciation of those fairer and more attractive features of human life and character, which render the masterpieces of genius imperishably lovely. We have here no Milton, no Shakespeare, no Herbert, no Herrick, even, to produce; but De Foe, Addison, Steele, Thomson, and Pope, if they do not lift us to the highest creative plane, give us glimpses and traits of what is found there. For the rest, however full of power, there hangs a tone of "town," of a vicious and sordid era, about them, of artificial and by no means refined life, a flavour of the grovelling of the politics which distinguished the period, and of the low views and feelings which occupied and surrounded the throne during the greater portion of this term. The monarchs were engaged in wars, the statesmen in miserable cabals for their own power, and in miserable subservience to the mediocre and selfish monarchs who ruled after the death of William and Mary, and these things gave a tone to society which had a baneful effect on literature. The Georgian era has been praised as the Augustan era of England; we have only to see what went before it and what has come after it, to appreciate it at its true value. There was no lack of learning, much ability, wit, and smartness, but little comparatively of the grandeur and the magnanimous beauty of first-rate minds. There is much that we must admire, more that we must condemn; but, with the exception of "Robinson Crusoe," Thomson's "Seasons," some of the papers of Addison in the "Spectator," and some of the poems of Pope, little that we embrace with that unreserved and cordial love with which we cling to the great works of our noblest writers.

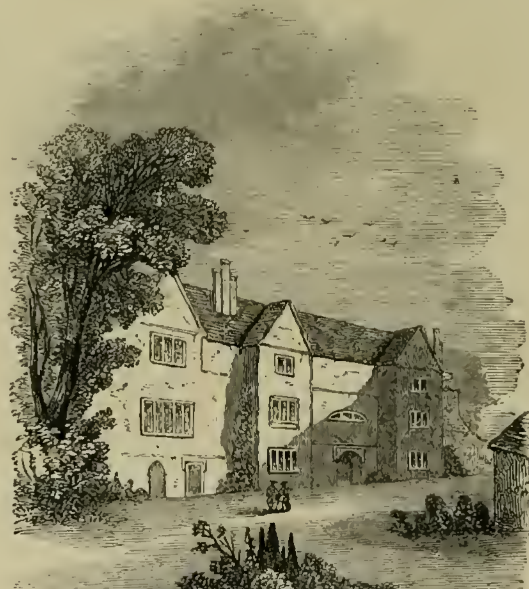


ADDISON'S WALK AT OXFORD.

Some of the writers of the last period were still existing in this. Dryden was living, and wrote some of his most perfect works, as his "Fables," and his "Alexander's Feast," as well as translated Virgil, after the Revolution. He was still hampered by his miserable but far more successful dramatic rivals, Shadwell and Elkanah Settle. Nathaniel Lee produced in William's time his tragedies, "The Princess of Cleve," and his "Massacre of Paris." Etheregе was yet alive; Wycherley still poured out his licentious poems; and Southerne wrote the greater part of his plays. His "Oronooka" and his "Fatal Marriage" were produced now, and he received such prices as astonished Dryden. Whilst Dryden never obtained more than a hundred pounds for a play, Southerne obtained his six or seven hundred. We may satisfy ourselves as to Dutch William's appreciation of poetry by the fact that Shadwell was his first poet-laureate and Nahum Tate the next. Dr. Nicholas Brady and Nahum Tate made the version of the Psalms which still disgraces our church service. Sir William Temple, Baxter, Sir George Mackenzie, Stillingfleet, and Evelyn, as well as some others flourishing at the end of the last period, still remained.

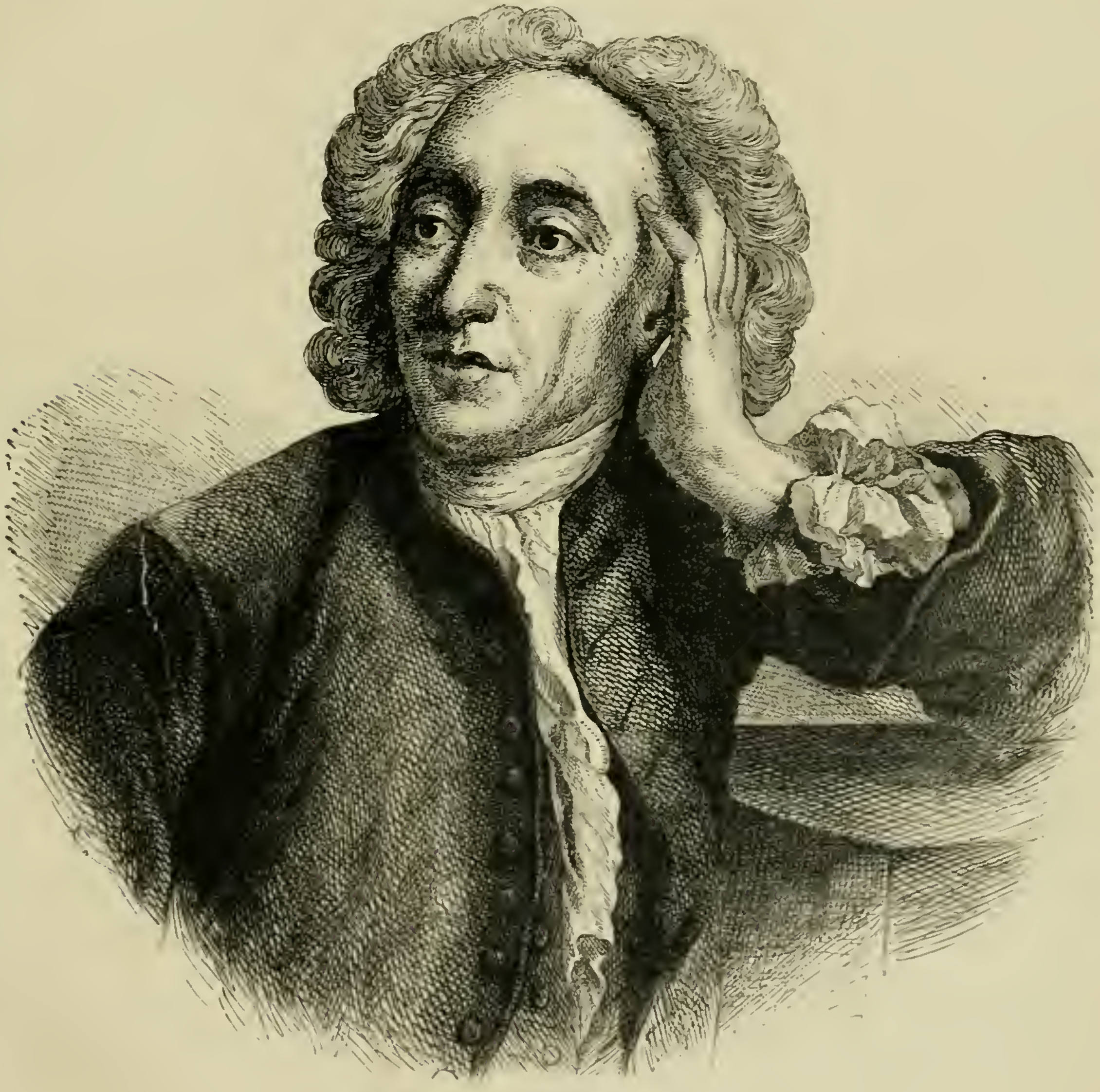
PROSE WRITERS.

Amongst the earliest of these may be mentioned the theological authors. Cumberland was the author of a Latin treatise, "De Legibus Naturæ," in which he successfully combated the infidelity of Hobbes. Bull, who, as well as Cumberland, became a bishop, had distinguished himself before the revolution by his "Harmonia Apostolica," an anti-Calvinistic work, and by his "Defensio Fidei Nicenæ." In 1694 he published his "Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ." John Norris, of the school of Cudworth and Henry More, and nearly the last of that school called the English Platonists, published, besides many other works, his "Essay on the Ideal World" in 1701 and 1702. He also wrote some religious poetry of no particular mark. Tillotson and South were the great authors of sermons of this period. Tillotson was one of the most popular preachers of the time, but may be said to have done more good by his liberal and amiable influence at the head of the church than by his preaching. There is a solid and genuinely pious character about the sermons of Tillotson which suited the better-trained class of



THE RESIDENCE OF RICHARDSON, THE NOVELIST.

mind of his age, but which would now be deemed rather heavy. South has more life and a more popular style; he was therefore more attractive to the courtiers of his day than to the sober citizens, and he has larded his text with what were then deemed sprightly sallies and dashing phrases, but which are now felt as vulgarisms. Both the divines, however, have furnished to our succeeding preachers much gleaning. Dr. Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, who figures so prominently in the reign of William and Mary, and who rendered such essential service to the establishment of religious liberty, is the great historian of his time. Without his narratives of his own period, we should have a very defective idea of it. With all his activity at court and in parliament, he was a most voluminous writer. His publications amount to no less than a hundred and forty-five, though many of these are mere tracts, and some of them even only single sermons. His earliest productions date from 1669, and they continued, with little intermission, to the time of his death in 1715—a space of forty-six years. His great works are "The Reformation of the Church," in three volumes, folio. 1679, 1681, and 1714; and his "History of Our Own Time," in two volumes, published after his death in 1723 and 1734. Burnet lays no claim to eloquence or to much genius, and he has been accused of a fondness for gossip, and for his self-importance; but the qualities which sink all these things into mere secondary considerations are his honesty and heartiness in the support of sound and liberal principles far beyond the majority of his fellow prelates and churchmen. Whilst many of these were spending their energies in opposing reformation and toleration, and some of them, like Atterbury, were endeavouring to bring back popery and despotism in the person of the pretender, Burnet was incessantly, by word and pen, engaged in assisting to build up and establish those broad and Christian principles under



ALEXANDER POPE. FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT which we now live. Besides the great works named, he wrote also "Memoirs of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton," one volume, folio; "Passages in the Life and Death of Wilmot, Earl of Rochester;" a "Life of Bishop Bedel;" "Travels on the Continent;" and "An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles," &c. &c.

Dr. Thomas Burnet is known for his eloquent and able History of the Earth—"Telluris Sacra Theoria," first published in Latin, and afterwards in English. This work, on which his fame rests, was greatly read and admired at the time, but the discoveries of modern science have reduced it to mere ingenious but unfounded theory. He was also author of "Archæologica Philosophica," and some lesser treatises.

The great philosopher of this period was John Locke. Locke was considerably connected with the governments of his time, and especially with that extraordinary agitator and political speculator, Ashley lord Shaftesbury, whom he attended in his banishment, and did not return till the Revolution. Yet, though so much connected with government, office, and the political schemers, Locke remained wonderfully unworldly in his nature. His philosophical bias, no doubt, preserved him from the corrupt influences around him. He was a stanch advocate of toleration, and wrote three letters on toleration, and left another unfinished at his death. In these he defended both religious and civil liberty against Jonas Proast and Sir Robert Filmer, advocates of despotism and bigotry. His "Thoughts on Education" and his treatises on government served as the foundations of Rousseau's "Emile" and his "Contrat Social." Besides these he wrote numerous works of a theological kind, as "The Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity;" and in his last years, "A Discourse upon Miracles," "Paraphrases of St. Paul," and "An Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles;" a work "On the Conduct of the Understanding," and "An Examination of Father Malbranche's Opinion of Seeing all Things in God." But his great work is his "Essay concerning the Human Understanding." This may be considered the first pure and systematic treatise on metaphysics in the English language; and though the pursuit of the science since his time has led to the rejection of many of his opinions, the work will always remain as an able and clearly-reasoned attempt to follow the method of Bacon in tracing the nature and operations of the understanding. The fundamental principle of Locke's theory, in opposition to Descartes and others, that there are no such things as innate ideas and principles of knowledge, has been gladly seized on by materialists to carry the consequences of this position much farther than Locke intended—in fact, to the denial of revelation, and of all intuitive sense of a Deity, and of the divine law of right and wrong in the conscience. Locke's idea of the mind in infancy being a *tabula rasa*, or mere blank, capable of being written on by outward impressions, is, in fact, at utter variance with the existence of faculties which he admits. Though we have no innate ideas, we have innate faculties of perception, by which we take notice of objects; of consciousness, by which we recognise their reality; and reflection, by which we inquire into their nature and properties. The moral sense, which, though it may be warped by education, can never be utterly extinguished, and which leads mankind in all ages and countries, in the main, to recognise the great principles of right and truth, implies, therefore, innate principle. Locke's Baconian habit of building his metaphysical theory more on the images which come from without than from the images which we may and do receive from the spiritual world by our spiritual faculties, is, in fact, the grand defect of his system; and, if he had adopted instead of rejected Malbranche's principle of "seeing all things in God" instead of all things in himself, he would have established a more comprehensive and true philosophy. But Locke was deficient in "the vision and the faculty divine" by which the higher regions of our nature are discovered, and by which Shakespeare is continually flashing celestial lights down into the very depths of the soul, whilst making no pretence to theorise In studying Locke, this defect in psychological penetration is to be borne in mind, and then the inquirer will find much to benefit him in the clear description of the operation of the faculties in gathering and connecting ideas, and building up the sum of our knowledge and opinions.

One of the pioneers of the science of political economy at this time was Dr. Davenant, the son of Sir William Davenant, the poet. He had no genius for drawing principles and theories from accumulated facts, but he was a diligent collector of them, and his porings amongst state documents and accounts have served essentially the historians and political economists of our day.

During this period Richard Bentley, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and archdeacon of Ely, figures prominently as one of the most profound classical scholars which this country has produced, and, at the same time, as one of the most quarrelsome, arrogant, and grasping of men. The circumstance which made the most noise in his career was his controversy with the Hon. Charles Boyle regarding the authenticity of the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop. In this dispute he had to contend with Drs. Atterbury, French, King, and Smallridge, who made the reply to him in their "Examination of Bentley's Dissertation on the Epistles," in the name of Boyle. Swift also attacked him in "The Battle of the Books." The controversy made an immense noise at the time, and Bentley completely proved his assertion, that both the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop, in their present form, are spurious. The services of Bentley in publishing corrected editions of various classical works are of no ordinary kind. Amongst the authors who have received the benefit of his critical touches are Aristophanes, Cicero, in his "Tusculan Questions," Menander, Philemon, Horace, Nicander, Phædrus, and Homer. In his editions of Horace and Homer, however, he laid himself open to severe criticism by his rash and arbitrary emendations of the text, and still more so by his edition of Milton's "Paradise Lost," from the same cause. In this case he showed that he was as deficient in the Italian and romantic learning, which Milton had made himself master of, as he was great in his own classical field. Bentley showed himself as a theologian to great distinction by his refutation of Collins's "Defence of Freethinking," and his lectures at Oxford in defence of the Christian religion.

With "The Battle of the Books" appeared "The Tale of a Tub;" and though these were anonymous, it was soon well known that they were from the hand of Jonathan Swift, a friend of Harley and Bolingbroke, and who now assumed a position in the public eye destined to be rendered yet more remarkable. Swift was of English parentage, but born in Dublin in 1667. He was educated at Kilkenny and the university of Dublin. In early life he became private secretary to Sir William Temple, and there he wrote his "Tale of a Tub," which cut off all his hopes of a bishopric. He edited a selection from the papers of Temple, and then accompanied lord Berkeley to Ireland as chaplain. Disappointed of the preferment which he had hoped for, he went over from the whigs to the tories in 1710, and thenceforward was the most unscrupulous adherent of Harley and Bolingbroke, defending all their measures in the "Examiner," and pouring out his vengeance on all opponents with the most unflinching truculence. In his political character Swift has been styled the great blackguard of the age, and certainly with too much truth. With extraordinary intellectual power, wit, and sarcasm, no principle or tenderness of feeling restrained him in his attacks on his enemies. If Harley and Bolingbroke are guilty of inflicting the disgraceful peace of Utrecht on the nation, simply to avenge themselves on the whigs, no man so thoroughly abetted them in that business as Swift. His "Conduct of the Allies," his "Public Spirit of the Whigs," and other political tracts and articles, bear testimony to his unscrupulous political rancour. His "Drapier's Letters," and his treatment of Wood in the affair of the Irish halfpence, show that no means, however base and false, came amiss to him in serving the objects of his ambition. The same utter want of feeling is evinced in the strange history of his conduct to Miss Van Homrigh and Miss Johnson. The great work of Swift is his "Gulliver's Travels," a work characterised by a massive intellect and a fertile invention, but defiled by that grossness and obscenity which were inseparable from his mind, and which equally pollute his poems, where there is much wit and humour, but not a trace of pathos or tenderness. They are all glittering, cold, and too often smutty. In fact, Swift, as presented to us in his writings, is a combination of Titanic power and Satanic malevolence; a concentration of intense selfishness, spiritual pride, and repulsive iciness. There is none of that divine glow of love and human sympathy, mingled with the worship of beauty and truth, which court our affections in the works of the greatest masters. When we are told that Swift's grossness is merely the grossness of the time, we immediately point to "Robinson Crusoe," to "The Seasons" and "Castle of Indolence" of Thomson, and to the works of Addison, for the most admirable contrast. Swift was undoubtedly one of the most vigorous writers of the age, but he was one of the most unamiable. He was the Mephistopheles of the eighteenth century.

What a contrast immediately presents itself in the generous nature of Steele, in the genial and pure writings of Addison! Both Addison and Steele were poets, Steele principally a dramatic poet, of considerable success; Addison was the author of "Cato," a tragedy, and the "Campaign," celebrating the victory of Blenheim, with other poems, all very popular in their day. But the reputation of both Steele and Addison rests on their prose. They were the introducers of essay and periodical writings, and carried these to a perfection which has never been surpassed. Steele has the honour of originating this new department of literature—a department which has grown into such importance, that the present age would scarcely know how to exist without it. He started the "Tatler" in 1709, issuing it three times a week, and was joined by Addison in about six weeks. The interest with which this new literary paper was expected on the breakfast tables of that day, can only be imagined by that which the morning papers now excite. In 1711, the "Tatler" having ceased, the "Spectator" was started on the same plan, jointly by Steele and Addison, and in 1713, this ceasing, the "Guardian" took its place. Steele was the largest contributor to the "Tatler" and "Guardian," Addison to the "Spectator." Various of their contemporaries furnished papers, Swift amongst the rest, but there are none which can compare with the vigorous, manly writing of Steele, and the elegant, and often noble, compositions of Addison. The mixture of grave and gay was admirable, and certain to insure high popularity. In these papers we find abundant revelations of the spirit and manners of the times. Addison's papers on serious and religious subjects, such as those on the starry heavens, and those which combat scepticism, are unsurpassed. His characters of Sir Roger de Coverley, Will Wimble, &c., have an imperishable English interest. The poetic and generous nature of Addison was demonstrated by the cordial and zealous criticisms on Milton's "Paradise Lost," which he mainly contributed to rescue from that neglect which it still experienced. Addison, after Sir Philip Sidney, was the first to call attention to our old popular ballads, "Chevy Chase" and "The Babes in the Wood," the eulogies on which probably led Bishop Percy to the collection of the precious "Reliques" of the ballad lore of former ages. The "Spectator" and "Guardian" were published daily. Steele afterwards published the "Englishman," with which Addison had no concern, and it only reached to fifty-seven numbers. These two fellow-labourers, both in literature and parliament, after nearly fifty years' friendship, were sundered by a mere political difference—the question of limiting the royal prerogative of creating peers, in 1719, the very last year of Addison's life.

Bolingbroke must be named amongst the prose writers of the age. Amongst the five large quarto volumes of his writings, there is little that will now interest the reader. He wrote in a brilliant and pretentious style, as he acted; and his writings, like his policy, are more showy than sound. As a cold sceptic in religion, and a Jacobite in politics, proud and essentially selfish in his nature, we are not likely to find anything from his pen which can strongly attract us, or is calculated to benefit us. Amongst the tory party, in which he moved, he was one of those brilliant and self-complacent apparitions, which have all the qualities of the meteor—dazzling, but speedily sinking into darkness.

A very different man was the indefatigable and patriotic Daniel Defoe. Defoe, who was engaged in trade, and was the introducer of pantiles, was a thorough whig, or, as we should now call him, radical in politics. He was one of those rare men who look only at the question before them, as they regard the good of the public, and are, therefore, found almost as often calling to account the party to which they nominally belong, as they are the opposite one. His principle was essentially "measures, not men," and thus he was one of the zealous supporters of Godolphin and his ministry in accomplishing the union with Scotland; and equally so of Harley and Bolingbroke, for establishing a commercial treaty with France. He was much more useful to reform than liked by so-called reformers, and was continually getting into trouble for his honest speaking. From the age of twenty-three to that of fifty-eight, his pen had scarcely a moment's rest, from advocating important political and social subjects, and there was a force of reason, a feeling of reality, a keenness of wit and satire, in his compositions which gave them interest and extensive attention. He passed some extraordinary quizzes on the domineerers in parliament and the persecutors in the church, which were so ill understood by the blockheads of the time, especially his petition of three hundred thousand men to parliament, which created a wonderful alarm, and his "Short Way with the Dissenters," as made him enemies for awhile amongst those he meant to serve.

But whilst his political labours did their work in his lifetime, they are his literary ones which are the basis of his present fame. These were almost all produced after his sixtieth year; "Robinson Crusoe," by far the most popular of all his writings, and one of the most popular in all the world's literature, "The Dumb Philosopher," "Captain Singleton," "Duncan Campbell," "Moll Flanders," "Colonel Jacque," "The Memoirs of the Plague," "The Memoirs of a Cavalier," "The Fortunate Mistress; or, Roxana," "The New Voyage round the World," and "Captain Carleton." The life and fidelity to human nature with which these are written, have continually led readers to believe them altogether real narratives. The "Journal of the Plague" was quoted as a relation of facts by Dr. Mead; Chatham used to recommend "The Memoirs of a Cavalier" as the best account of the Civil War; Dr. Johnson read the life of "Captain Carleton" as genuine, and we continually see the story of "Mrs. Veal's Ghost," written by Defoe to puff Drelincourt's heavy "Essay on Death," included in collections as a matter-of-fact account of an apparition. This quality of verisimilitude is one of the greatest charms of his inimitable "Crusoe," which is the delight of the young from age to age.

Amongst the prose writers of this period a lady stands prominent, lady Mary Wortley Montague, the daughter of the duke of Kingston, and mother of lady Bute, the wife of the earl of Bute, the celebrated minister of George III. Lady Mary derives her chief fame from her Letters, which were not published till after her decease. They are as remarkable for their wit, brilliancy, and clear, thorough sense, as any of the writings of the age. In these we have a most graphic picture of life in the East, having been some years at Constantinople with her husband. She thence conferred one of the greatest boons on her country, by the introduction of inoculation for the small-pox. Lady Mary translated the "Enchiridion of Epictetus," and wrote many verses, including satirical ones, called "Town Eclogues;" but her fame must always rest upon her clear and sparkling letters. During her lifetime, she was as celebrated for her wit and beauty, and was a leading figure in the fashionable as well as the literary world. Pope and she were long great friends, but quarrelled irreconcilably. A very clear and interesting life of lady Mary has been included in the collected edition of her writings by her descendant, lord Wharncliffe, from the pen of her granddaughter, lady Louisa Stuart.

POETS.

At the head of these in this period stands Alexander Pope, who became the founder of a school which has had followers down to our time. Pope was the poet of society, of art, and polish. His life was spent in London and in the country, chiefly betwixt Binfield, in Windsor Forest, and Twickenham; and his poetry partakes very much of the qualities of that scenery—rich, cultivated, and beautiful, but having no claims to the wild or the sublime. He is opposed to poets like Milton and Shakespeare as pastures and town gardens are opposed to seas, forests, and mountains. In style he is polished to the highest degree, piquant, and musical; but, instead of being profound and creative, he is sensible, satiric, and didactic. He failed in "the vision and the faculty divine," but he possessed fancy, a moderate amount of passion, and a clear and penetrating intellect. He loved nature, but it was such only as he knew—the home-scenes of Berkshire and the southern counties, and nature trained and polished in his gardens, pleached walks, and grottos at Twickenham. Mountains he had never seen, and there are none in his poetry. He was born in the year of the Revolution, and died in 1744, aged fifty-six; and, considering that he suffered from a feeble constitution and defective health, he was a remarkably industrious man. His pastorals appeared in "Tonson's Miscellany" when he was only twenty-one years old. Before this he had translated the first book of the "Thebais," and Ovid's "Epistle from Sappho to Phaon;" paraphrased Chaucer's "January and May," and the prologue to "The Wife of Bath's Tale." In two years after his Pastorals (1711) appeared his "Essay on Criticism," "The Messiah" the same year in the "Spectator," and in 1712 "The Rape of the Lock," as well as "The Temple of Fame." "The Rape of the Lock" celebrated the mighty event of the clipping of a lock of bair from the head of Miss Belle Fermor by lord Petre. This act, adorned with a great machinery of sylphs and gnomes, a specimen of elegant trifling, enchanted the age, which would have less appreciated greater things, and placed Pope on the pinnacle of fame. In 1713 he published "Windsor Forest," a subject for a pleasant but not a great poem, yet characteristic of the genius of Pope, which delighted in the level and ornate rather than the great and wild. In 1715 appeared the first four books of his translation of Homer's "Iliad," which was not completed till 1720. This still continues the most popular translation of the great heroic poet of Greece; for although it is rather a paraphrase of this colossal yet simple poem, and therefore not estimated highly by Greek scholars who can go to the original, it has that beauty and harmony of style which render it to the English reader an ever-fascinating work. In 1717 appeared his "Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard," a poem displaying more passion than other of Pope's writings, but too sensuous, and the subject itself far from well chosen. Next succeeded his "Odyssey" of Homer, in conjunction with Fenton and Broome, and in 1725 the first three books of "The Dunciad," in which he took a sweeping vengeance on the critics and poetasters of the time, who had assailed him fiercely on all sides, with John Dennis at their head. The vigour with which Pope wielded the satiric lash excited the wonder of the public, which had seen no such trenchant production hitherto in the language, and filled the whole host of flayed and scalded dunces with howls of wrath and agony. Pope was not sparing of foul language in his branding of others, and they were still more obscene and scurrilous in their retorts. It is questionable whether they or Pope felt the most torture; for, so far from silencing them, they continued to kick, sting, and pelt him with dirt so long as he lived. So late as 1742 he published a fourth book of the satire, to give yet one more murderous blow to the blackguard crew. To some of his cotemporaries Pope, like Byron in our day, did great injustice in this attack, and to Aaron Hill he was obliged to make an apology. Besides this satire, he modernised an edition of Donne's Satires, and produced his "Essay on Man," his "Essay on Taste," his "Moral Epistles," and other poems, down to 1740. His "Essay on Man," "Moral Epistles," &c., display shrewd sense, and a keen perception of the characteristics of human nature and of the world; yet they do not let us into any before unknown depths of life or morals, but, on the contrary, are, in many particulars, unsound. In fact, these productions belong by no means to poetry, of which they exhibit no quality, and might just as well have been given in prose. On the whole, Pope is a poet whose character is that of cleverness, strong intellect, carefully-elaborative art, much malice, and little warmth or breadth of genuine imagination. He reflects the times in which he lived, which were corrupt, critical, but not original, and he had no conception of the heavens of poetry and soul into which Milton and Shakespeare soared before him, and Keats, Shelley, Coleridge, and Wordsworth in our time have wandered at large.

The strong sense, lively fancy, and smart style of his satires, distinguished also Pope's prose, as in his "Treatise of the Bathos; or, Art of Sinking in Poetry;" his "Memoirs of P. P., Clerk of this Parish"—in ridicule of Burnet's "Own Times"—his Letters, &c. In some of the latter he describes the country and country seats, and the life there of his friends; which shows that, in an age more percipient of the charm of such things, he would have probably approached nearer to the heart of Nature, and given us something more genial and delightful than anything that he has left us. Dr. Arbuthnot, a great friend of Pope and Swift, was also one of the ablest prose writers, "The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus," published in Pope and Swift's works, and the political satire of "John Bull," a masterly performance, being attributed to him.

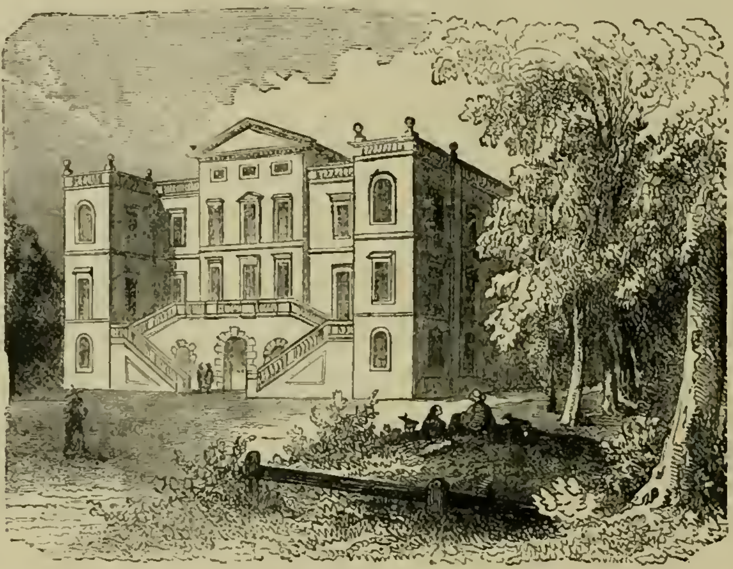
John Gay, a contemporary of Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot, is now best known by his "Fables" and his "Beggars' Opera." His "Fables" have been extremely popular, and still make him a general name; but, in his own time, his "Beggars' Opera" was his great success. Its wit, its charming music, its popular characters, gave it a universal favour; and it is the only English opera that even to this time has become permanent. Gay's "Trivia; or, Art of Walking the Street," is still amusing, and some of his ballads have a lightness and buoyancy about them which justify the esteem in which he was held in his own day.

Matthew Prior had a high reputation in his day as a poet, but his poetry has little to recommend it now. He was the more popular as a poet, no doubt, because he was much employed as a diplomatist in queen Anne's reign by the tory party. His "City and Country Mouse," written in conjunction with lord Halifax, in ridicule of Dryden's "Hind and Panther," may be considered as one of his happiest efforts. Sir Samuel Garth, author of "The Dispensary," a mock-heroic poem in six cantos, and Dr. Richard Blackmore, another physician, and author of a whole heap of epics in ten or twelve books each—as "Prince Arthur," "King Alfred," "Eliza," "The Redeemer," &c.—may still be found in our collections of verse, but not to be read. Dr. Young's "Night Thoughts" still maintain their place, and are greatly admired by many, notwithstanding his stilted style and violent antithesis, for amid these there are many fine and striking thoughts.

Still more have "The Seasons" and "The Castle of Indolence" of James Thomson retained, and are likely to retain, the public favour. "The Seasons" are a treasury of the life and imagery of the country, animated by a true love of Nature and of God, and abounding in passages of fire, healthy feeling, and strong sense, often of sublime conceptions, in a somewhat stiff and vicious style. "The Castle of Indolence" is a model of metrical harmony and luxurious fancy, in the Spenserian stanza. Another poet of the same time and country—Scotland—is Allan Ramsay, who, in his native dialect, has painted the manners and sung the rural loves of Scotland in his "Gentle Shepherd" and his rustic lyrics. Till Burns, no poet of Scotland had so completely embodied the spirit, feelings, and popular life of that country. Amongst a host of verse-makers, then deemed poets, but who were merely imitators of imitators, we must except Gray, with his nervous lyrics, and, above all, his ever-popular "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." Gray also has a genuine vein of wit and merriment in his verse. Collins, in his odes, still preserves his undoubted poetic eminence; Parnell's "Hermit," Blair's "Grave," Shenstone's "School Mistress," Akenside's "Imagination," can yet charm particular readers, and there are others in great numbers whose works yet figure in collections of the poets, or whose individual poems are selected in anthologies, as Smith, King, Sprat, bishop of Rochester, Duke, Montagu, earl of Halifax, Nicholas Rowe, Dyer—author of the "Fleece," "Grongar Hill," and "Ruins of Rome"—Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, Fenton, Somerville—author of the "Chase," "Field Sports," &c.—Hammond—author of "Love Elegies"—lord Lyttleton, Mallet, Mickle—author of the ballads of "Cumnor Hall," "There's Na Luck about the House," and translator of the "Lusiad of Camoens"—Shaw, Harte, West, Cawthorne, Lloyd, Gilbert Cooper, Grainger—author of "The Sugar Cane," and the once popular ballad of "Bryan and Pereene"—Dodsley, poet and bookseller, Boyse—author of "The Deity," a poem, &c.—Smollett—more remarkable as a novelist and historian—Michael Bruce, Walsh, Falconer—author of the "Shipwreck"—Yalden, Pattison, Aaron Hill, Broome, Pitt—the translator of Virgil—John Philips

—author of "Cyder," a poem, the "Splendid Shilling," &c. —West, and others. In fact, this age produced poets enough to have constituted the rhythmical literature of a nation, as they had as much genius as they had learning.

Besides the miscellaneous poets, the dramatic ones numbered Congreve, Vanbrugh, Farquhar, Colley Cibber, Nicholas Rowe—already mentioned—Savage, Lansdowne, Ambrose Philips, and others. In many of the plays of these authors there is great talent, wit, and humour, but mingled with equal grossness. Congreve's dramas are principally "The Old Bachelor," "The Incognita," "The Double Dealer," "The Way of the World," comedies, and "The Mourning Bride," a tragedy. Vanbrugh, the celebrated architect, produced "The Relapse," "The Provoked Wife," "The Confederacy," "The Journey to London," and several other comedies. Farquhar's principal plays are "The Beaux' Stratagem," "Love in a Bottle," and "The Constant Couple." Savage was the author of the tragedy of "Sir Thomas Overbury;" Nicholas Rowe, of five or six tragedies and one comedy, the most popular of which are "The Fair Penitent" and "Jane Shore." Rowe also translated Lucan's "Pharsalia." As for Colley Cibber, he was a mere playwright, and turned out above two dozen comedies, tragedies, and other dramatic pieces. Lord Lansdowne was the author of "Gallantry," a comedy, and "Heroic Love," a tragedy of some merit; and John Hughes wrote "The Siege of Damascus," a tragedy, which still remains on the stage.



POPE'S VILLA, TWICKENHAM.

In the department of philosophy flourished the celebrated bishop Berkeley, author of "The Principles of Human Knowledge," who startled the world with the theory that matter has no existence in the universe, but is merely a fixed idea of the mind; Dr. Mandeville, a Dutchman by birth, who settled in London, and published various medical and metaphysical works of a free-thinking character; Hutchinson, an opponent of Dr. Woodward in natural history, and Newton in natural philosophy; and David Hartley, author of "Observations on Man." Bishop Butler, Warburton, Hoadley, Middleton, author of "A Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers of the Church," and Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, were the leading theologists in the church; but dissent could also boast of its theologians in Dr. Isaac Watts, author of a system of logic and of the popular Hymns, Calamy, the opponent of Hoadley, Doddridge, &c.

In the department of novel writing, no age had yet produced such a constellation as Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, and Smollett. Their works are still read with admiration by all who have a strong relish for the vivid and masterly delineations of life; their only drawback being, that they are all more or less stained and mildewed with the grossness and licentiousness of the age. From these serious faults Richardson is most free, and in his "Sir Charles Grandison" he has shown himself ahead of his age in the wisdom and liberality of his ideas. He discountenanced duelling, and taught the soundest principles of honour and morality. The photographic minuteness of Richardson's style unfortunately prevents the general reading of his works at the present day of abundant new literature. The principal novels of Fielding, "Joseph Andrews," "Tom Jones," and "Amelia," abound in wit, vigour, and knowledge of human nature. He wrote also some plays, and edited several periodicals. His sister, Sarah, also wrote "David Simple," a novel, and translated Xenophon's "Memoirs of Socrates." Smollett in his novels paints life in strong, bold, but somewhat coarse lines, full of vigour, but with even more grossness and obscenity than Fielding. "Peregrine Pickle," "Count Fathom," "Roderick Random," "Humphrey Clinker," and "Sir Launcelot Greaves," if not now generally read, have been carefully studied and made use of by some of our living novelists. Smollett, besides, wrote plays, satires, poems, and edited "The Briton," a weekly newspaper. Sterne struck out a style of writing peculiar to himself, and which yet stands alone, defying all successful imitation. Spite of recent attempts to represent his pathos as grimace, and his humour as tinsel, there is that felicity of touch in "Tristram Shandy," and those flashes of wit and genuine feeling in his "Sentimental Journal," which, in spite of detractors, and of the occasional indecency of the author, so reprehensible in a clergyman, will always send readers to Sterne.

PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

James Bradley, who succeeded Halley as the third astronomer-royal, held that post till 1762, when he died. He had in 1728 greatly distinguished himself by his discovery of an unanswerable proof of the motion of the earth by his observations on the apparent alteration in the place of a fixed star. His second great discovery was that of the mutation of the earth's axis, showing that the pole of the equator moves round the pole of the eliptic, not in a straight but in a waving line. Bradley gave important assistance to the ministry in their alteration of the calendar in 1751, and the vast mass of his observations was published after his death, by the university of Oxford, in two volumes, in 1798.

Hadley's quadrant was constructed and made known by him to the Philosophical Society, in 1731, though Thomas Godfrey, a glazier, of Philadelphia, is said to have made a similar instrument a year before. So early, however, as 1727, Newton had described such an instrument to Halley, that is, a very little time before his death. This invaluable instrument has since been improved, first into a sextant, and ultimately into a complete circle. In 1758 appeared John Dolland's corrections of Newton's views of the dispersion of refracted light, and in the following year his achromatic telescope, based on his accurate discoveries.

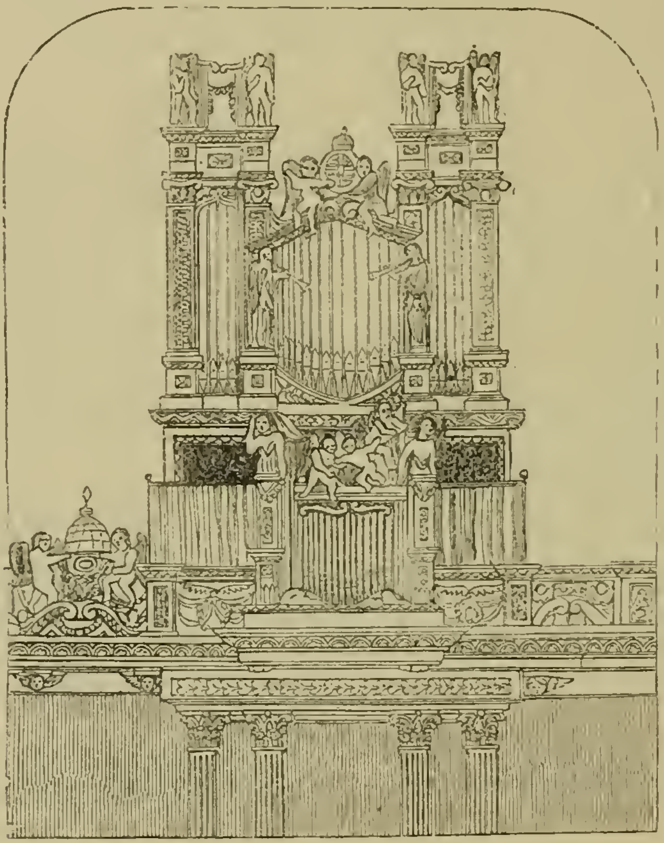
In 1720 Colin Maclaurin, the successor of James Gregory in the mathematical chair at Edinburgh, published his "Geometrica Organica," a treatise on curves; in 1742 his admirable treatise on fluxions; and in 1748 his treatise on algebra. Dr. Robert Simpson, professor of mathematics at Glasgow, published a restoration of the "Loci" of Apollonius, and an English translation of Euclid, which continued down to our own time in use, both in Scotland and England. In 1717 James Stirling published a Latin treatise on lines of the third order, and another on fluxions, called "Methodus Differentialis," in 1730. William Emerson, a mathematician and mechanist, wrote much during this period on fluxions, trigonometry, mechanics, navigation, algebra, optics, astronomy, geography, dialing, &c., which was only in part, however, published during this period. Thomas Simpson, a weaver, of Market Bosworth, at the age of seven-and-twenty suddenly discovered himself as an extraordinary mathematician, and went on till his death, in 1761, publishing works on fluxions, the nature and laws of chance, on mixed mathematics, on the doctrine of annuities and reversions, on algebra, elementary geometry, trigonometry, &c. James Ferguson, also, the son of a day-labourer, in Banffshire, studied mathematics whilst tending sheep, and published a number of works on the phenomena of the harvest moon, astronomy, mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, and optics. Ferguson had a remarkably lucid and demonstrative style, both in writing and lecturing, and his example excited a great spirit of inquiry amongst the working classes, so that he is said to have diffused the knowledge of physical science amongst the class from which he sprung more than any other man.

In electricity great strides were made. Between the years 1705 and 1711 Francis Hawksbee published in the Transactions of the Royal Society several experiments, in which he had, for the first time, discovered the production of the electric spark by friction, and electrical attraction and repulsion. In 1720 Stephen Gray, a pensioner of the Charter House, published the result of his experiments on this subject, with a list of the substances which showed electricity under friction; and 1732 he discovered the conducting property of non-electrical bodies. Before 1739, Dufray, keeper of the king's garden at Paris, discovered the repellant power of two similarly-electrified bodies, and the attraction of these positively and negatively electrified—or, as he termed it, possessing the vitreous and the resinous electricity. Cuneus and Lallemand discovered the mode of accumulating the electric fluid in what was called the Leyden jar in 1745. This discovery gave a new impetus to inquiry, and Nollet, in France, and Watson, in England, conceived the hypothesis of the jar being overcharged on one side and undercharged on the other. This growing perception of the positive and negative conditions of the electric fluid received confirmation from the experiments of Benjamin Franklin, in America. Franklin soon improved the Leyden jar into an electrical battery; and, in 1752, he proved the identity of electricity and lightning by his grand experiment of the kite. On this he recommended lightning conductors, which, however, were not used in England till ten years afterwards.

On the laws of heat and cold, and atmospheric changes under their influence, many interesting facts were ascertained by the aid of the thermometers of Fahrenheit and Reaumur. Dr. Martin, of St. Andrews, distinguished himself in these inquiries, and published his discoveries and deductions in 1739 and 1740. In 1750 Dr. Cullen drew attention to some curious facts connected with the production of cold by evaporation. Dr. Joseph Black discovered what he called latent heat, and continued his researches on this subject beyond the present period.

Chemistry also received valuable extensions of its field. Dr. John Mayow published new facts respecting nitre, and on the phenomena of respiration and combustion, as revealed by experiments on this and other substances. At the commencement of the eighteenth century Stahl, a German chemist, propounded his theory of phlogiston as the principle of combustion, which was only exploded by the further discoveries of Dr. Black, Cavendish, and Priestley Soon after, Dr. Hales threw new light on aeriform bodies, or, as they are now termed, gases; and, finally, Dr. Black demonstrated the presence of a gas in magnesia, lime, and the alkalies, which had long before been noticed by Van Helmont, but had been forgotten. This was then termed fixed air, but has now acquired the name of carbonic acid gas. At the end of this period chemistry was extensively studied, and was rapidly revealing its secrets.

The kindred science of medicine was also in marked advance. Dr. Thomas Sydenham, who died in 1689, at the very commencement of this period, had prepared the way for a more profound knowledge of the science by his careful and persevering observation of facts and symptoms; and the improvements he introduced guided medical men in the treatment of disease till the end of this period. Anatomical science was greatly advanced at this era by Malpighi, Steno, Ruysch, Duvernay, Morgagni, Albinus, Haller, and other continental physicians. In this country Humphrey Ridley published a work on the brain in 1695, and William Cowper, in 1698, his anatomical tables, said to be borrowed from the Dutch anatomist, Bidloo. In 1726 Alexander Munro published his "Osteology;" he was also founder of the Medical School of Edinburgh. In 1733 William Cheselden, the most expert operator of his day, published his "Osteography." In 1727 Stephen Hales published his "Vegetable Statics," and in 1733 his "Hæmastatics," which carried both vegetable and animal physiology beyond all preceding knowledge either here or abroad. Zoology and comparative anatomy also received some progress from the labours of Nehemiah Grew, Tyson, Collins, and other members of the Royal Society.



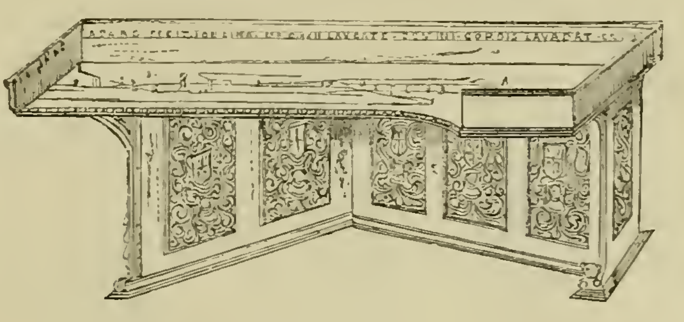
ORGAN IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

MUSIC.

Music advanced at an equal rate with its sister arts, and during this period added to its conquests the compositions of Purcell and Handel. Dutch William was too much engaged in war to become a great patron of music, or of any of the fine arts, and his queen, Mary, does not appear to have possessed any elevated taste for it. She is related by Sir John Hawkins to have sent for Purcell and Mrs. Arabella Hunt, a famous singer, to entertain her. Mrs. Hunt sang some of Purcell's splendid compositions, and Purcell accompanied them on the harpsichord; but Mary soon grew weary of these, and called on Mrs. Hunt to sing the Scotch ballad, "Cold and Raw!"

Purcell, however, produced the bulk of his works under this reign. He composed the music to "The Tempest," "Dioclesian," "King Arthur," "Don Quixote," "Boadicea," and "Orpheus Britannicus." Many parts of these, and his sonatas, anthems, catches, rounds, glees, &c., are as much enjoyed now as in his own day. The music to Davenant's "Circe," by Bannister, of Shadwell's "Psyche," by Locke, and of Dryden's "Albion and Albanius," by Grabut, had increased in this country the liking for the lyrical drama; but Purcell's compositions wonderfully strengthened it, and from his "King Arthur" may properly be dated the introduction of the English opera. Gay's "Beggars' Opera," six-and-thirty years after, however, was the first complete and avowed opera, and this did not establish that kind of entertainment in England. The wonderful success of this production, which was performed for sixty-three nights in succession, was chiefly derived from the wit and satire of the composition itself, the abundance of popular airs introduced, and the party feeling which it gratified. The airs were selected and adapted by Dr. Pepusch, a German, who settled in London, and became celebrated there. He also furnished the overture, and wrote accompaniments to the airs. Eleven years after, Milton's "Comus" was adapted to the stage by the Rev. Dr. Dalston, with music by Dr. Arne, who afterwards composed the music for "Artaxerxes," and thence derived a high reputation.

The taste for Italian music was now every day increasing; singers of that nation appeared with great applause at our concerts. In 1703 Italian music was introduced into the theatres as *intermezzi*, or interludes, consisting of singing and dancing; then whole operas appeared, the music Italian, the words English; and, in 1707, Urbani, a male soprano, and two Italian women, sung their parts all in Italian, the other performers using English. Finally, in 1710, a complete Italian opera was performed at the Queen's Theatre, Haymarket, and from that time the Italian opera was regularly established in London. This led to the arrival of the greatest composer whom the world had yet seen. George Frederick Handel was a native of Halle, in Germany. He had displayed the most wonderful genius for music as a mere child, and having, at the age of eleven years, astonished the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels—at whose court his brother-in-law was a valet—by finding him playing the organ in the chapel, he was, by the duke's recommendation, regularly educated for the profession of music. At the age of ten, Handel composed the church service for voices and instruments; and after acquiring a great reputation in Hamburg—where, in 1704, he brought out his "Almira"—he proceeded to Florence, where he produced the opera of "Rodrigo," and thence to Venice, Rome, and Naples. After remaining in Italy six years, he was induced to come to England in 1710, at the pressing entreaties of many of the English nobility, to superintend the opera. But, though he was enthusiastically received, the party spirit which raged at that period soon made it impossible to conduct the opera with any degree of self-respect and independence. He therefore abandoned the attempt, having sunk nearly all his fortune in it, and commenced the composition of his noble oratorios. Racine's tragedy of "Esther," abridged and altered by Humphries, was set by him, in 1720, for the chapel of the duke of Chandos at Cannons. It was, however, only by slow degrees that the wonderful genius of Handel was appreciated, yet it won its way against all prejudices and difficulties. In 1731 his "Esther" was performed by the children of the chapel-royal at the house of Bernard Gates, their master, and the following year, at the king's command, at the royal theatre, in the Haymarket. It was fortunate for Handel that the monarch was German too, or he might have quitted the country in disgust before his fame had triumphed over faction and ignorance. So far did these operate, that in 1741, when he produced his glorious "Messiah," it was so coldly received, that it was treated as a failure. Handel, in deep discouragement, however, gave it another trial in Dublin, where the warm imaginations of the Irish caught all its sublimity, and gave it an enthusiastic reception. On its next presentation in London his audience reversed the fiat of his former one, and the delighted composer then presented the manuscript to the Foundling Hospital, where it was performed annually for the benefit of that excellent institution, and added to its funds ten thousand three hundred pounds. It became the custom, from 1737, to perform oratorios on the Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, and this continued to a recent period. Handel, whose genius has never been surpassed for vigour, spirit, invention, and sublimity, became blind in his latter years. He continued still to perform in public, and even to compose, till within a week of his death.



HARPSICHORD OF THE TIME OF QUEEN ANNE.

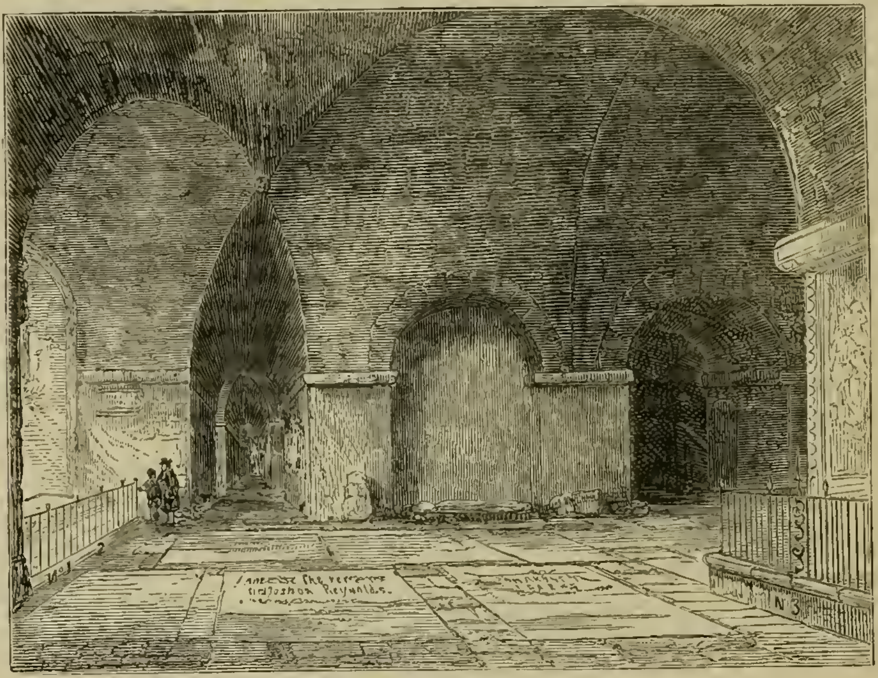
Whilst this progress in operatic and sacred music had been making, our church service had received some admirable additions. Jeremiah Clarke, the Rev. Henry Aldrich, D.D., dean of Christ Church, John Weldon, organist to queen Anne, and Georges I. and II., and the Rev. Dr. Robert Creighton, canon of Salisbury, composed many admirable pieces. William Croft, Mus. Doc., is the author of thirty-one splendid anthems, and Maurice Greene, Mus. Doc., of forty, which are still heard with solemn delight in old choirs. William Boyce, Mus. Doc., organist to Georges II. and III., added to these numerous anthems and services the oratorio of "Solomon," and many other compositions of a superb character—one of them the grand anthem performed annually at the Feast of the Sons of the Clergy. Boyce also composed a variety of secular pieces of rare merit.

In 1710 was established the Academy of Ancient Music, the object of which was to promote the study of vocal and instrumental harmony. Drs. Pepusch, Greene, and other celebrated musicians were amongst its founders. They collected a very valuable musical library, and gave annual concerts till 1793, when more fashionable ones attracted the public, and the society was dissolved. In 1741 was established the Madrigal Society, the founder of which was John

Immyns, an attorney. It embraced men of the working classes, and held meetings on Wednesday evenings for the singing of madrigals, glees, catches, &c. Immyns sometimes read them a lecture on a musical subject, and the society gradually grew rich, and, we believe, still continues a very flourishing association. Though the English opera has never become popular, yet songs and musical pieces have been constantly introduced in the current plays. The composers of such pieces at this period were such men as Purcell, Eccles, Playford, Leveridge, Carey Haydn, Arne, &c. Public gardens became very much the fashion, and in these, at first, oratorios, choruses, and grand musical pieces were performed, but, by degrees, gave way to songs and catches. Vauxhall, originally called Spring Garden, established before the Revolution, became all through this period the fashionable resort of the aristocracy, and to this was added Ranelagh near Chelsea College, a vast rotunda, to which crowds used to flock from the upper circles on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings, to hear the music and singing. These performances spread greatly the taste for music, and probably excited the alarm of the puritanically religious, for there arose a great outcry against using music in churches, as something vain and unhallowed. Amongst the best publications on the science of music during this period were Dr. Holder's "Treatise on the Natural Grounds and Principles of Harmony," 1694; Malcolm's "Treatise on Music, Speculative, Practical, and Historical," 1721; Dr. Pepusch's "Treatise on Harmony," 1731; Dr. Smith's "Harmonics; or, the Philosophy of Musical Sounds;" Avison's "Essay on Musical Expression," 1752. Avison also published twenty-six concertos for a band, which were much admired.

ARCHITECTURE.

At this period, both the grand old styles of architecture, the Gothic for ecclesiastical buildings, and the Tudor and Elizabethan for palaces and mansions, had, for a time, run their course. A classical or Italian fashion had come in, and the picturesque churches and halls of our ancestors were deemed barbarous. Men were now taught to see with different eyes; to regard classical architecture, or that which had sprung from it, as the modern Italian language has sprung from the Roman, as all that is beautiful in nature and art: and those lovely and inimitable Christian temples, in which the human mind has revealed its utmost reach of poetry and sublimity—those fabrics, both sacred and domestic, which stand here and there throughout England, like glorious dreams of imagination, or like the conceptions of archangels and the work of angels rather than those of humanity—stones reared into majesty and chiselled into life and aerial lightness—were to the architects of this age masses of savagery, and the grotesque enormities of men in the dark ages. Inigo Jones had introduced the semi-classical style, and now Sir Christopher Wren and Vanbrugh arose to render it predominant. Wren had the most extraordinary opportunity for distinguishing himself. The fire of London had swept away a capital, and to him was assigned the task of restoring it, with all its streets and churches. Wren was descended from a clerical family. His father was chaplain-in-ordinary to Charles I. and dean of Westminster, and his uncle was bishop of Ely; and it was characteristic enough that Wren began his career under James II., by pulling down dissenters' chapels by royal order, before he tried his hand at erecting churches. He appears to have had no regular education for an architect, but he was even pre-



TOMB OF SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN.

cociously learned in all the arts that are necessary to an architect. At the early age of thirteen, he was an inventor of an astronomical instrument, a pneumatic machine, and an instrument of use in gnomonics. At sixteen he was extraordinarily forward in mathematics and astronomy, and at eighteen he became one of the philosophers whose association gradually grew into the Royal Society, of which institution he was an original and leading member. At this time he is said to have been the author of fifty-three new theories, inventions, experiments, and improvements of more or less value. In 1651 he was appointed to the chair of astronomy at Gresham College; three years after to that of the Savilian professor at Oxford. In 1661 he was appointed by Charles II. to assist Sir John Denham, the surveyor-general, and in 1663 was commissioned to examine the old cathedral of St. Paul, with a view to its restoration in keeping with the Corinthian colonnade which Inigo Jones had, with a strange blindness to unity, tagged on to a Gothic church. The old church was found to be so thoroughly dilapidated, that Wren recommended its entire removal and the erection of another. This created a terrible outcry amongst the clergy and the citizens, who regarded the old fabric as a model of beauty. The clamour was only ended by the whole roof of the south cross tumbling in; but it was renewed again as violently as ever on Wren once more urging the removal of the ruinous mass. Not only the clergy and citizens, but some of the commissioners were bent on preserving the old tower, and these dissensions were only interrupted by the bursting out of the great fire of London.

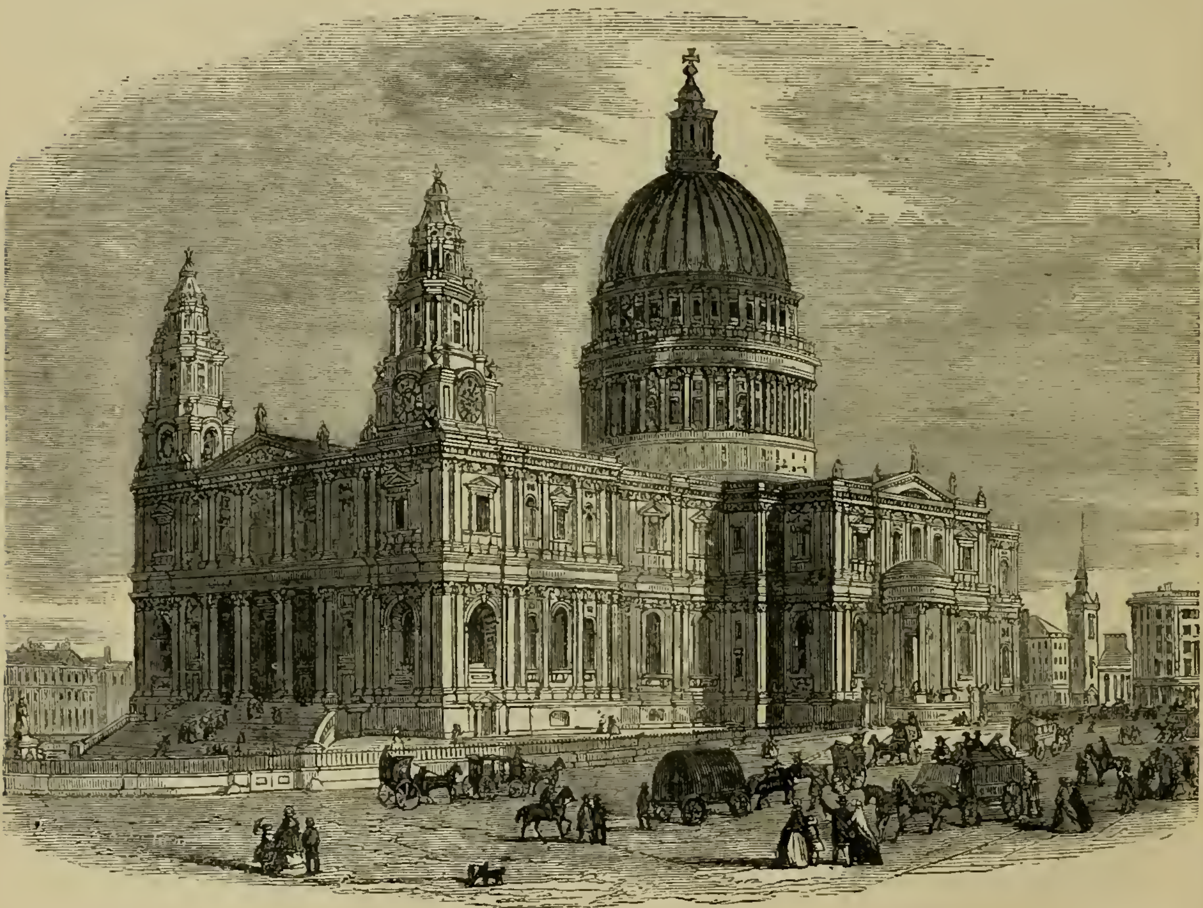
Whilst these contentions were going on, Wren had entered fairly on his profession of architect. He built the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, begun in 1663, and completed in 1669; and the fine library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the beautiful square, Neville's Court, to the same college. He also built the chapels of Pembroke and Emmanuel Colleges, in the same university. In the erection of these, he suffered, from the conceit and conflicting opinions of parties concerned, a foretaste of the squabbles and contradictions which rendered the whole period of the building of St. Paul's miserable. In 1665 he found leisure to visit Paris, and study the magnificent palaces and churches with which Louis XIV. was embellishing his capital. There he got a glimpse of the design for the Louvre, which Bernini, the architect, showed him, but only for a moment; and he was in communication with Mansard, Le Vau, and Le Pautre.

On his return, the contentions regarding pulling down old St. Paul's were rife as ever; but the following year the fire occurred, and Wren was commissioned to make a plan for the rebuilding of the city. He proposed to restore this on a regular plan, with wide streets and piazzas, and for the banks of the river to be kept open on both sides with spacious quays, like the banks of the Seine, at Paris, at the present time. But these plans were defeated by the selfishness of the inhabitants and traders, and the banks of the Thames became once more blocked up with wharves and warehouses, narrow and winding lanes once more sprung up, which are now being opened up at a vast cost; and Wren could only devote his architectural talent to the churches, the Royal Exchange, and Custom House. These latter buildings were completed in the three following years; they have since both been burnt down and rebuilt. Temple Bar, a hideous erection, was finished in the fourth year, 1670. All this time the commencement of the new St. Paul's was impeded by the attempts of the commissioners to restore the old tumbling fabric, and it was only by successive fallings-in of the ruins that they were compelled to allow Wren to remove the whole decayed mass, and clear the ground for the foundations of his cathedral. These were laid in 1675, nine years after the fire, and the building was only terminated in thirty-five years, the stone on the summit of the lantern being laid by Wren's son, Christopher, in 1710. The choir, however, had been opened for divine service in 1697, in the twenty-second year of the erection.

During this long period Sir Christopher had been busily employed in raising many other buildings; amongst these, the Royal Observatory, Greenwich; St. Bride's; St. Swithin's; the Gateway Tower, Christ Church, Oxford, St. Antholine's, Watling Street; the palace at Winchester, never completed; Ashmolean Museum, and Queen's College Chapel, Oxford; St. James's, Westminster; St. Clement's, Eastcheap; St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill; St. Andrew's, Holborn; Christ Church, Newgate Street; Hampton Court Palace, an addition; Morden College, Blackheath; Greenwich Hospital; St. Dunstan in the East, tower and spire; Buckingham House, since pulled down; and Marlborough House.

His plan for his *chef-d'œuvre*, St. Paul's, like his grand plan for the City, with its principal streets ninety feet wide, its second-rate streets sixty, and its third-rate thirty, was rejected. This cathedral was a composition compact and simple, consisting of a single general octagonal mass, surmounted by a dome, and extended on its west side by a portico, and a short nave or vestibule within. The great idea of Wren was to adapt it to protestant worship, and therefore he produced a design for the interior, the parts of which were beautifully grouped together so as to produce at once regularity and intricacy, yet without those long side aisles and recesses, which the processions and confessionals of catholic worship require. But the duke of York, afterwards James II., was already projecting the restoration of popery, and not only was the beautiful plan of Wren rejected, but the one for the present erection was altered to suit catholic purposes, to the intense chagrin of the architect, which he resisted even with tears, but resisted in vain. Escaped from royal opposition, Wren, however, only fell into that of the commissioners, every man of whom thought he knew better how to plan a national cathedral than the great architect himself. The whole long period of Wren's erection of this noble pile was one continued battle with the conceit, ignorance, and dogmatism of the commissioners, who made his life a bitter martyrdom; and when we read the admired inscription on his tomb in St. Paul's, "*Si monumentum quæris, circumspice*," we behold, on obeying its injunction, only what he did, not what he suffered in doing it.

The style of St. Paul's, and, indeed, of all Wren's churches, is neither Grecian nor Gothic, but Italian, influenced by the fashion which Bernini, the Italian architect of Louis XIV., had introduced into France. It is a class of architecture of which the Grecian is the basis, but which is so freely innovated upon, as to leave little general resemblance. This we must seek in the parts where we have columns and pilasters of every Grecian and, indeed, Roman order, pediments, peristyles, architraves, and friezes, mingled up with windows of all kinds, and all kinds of recesses and projections, the façades and intercolumniatious ornamented with festoons, and wreaths, and human masks, and the whole surmounted by a great eastern dome, or by campaniles partaking of all the compilations of the main buildings. St. Paul's itself is a noble building, notwithstanding all the manifest gleanings from the antique and the mædieval, and their combination into a whole which has nothing original but their combination into one superb design. Besides St. Paul's, the rest of his churches are disappointing, and we cannot avoid lamenting that Wren had lost the sense of the beauty of Gothic architecture, especially when we call to mind the exquisite churches of that style which adorn so many of the continental cities. Whilst the exteriors of Wren's churches show heavily in their huddled-up situations in our City streets, their interiors, in which much more of the Grecian and Roman styles are introduced, are equally heavy, and wanting in that pliant grace which distinguishes the interiors of our Gothic cathedrals. Perhaps the noblest work of Wren next to St. Paul's is Greenwich Hospital, which is more purely Grecian, and therefore displays a more graceful and majestic aspect. The Palace of Hampton Court, attached to the fine old Tudor pile of cardinal Wolsey, is a great square mass, in which the Dutch taste of William is said to have set aside Wren's original design. But surely William did not compel him to erect that ponderous barbarism of a Grecian colonnade in the second quadrangle of Hampton Court, attaching it to a Gothic building. In fact, neither Wren nor Inigo Jones appear to have had the slightest sense of the incongruity of such conjunctions. Jones actually erected a Grecian screen to the beautiful Gothic choir of Winchester Cathedral, and placed a Grecian bishop's throne in it, amid all the glorious canopy-work of that choir. The return to a better taste has swept these monstrosities away; but not so in the grand old Saxon cathedral of Durham, where one of Jones's Greek absurdities still truly *screens* all the simple beauties of the choir.

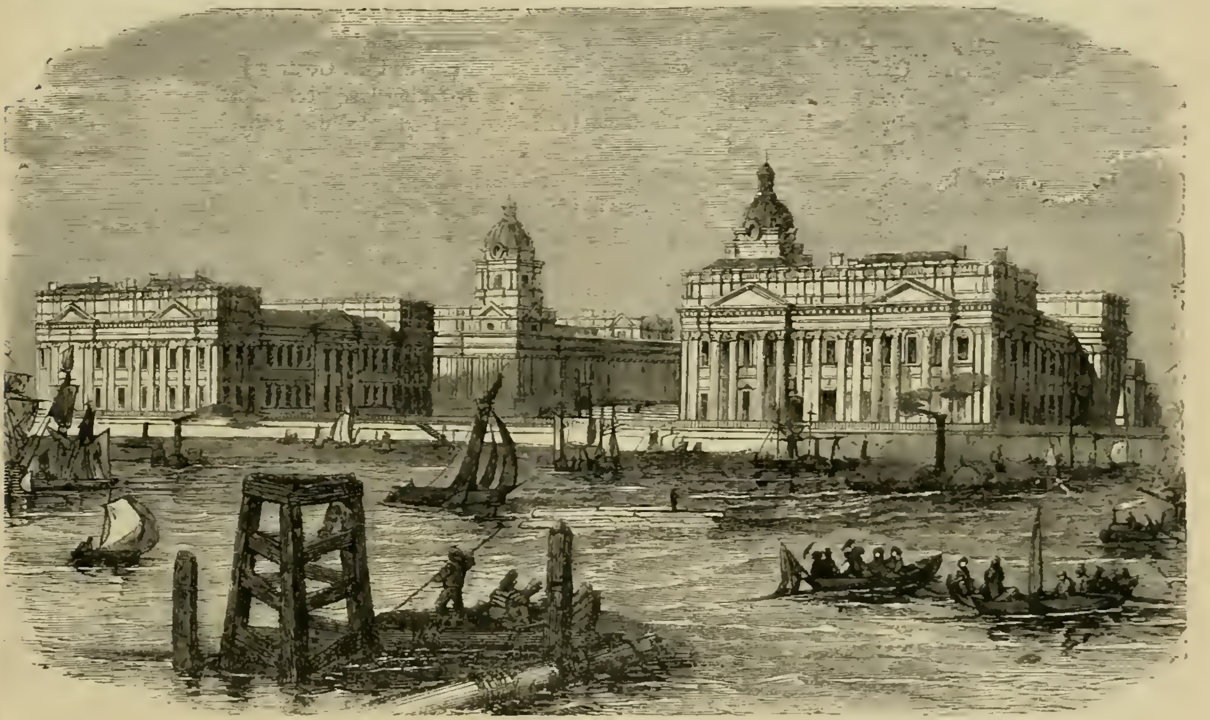


ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

The fame of Wren must rest on St. Paul's, for in palaces he was less happy than in churches. His additions to Windsor Castle and St. James's Palace, and his erection of Marlborough House, are by no means calculated to do him great honour, whilst all lovers of architecture must lament the removal of a great part of Wolsey's palace at Hampton

Court to make way for Wren's erection. A Dutch taste, indeed, it was which levelled all those stately buildings to the ground, to make room for the great square mass which replaced them. A glorious view, if old drawings are to be believed, must all that vast and picturesque variety of towers, battlements, tall mullioned windows, cupolas, and pinnacles, have made, as they stood under the clear heaven glittering in the sun. The writers who saw it in its glory describe it in its entireness as the most splendid palace in Europe. Of the campaniles of Wren, St. Bride's, Fleet-st.; that of Bow Church, Cheapside; St. Dunstan in the East; and the tower of St. Michael's, Cornhill, are the finest. The last is almost his only Gothic one, and that would have been a fine tower had the ornament been equally diffused over it, and not all been huddled too near the top. Wren was thwarted in his design of the London Monument. He drew a plan for one with gilt flames issuing from the loop-holes, and surrounded by a phœnix, but as no such design could be found in the five orders it was rejected, and the present commonplace affair erected. One of his last undertakings was the repair of Westminster Abbey, to which he added the towers at the west end, and proposed to erect a spire in the centre. Sir Christopher left a large quantity of drawings, which are preserved in All Souls' College library, Oxford, which have never been engraved.

The next great architect of this period is Sir John Vanbrugh, who, when in the zenith of his fame as a dramatic writer, suddenly started forth as an architect, and had the honour of erecting Castle Howard, the seat of the earl of Carlisle; Blenheim House, built for the duke of Marlborough, in reward of his victories; Duncomb Hall, Yorkshire; King's Weston, in Gloucestershire; Oulton Hall, Cheshire; Grimsthorpe, in Lincolnshire; Eastbury, in Dorsetshire, now destroyed; and Seaton Delaval, in Northumberland, since partly destroyed by fire. Besides these, he built the opera house, also destroyed by fire. In all these there is a strong similarity, and as a general effect, a certain magnificence; but, when examined in detail, they too generally resolve themselves into a row of individual designs merely arranged side by side. This is very much the case with the long façade of Blenheim. The main idea recurring again and again is that of a great Grecian peristyle and pediment in the centre, surmounted by another pediment, or a dome, and other such buildings ranged right and left at different heights; the whole united by stretches of plain façade, and plentifully surrounded by vases and images. There is a barbaric splendour, but it has no pervading unity, and only differs from the Italian manner of Wren by a much bolder and profuser use of the Grecian columns and pilasters. In fact, the architecture of the whole of this period is of a hybrid character, the classical more or less modified and innovated to adapt it to modern purposes and the austerity of a northern climate. From Inigo Jones, the great disciple of Vitruvius and Palladio, who adhered as closely to the Grecian as his Italian taste permitted him, down to Colin Campbell and Kent, whose country mansions, like Wanstead, generally consisted of a huge, oblong, square mass of plainest building, with two or three rows of windows, a parapeted top hiding the roof, and a great Grecian pediment or colonnade in the centre—baldness and ornament meagrely wedded—the same style prevailed.


GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

Amongst the most distinguished of this series of architects is James Gibbs, who, after studying in Italy, returned to this country in time to secure the erection of some of the fifty churches ordered to be built in the metropolis and its vicinity in the tenth year of queen Anne. The first which he built is his finest—St. Martin's, at the north-east corner of Trafalgar Square. This consists of the model of a Grecian temple, the whole design kept as close to the original as the requirements of protestant worship allow, faced by a noble hexastyle Corinthian portico, surmounted by an Italian tower and spire. Much objection has been made to the anomaly of placing a spire on the roof of a temple, both because towers and spires should naturally stand upon the ground, and because such additions are utterly discordant with the principle of the main erection; but, spite of these drawbacks, it must be allowed that St. Martin's is one of the most beautiful churches in the kingdom, and, were the spire away, would bear a strong resemblance to the Madeleine, in Paris. Besides St. Martin's, Gibbs was the architect of St. Mary's, in the Strand; Marylebone Chapel; the body of All Saints, Derby—an incongruous addition to a fine old Gothic tower; the Radcliffe Library, at Oxford; and the west side of the quadrangle of King's College, and the Senate House, Cambridge, left incomplete. In these latter works Sir James Burrows, the designer of the beautiful chapel of Clare Hall, in the same university, was also concerned. Gibbs was, moreover, the architect of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The greater portion of Gibbs's works present a strange medley of composition, without much original invention.

Nicholas Hawksmoor, a pupil of Wren's, and an assistant of Vanbrugh's in building Castle Howard and Blenheim House, was the architect of St. George's-in-the-East, Ratcliffe Highway, commenced in 1715; St. Mary Woolnoth's, Lombard Street; St. George's, Bloomsbury; St. Anne's, Limehouse; Easton Norton House, in Northamptonshire; and some other works, including a mausoleum at Castle Howard, and repairs of the west front of Westminster Abbey. St. George's, Bloomsbury, is perhaps his finest erection, which has a Corinthian portico, like St. Martin's, and the steeple is surmounted by a statue of George II. On the whole, Hawksmoor's erections are heavy and bald.

During this period, St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, was built by Thomas Archer. The churches of Greenwich; St. George's, Hanover Square; and St Luke, Middlesex, by John James. St. Giles-in-the-Fields; St. Olave's, Southwark, and Woburn Abbey, by Flitcroft; Chatsworth House and Thoresby, by Salmon; Montagu House, by the French architect, Pouget; All Saints' Church, and the Peckwater Quadrangle of Christ Church, Oxford, by Dean Aldrich; and the library of Christ Church, designed by Dr. George Clarke, M.P. for Oxford, in the reign of Anne. After these the earl of Burlington, a worshipper of Palladio and Inigo Jones, became a very fashionable architect, and built Chiswick, a copy of the Villa Capra, near Vincenza, since spoiled by incongruous additions; the dormitory at Westminster School; Petersham House, and other noblemen's mansions. The fine colonnade in the courtyard of Burlington House, hidden by the ugly high wall in Piccadilly, is also his work. Burlington was essentially a copyist, as was his *protégé* Kent, who built Holkham, in Norfolk, and the Horse Guards, but acquired as much reputation by his landscape gardening as he did little by his architecture. Kent had the honour of introducing the natural style of laying out grounds and gardens, so finely recommended by Bacon and by the descriptions of Spenser and Milton, and partly adopted by Pope. This system was afterwards taken up and made more general by Launcelot Brown, called Capability Brown, and has now become universal. Kent, however, was so much the fashion, that he was consulted in patterns for furniture, plate, and even ladies' dresses. Towards the end of this period several foreign artists were employed here. We have already named Pouget; Giacomo Leoni was much employed; and Labelye, a Swiss, built Westminster Bridge, which was completed in 1747. Thomas Ripley, originally a carpenter, built the Admiralty.

PAINTING AND SCULPTURE.

Painting, like architecture, was at a very low ebb during this period, with one or two brilliant exceptions. Foreign artists were in demand, and there was no native talent, except that of Thornhill and Hogarth, which could claim to be unjustly overlooked in that preference. Lely in portrait was still living, and Sir Godfrey Kneller, another foreigner, was already taking his place. Kneller was a German, born at Lübec, and educated under the best Flemish masters of the day. As he had chosen portrait painting as his department, he hastened over to England after a visit to Rome and Venice, as the most profitable field for his practice, and being introduced to Charles II. by the duke of Monmouth, he became at once the fashion. Kneller had talents of the highest order, and, had not his passion for money-making been still greater, he would have taken rank with the great masters; but, having painted a few truly fine pictures, he relied on them to secure his fame, and commenced an actual manufacture of portraits for the accumulation of money. Like Rubens, he sketched out the main figure, and painted the head and face, leaving his subordinates to fill in all the rest. He worked with wonderful rapidity, and had figures often prepared beforehand, on which he fitted heads as they were ordered. Amongst his assistants were Pieters, Bakker, Vander Roer, Flemings, and the two Bings—the latter Englishmen. Sir John Medina, a Fleming, was the great manufacturer of ready-made figures and postures for him, the rest filled in the draperies and backgrounds. He had a bold, free, and vigorous hand, painting with wonderful rapidity, and much of the grace of Vandyck, but only a few of his works show what he was capable of. The beauties of the court of William and Mary, which may be seen side by side with those of the court of Charles II. by Lely at Hampton Court, are far inferior to Lely's. His "Converted Chinese," and the portrait of the earl of Bute, at Luton House, may be taken as specimens of his best style.

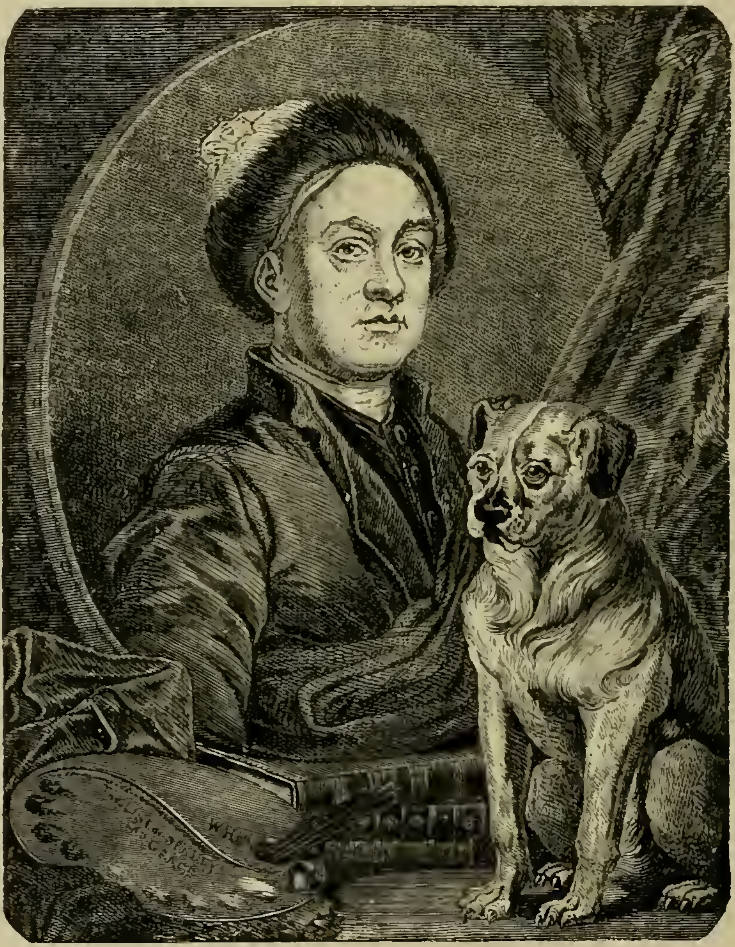
During this time foreign painters of various degrees of merit flourished in England. Amongst these were John Baptist Vanloo, brother of the celebrated Carl Vanloo, a careful artist; Joseph Vanaken, a native of Antwerp, who did for Hudson what his countrymen did for Kneller—furnish draperies and attitudes. He also supplied many others, so that Hogarth painted his funeral as followed by all the painters of the day in despair. The celebrated battle-painter, Peter Vander Meulen, Hemskirk, Godfrey Schalken, famous for his candle-light effects, John Van Wyck, a famous painter of horses, James Bogdani, a Hungarian flower, bird, and fruit painter, Balthazer Denner, famous for his wonderfully-finished heads, especially of old people, and Theodore Netscher, the son of Gaspar Netscher, all painted in England in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Boit—a painter of French parentage—Liotard, and Zincke, were noted enamel painters. Peter Tillemans, who painted English landscapes, seats, busts, roses, &c., died in 1734; and the celebrated Canaletti came hither in 1746, and staid about two years, but was not very successful, the English style of architecture, and, still more, the want of the transparent atmosphere of Italy, being unfavourable to his peculiar talent.

There was also a vast deal of decorations of ceilings and staircases still going on, and foreign artists still flocked over to execute it. Laguerre, a Frenchman, succeeded Verrio in this department, and his works still remain at Hampton Court, Burleigh, Blenheim, and other places. Laguerre was appointed to paint the cupola of St. Paul's, designs having been offered also by Antonio Pelligrini, who had thus embellished Castle Howard; but their claims were overruled in favour of Sir James Thornhill. Besides these, there was Lafosse, who had decorated Montagu House, Amiconi, a Venetian, and others, who executed many hundred square yards of such work in England. Such was the fashion for these foreign decorators, that when a native artist appeared equal to any one of them in skill and talent, and superior to most, he found himself paid at a very inferior and insulting rate. This was the case with Sir James Thornhill, of Thornhill, near Weymouth. His father, however, had spent his fortune and sold the estate, and Sir James, being fond of art, determined to make it his profession to regain his property. His uncle, the celebrated Dr. Sydenham, assisted him in the scheme. He studied in London, and then travelled through Flanders, Holland, and France. On his return he was appointed by queen Anne to paint the history of St. Paul in the dome of the new cathedral of St. Paul, in eight pictures in chiaroscura, with the lights hatched in gold. So much was the work approved, that he was made historical painter to the queen. The chief works of the kind of Sir James were the princess's apartment at Hampton Court, the gallery and several ceilings in Kensington Palace, a hall at Blenheim, a chapel at lord Oxford's, at Wimpole, a saloon of Mr. Styles, at Moorpark, and the ceilings of the great hall at Greenwich Hospital. On the ceiling of the lower hall appear, amid much allegorical scenery, the portraits of William and Mary, of Tycho Brahé, Copernicus, Newton, and others; on that of the upper hall appear the portraits of queen Anne and her husband, the prince of Denmark; and paintings of the landing of William at Torbay, the arrival of George I., and others of George I. and two generations of his family. Besides these vast pictures, Sir James painted the altar-piece of All Souls, Oxford, and one presented to his native town, Weymouth. He also copied two sets of the cartoons of Raffaelle, the largest of which is in the gallery of the Royal Academy, and some portraits, amongst others, a portrait of Sir Christopher Wren, preserved at Oxford. Thornhill had great invention and freedom of pencil, and is much more chaste in his style than his foreign rivals, yet he was meanly paid in comparison with them. Walpole says, "High as was his reputation and laborious his works, he was far from being generously rewarded for some of them, and for others he found it difficult to obtain the stipulated prices. His demands were contested at Greenwich; and though Lafosse received two thousand pounds for his work at Montagu House, and was allowed five hundred pounds for his diet besides, Sir James could obtain but forty shillings per square yard for the cupola of St. Paul's, and, I think, no more for Greenwich. When the affairs of the South Sea Company were made up, Thornhill, who had painted their staircase and a little hall by order of Mr. Knight, their cashier, demanded one thousand five hundred pounds; but the directors, learning that he had been paid but twenty-five shillings a yard for the hall at Blenheim, would allow no more. He had a longer contest with Mr. Styles, who had agreed to give him three thousand five hundred pounds; but, not being satisfied with the execution, a lawsuit commenced, and Dahl, a Swedish artist, Richardson, and others, were appointed to inspect the work. They appeared in court, bearing testimony to the merit of the performance. Mr. Styles was condemned to pay the money, and five hundred pounds more for decorations about the house, and for Thornhill acting as surveyor of the building."

Other English artists of this period were John Riley, an excellent and original painter, who died in 1691; Murray, a Scotchman; Charles Jervas, the friend of Pope, a man much overrated by his acquaintance; and Jonathan Richardson, a much superior artist to Jervas, and author of the valuable "Essay on the Art of Criticism, as it relates to Painting." Thomas Hudson, a pupil of Richardson, and his son-in-law, was an admirable painter of heads, and had the honour of being the instructor of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Henry Cooke, like Thornhill, was a decorator, and painted the choir of New College Chapel, at Oxford, and the ceiling of a large room at the New River head. He was a pupil of Salvator Rosa. Luke Cradock, a flower and fruit painter; John Wootton, a popular animal painter; Francis Hayman, an historical painter and designer for book-plates—those for "Don Quixote" being his best; and George Lambert, one of the first English landscape painters of any mark.

Far above all other English artists of this period, however, stood William Hogarth. There is no artist of that or any former age in England—and we may also say the same down to our own day—who is so thoroughly English. He is a John Bull from head to foot—sturdy, somewhat headstrong, opinionated, and satirical. He is, indeed, the great satirist of the brush; but his satire, keen as it is, is employed as the instrument of the moralist; the things which he denounces and derides are crimes, follies, and perverted tastes. In his own conduct, as on his canvas, he displayed the same spirit, often knocking down his own interests rather than not express his indignant feeling of what was spurious in art, or unjust towards himself. Hogarth was the first English painter who attracted much notice amongst foreigners, and he still remains amongst our painters one of the most original in genius. His subjects are not chosen from the loftier regions of life and imagination, but from the very lowest or the most corrupted ones of the life of his country and time. "The Harlot's Progress," "The Rake's Progress," "Marriage *à la Mode*," "The March to Finchley," "Gin Lane," "Beer Lane," &c., present a series of subjects from which the delicate and sensitive will always revolt, and which have necessarily an air of vulgarity about them, but the purpose consecrates them; for they are not selected to pander to vice and folly, but to expose, to brand, to extirpate them. There is, even in their repulsiveness, a tragic and deeply moral spirit which the most fastidious must feel, and which has given them so strong a hold on public estimation. Like Swift, he exposes to view the foulest and vilest corners of human nature; but, though with as powerful, it is with a more sympathising hand. Like Juvenal, he lays bare the tainted flesh of depraved society to the bone, but he means unmistakably to heal and not to destroy. The dashes of exaggeration in many of his pieces give him the title of a caricaturist, but it is never at the expense of nature and truth. He may be said to have introduced and established caricature in this country.

He first published an engraving of "The Small Masquerade Ticket, or Burlington Gate," in ridicule of lord Burlington's architecture, and of Pope's eulogiums on Burlington and satire of the duke of Chandos. He illustrated "Hudibras," and produced a satirical plate, "The Taste of the Times," in 1724; and, some years after, "The Midnight Conversation" and "Southwark Fair." Not content with the fame which this vein, so peculiarly his own, was bringing him, he had the ambition to attempt the historical style, but this was a decided failure. In 1734, however, he came out in his full and peculiar strength in "The Harlot's Progress." The melancholy truth of this startling drama, mingled with touches of genuine humour, seized at once on the minds of all classes. It became at once immensely popular; it was put upon the stage, and twelve hundred subscriptions for the engravings produced a rich harvest of profit. In the following year he produced "The Rake's Progress," which, though equally clever, had not the same recommendation of novelty. In 1744 he offered for sale the original paintings of these subjects, as well as "The Four Times of the Day," and "The Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn;" but here he felt the effect of the sturdy English expression of his sentiments on art, and his distributing, as a ticket of admission, an engraving of "The Battle of the Pictures," which gave great offence to painters and their patrons. The whole sum received was only four hundred and twenty-seven pounds—a sum nearly doubled by the sale of "The Rake's Progress" alone, since then. Undaunted by his self-injuring avowal of his opinions, he offered in 1750 the pictures of "Marriage *à la Mode*" for



WILLIAM HOGARTH. FROM A PAINTING BY HIMSELF.

sale, but put forth an advertisement in such caustic terms, as he reflected on the result of his former auction, that he effectually kept away purchasers, and only obtained a hundred and twenty pounds for what Mr. Angerstein afterwards gave a thousand pounds for. These are now in the National Gallery, as well as his own portrait. His "March to Finchley" being sent for the royal inspection, so impressed George II. with the idea that it was a caricature of his guards, that, though the engraving of it was dedicated to him, he ordered the picture out of his sight, with expressions of great indignation. Hogarth quietly substituted the name of the king of Prussia in the dedication, as "an encourager of the arts." He presented the picture to the Foundling Hospital, where it remains.

Soon after appeared his twelve plates of "Industry and Idleness," and in 1753 he published a work called "The Analysis of Beauty," in which he attempted to prove that the foundation of beauty and grace consists in a flowing, serpentine line. He gave numerous examples of it, and supported his theory with much ingenious argument. The book brought down upon him a perfect tempest of critical abuse from his envious and enraged contemporaries. In 1757 he visited France, and being engaged in sketching in Calais, he was seized and underwent very rough treatment from "the politest nation in the world," under an impression that he was employed by the English government to make drawings of the fortifications. This adventure he has commemorated in his picture of "Calais Gate." In the following year he painted his "Sigismunda."

Besides those enumerated, "The Four Election Scenes," "The Enraged Musician," "The Distressed Poet," and "England and France"—all made familiar to the public by engravings—are amongst his best works. In 1760 occurred the first exhibition of pictures by British artists, the works of Hogarth being an actuating cause. He had presented to the Foundling Hospital, besides his "March to Finchley," his "Marriage *à la Mode*," and his "Moses brought before Pharaoh's Daughter," his most successful picture of that kind; and Hayman and other artists having followed his example, a company of artists conceived the idea that an exhibition of the works of living artists might be made profitable. Hogarth fell readily into the plan, till it was proposed to add to this a royal academy of arts, which he opposed with all his might. Hogarth had the more English idea that the arts would succeed best by public rather than royal favour, and for the time he prevailed, and, to mark his own strong feeling on the subject, he etched a couple of satiric vignettes, showing the mischief of royal patronage, and these were printed in their catalogue of the following year. In his latter years he was engaged in a bitter quarrel with John Wilkes, the politician, and Churchill, the satirist, in which he as relentlessly caricatured them with his pencil as they abused him with tongue and pen. The following remarks on Hogarth's style and merit as an artist, by Dr. Waagen, give a just idea of his merits:—"What surprises me," he says, "is the eminent merit of these works as paintings, since Hogarth's own countryman, Horace Walpole, says he had but little merit as a painter. All the most delicate shades of his humour are marked in his heads with consummate skill and freedom, and every other part executed with the same decision, and, for the most part, with care. Though the colouring, on the whole, is weak, and the pictures, being painted in dead colours with hardly any glazing, have more the look of water-colours than of oil paintings, yet the colouring of the flesh is often powerful, and the other colours are disposed with so much refined feeling for harmonious effect, that, in this respect, these pictures stand in a far higher rank than many of the productions of the modern English school, with its glaring, inharmonious colours." Hogarth died in 1764, and was buried in the churchyard at Chiswick, where also lies by his side his wife, who survived him twenty-five years.

SCULPTURE.

In sculpture at this period we stood much lower than in painting. Here we had no Hogarth, nor even a Thornhill. All that was of any value in this art proceeded from the chisels of foreigners, and even in that what an immense distance from the grand simplicity of the ancients! The sculpture of Italy and France was in the ascendant, but Bernini and Roubiliac had little in common with Phidias and Praxiteles, and our own sculptors presented a melancholy contrast to the work of artists of the worst age of Greece or Rome; we have scarcely a name that is worth mentioning. The best of our native sculptors was John Bushnell, who was employed by Wren to execute the statues of the kings at Temple Bar; and Francis Bird, who was also employed later by Wren to execute "The Conversion of St. Paul," in the pediment of the new cathedral, the bas-reliefs under the portico, and the group in front, all of a very ordinary character. His best work is the monument of Dr. Busby in the transept of Westminster Abbey. Besides this he executed the monument of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, also at Westminster, and the bronze statue of Henry VI., in the quadrangle of Eton College, both very indifferent. Gibbs and Bird executed the ponderous and tasteless monument of Holles, duke of Newcastle, at Westminster, and that fine old minster is disgraced by a crowd of still more contemptible productions at this period. These can only be equalled in wretchedness by the works of a trading school, who supplied copies in lead of ancient gods, goddesses, shepherds, shepherdesses, &c., for the gardens of the nobility, which soon swarmed in legions in all the gardens and areas in and around the metropolis. Amongst the chief dealers in this traffic were Cheere and Charpentier, who employed foreign artists, even, for such images, and it was the fortune of Roubiliac to commence his English career with the former of these traders.

The three chief foreigners of this period were Rysbrach, Scheemakers, and Roubiliac, who were copyists of the French sculptors Coysevox, Bouchardon, and Le Moyne, as they had been of Bernini. Rysbrach, like Roubiliac, was at first employed by the image-makers, and he then worked for the architects. Kent and Gibbs employed him, and took the credit of his skill; but he soon asserted his own right, and became the leading sculptor in this country for a long time. He executed the monuments of Sir Isaac Newton and lord Stanhope, which bear the name of Kent, and that of Prior, in conjunction with Coysevox, which bears the name of Gibbs. To these may be added those of admiral Vernon and Sir Godfrey Kneller, all at Westminster; that of George II., at Greenwich, and of Dr. Radcliffe, at Oxford. They are all mediocre; but his busts, of which he executed a great number, are far superior. Rysbrach had not imagination for a large design, but truth and skill of hand for a bust, which gave him great distinction in that department.

Scheemakers, a native of Antwerp, like Rysbrach, was employed by Kent, and, till superseded by Roubiliac, executed a considerable number of indifferent monuments; amongst these were monuments of Shakespeare, from a design by Kent, in Westminster Abbey; of Dr. Chamberlain; Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, Sir Charles Watson, Sir Charles Wager, and lord-chancellor Hardwicke—the last at Wimpole. Much of such merit as these possess has been attributed to Laurent Delvaux, who worked in conjunction with him.

But Louis François Roubiliac was the great sculptor of this period. He was a Frenchman, and thoroughly French in his spirit and manner. He was soon brought out of the statue-manufactory of Henry Cheere, and introduced to public notice by Sir Edward Walpole, who recommended him to execute several busts for Trinity College, Dublin. This led to his engagement for the execution of the monuments of John, duke of Argyll, in Westminster Abbey, his very best work, which, indeed, made him popular at once, and introduced him to the most fashionable practice till his death in 1762. His chief works, besides the Argyll monument, are those of Sir Peter Warren, and of the Nightingale family, in Westminster Abbey; those of the duke and duchess of Montagu, in Northamptonshire; and one of bishop Hough, in Worcester Cathedral. His chief statues are those of George I., at Cambridge; of George II., in Golden Square, London; of Handel, in Westminster Abbey; of the duke of Somerset and Sir Isaac Newton, both at Cambridge. His busts are numerous.

Roubiliac is, perhaps, the finest sculptor which France has produced, though all his works of any account were done in this country. He is especially remarkable for the perfection of his finish, and the wonderful execution of his drapery, though the design of it is generally heavy, tasteless, and often ungraceful. The statue of "Eloquence," in the Argyll monument, is one of the most successful of his productions, and displays much power of invention as well as of execution; but the great fault of his monuments is that which has prevailed ever since the decline of art, the use of allegory in stone to express the simple sentiments of grief, of national admiration, or of personal greatness—not by the expression of these qualities in the sculptured figure, or group of figures, or real personages, but by endeavouring to embody these sentiments in visible forms. With these defects, however, Roubiliac stands at the head of the sculptors of his time.

ENGRAVING.

The condition of engraving during this period was very similar to that of the other arts, and, like them, it was chiefly practised by foreigners, French and Dutch. Mezzotint was much cultivated during the early part of the period, and in this the artists were principally Englishmen. Henry Luttrel and Isaac Becket, who were connected, were much engaged in it, but William Smith, a pupil of Becket's, carried it to its greatest perfection. Smith was taken by Kneller into his house to mezzotint his works, and he executed them with remarkable brilliancy and effect. Kneller afterwards employed Simons, a Norman, and besides these, the two Fabers, Williams, and Le Blon, the latter of whom introduced mezzotinting in colour, were the best practisers of the art. Edward Kirkall attempted still further to imitate coloured drawings, for the illustration of books, by a combination of etching, mezzotinting, and wood-engraving, but it did not succeed.

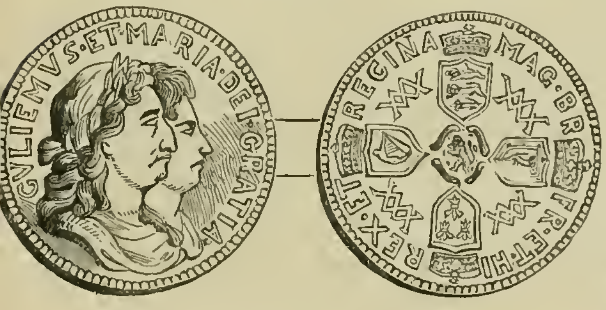
In engraving, much was done during the reigns of queen Anne and George I. by Frenchmen. Gribelin engraved the Cartoons with much ability, but without giving any idea of the greatness of the originals; Nicholas Dorigny also engraved them in 1719, but with still less success. Dubosc, Du Guernier, Bauvais, Baron, and others, were employed on a series of engravings of the victories of Marlborough. Gravelot and Scotin assisted Dubosc in producing an edition of "Picart's Religious Ceremonies." Gravelot also, as a draughtsman, drew many of the designs for the monuments engraved by Vertue. Baron ably engraved many pictures, and, with Ravenet and Sullivan, assisted Hogarth.

In the early part of the era Leonard Knyff designed a series of the palaces and mansions of England, which were engraved by another Dutchman, John Kip. Houbraken copied the principal works of Vandyck for Van Gunst to engrave in Holland, and the two Van der Gutches executed the plates for the engravings of Sir James Thornhill's paintings, in the cupola of St. Paul's. Besides these, they did a great deal of work in this country, the younger one being employed a good deal on anatomical plates. Hulsberg and Foudriniere distinguished themselves as engravers of architectural subjects; John Pine engraved the ceremonies of the Order of the Bath, and the tapestry of the house of lords, the originals of which are now destroyed. Pine's illustrations of books are of great merit. Arthur Pond is known for having had a share in engraving the "Illustrious Heads," by Houbraken, one of the great works of the time, and Thomas Worlidge for the engraving of "Worlidge's Gems," a perfect *chef-d'œuvre*. On the whole, engraving at this period was respectable, in particular instances superb, but produced no name which stands as a possession of the nation, rather than of the time. By far the most meritorious name of the whole class is that of George Vertue, who combined with great talent as an engraver the labours of the antiquary. He did not content himself with executing engravings from works of his own time, but sought to perpetuate in this form the best paintings of the country of all ages, and to preserve the accompanying facts fast fading into oblivion. For this purpose he made numerous journeys about the country, frequently accompanied by Robert Harley, the second earl of Oxford, Heneage Finch, earl of Winchelsea, and lord Coleraine, who paid the expenses. In these journeys he collected all kinds of information for a "History of the Arts in England," and took measures for engraving the pictures and portraits necessary for the work. He commenced this collection in 1713, and it amounted at his death to nearly forty volumes, large and small. He visited and made catalogues of every collection of paintings, attended sales, copied all papers relative to the arts, searched registers, examined all English authors, and translated much from foreign languages relative to his subject. On this rich mass of materials, which he purchased from Vertue's widow, Horace Walpole entirely composed his "Anecdotes of Painting in England," only referring to the authors that Vertue quoted to verify his extracts. To the fidelity and industry of Vertue, and the wit and literary ability of Walpole, we owe this great work.

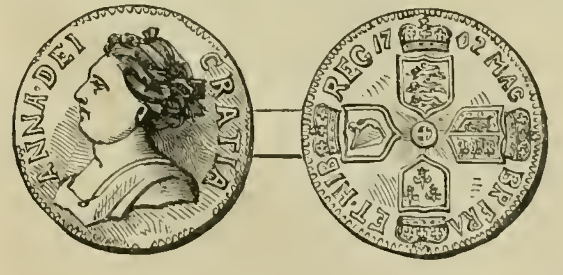
Vertue was employed by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and was one of the first members ot the Academy of Painting, of which Kneller was president. During the reign of queen Anne he was chiefly employed in engraving the portraits of Kneller, Dahl, Richardson, Jervase, Gibson, and others. In 1730 he published a set of twelve engraved portraits of the poets, namely, Gower, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Milton, Butler, Cowley, Waller, and Dryden; the first collection of illustrious heads made in England, and one of Vertue's best works. He next engraved ten heads of Charles I., and of distinguished sufferers in his cause, with their characters added from Clarendon; and afterwards the portraits of the kings of England, with letter-press from Rapin's "History," published in weekly numbers. He also executed some of the heads for Houbraken's series, which, though not equalling in artistic excellence those of Houbraken, are far superior in truth as portraits, for Vertue's great characteristic was his veracity.

COINS AND COINAGE.

Under William III., as we have stated, our coins, debased to a most scandalous and dishonest degree by the Stuarts, and still further reduced by clipping and sweating, were restored substantially and handsomely. The English coins of William and Mary consist of five-pound pieces, two-pound pieces, guineas, half-guineas, and all the usual silver and copper pieces. In the English ones, the king and queen's heads in profile look to the left; in the Scotch ones, to the right. Others were minted after the queen's death, and bear the king's head only. In 1690 some tin halfpence and farthings were coined, but were so often counterfeited, that they were called in and replaced by copper ones.

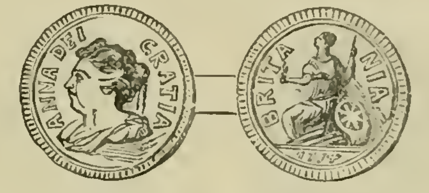


FIVE-POUND PIECE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

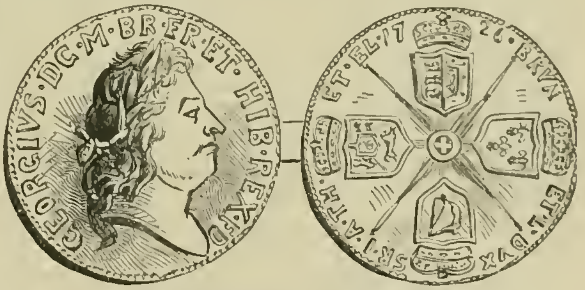

ANNA·DEI GRATIA
MAG BR FRA ET HIB REG 1702

SILVER COIN OF QUEEN ANNE.

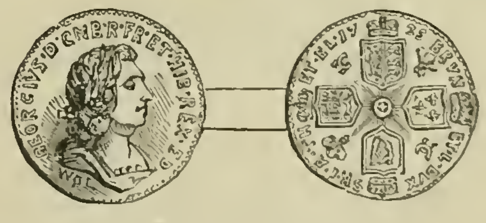
The coins of queen Anne were still more beautiful. They were chiefly designed and coined by Croker, the celebrated English medallist, second only to Simon, the coiner of Cromwell. On the union taking place, the arms on the reverse were altered—instead of those of England being in the upper shield and France in the lower, Scotland on the left, and Ireland on the right one, Scotland took the place of France under England, and France occupied the sinister shield which Scotland had before. The most celebrated of all queen Anne's coins are her farthings, which are the most rare of coins, having only been executed as patterns, but never issued. They bear very different reverses. The farthings were coined in 1713 and 1714, and those of the former year, bearing on the reverse Britannia under an arch, and the one with Peace in a chariot, and the legend, "Pax missa per orbem," are the most valued by collectors. Her halfpence after the union have on the reverse Britannia holding in her hand a branch bearing a rose and thistle. Such of her coins as were minted at Edinburgh, where the mint was continued for some time, have the letter "E" under the queen's bust.



QUEEN ANNE'S FARTHING.

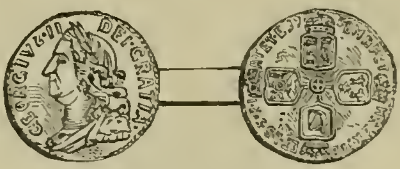


CROWN PIECE OF GEORGE I.



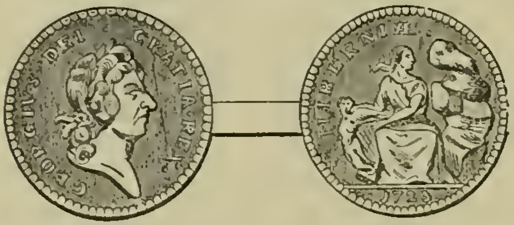
SHILLING OF GEORGE I.

The coins of George I. were also by Croker In them we see the shield of Scotland removed altogether, and that of Hanover introduced instead, occupying the dexter side of the reverse, and Ireland the lower shield; and this arrangement was continued by George II., who also adorned the intervals betwixt the cross formed by the shields with the

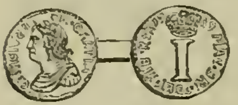


GUINEA OF GEORGE II.

rose and the fleur-de-lis, but no thistle—probably expressive of the feeling of these monarchs towards Scotland, on account of the Jacobitism and rebellions there. The most remarkable coins of George I.'s reign, however, were the Irish halfpence coined by Wood, and against which, as we have related, dean Swift, as a means of popularity, raised such a storm. To such a condition had the Irish been reduced for small coin, that they were obliged to circulate counterfeits called "raps," of so base a metal that they were not worth a fifth of the value they passed for; and even these were so scarce, that manufacturers and tradesmen paid their workmen and gave change to customers in tallies, and even cards with their nominal value written on them. A greater boon to Ireland could scarcely have been given than a good copper coinage; and this was not merely good, it was confessedly much superior in value and beauty to that of England. "They were," says Leake, "undoubtedly the best copper coin ever made for Ireland;" so also says Ruding, in his "Annals of Coinage;" yet Swift, by his unblushing lies, persuaded the Irish to reject them, and they almost deified him for the serious mischief he did them. During the reign of George II., upon the gold coin the arms were not placed as on the silver ones—in a cross—but united in one shield. Silver groats, threepenny, twopenny, and even penny pieces were coined. The condition of the shillings and sixpences was deplorable, being worn down to mere thin blank bits of metal. As for the crowns and half-crowns, they were melted down and disappeared, and foreign money was obliged to be used in lack of these.



WOOD'S HALFPENCE.



SILVER PENNY OF GEORGE I.

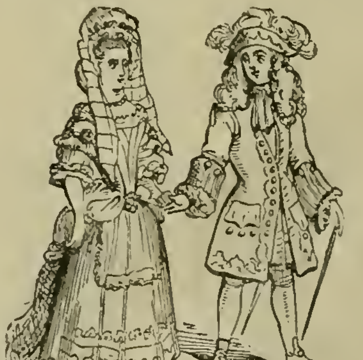
FURNITURE AND DECORATIONS.

The houses of the wealthy at this period were furnished in a style of luxuriance to which succeeding times have been able to add little, except in point of convenience and completeness, and that chiefly in hardware and glass. The style was almost wholly French, of the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., and abounded in such elegant and picturesque forms and richness of inlaying, and of cushions and drapery, that no succeeding fashion has been able to surpass it. The inlaying of cabinets, the flowing lines of the legs of chairs, tables, fauteuils, and the graceful designs of candelabras, framing of mirrors, brackets, girandoles, mantelpieces, &c., gave a peculiarly rich and artistic air to finely-furnished rooms. And this was greatly increased by the introduction of fine porcelain, and Japan cabinets and screens, embellished with the brightest colours and with much gilding. The rage for china and porcelain of all kinds, as teacups, large and extremely expensive dishes, jars, teapots of the quaintest forms, animals and birds, and even monsters, became so extravagant as to be the constant source of satire on the stage. Besides the genuine Chinese porcelain, France, Germany, and Holland produced each their own manufacture, some of which became almost as much esteemed. Glass was manufactured in England now, and was becoming used in much greater profusion in the houses of the moderately wealthy, in the shape of drinking-glasses, decanters, salt-cellars, &c. A manufacture of plate-glass, founded by the duke of Buckingham in 1673 at Lambeth, had not succeeded, and we still bought that article from Venice. Carpets were now extensively woven at Kidderminster, and by the end of the reign of George II. were in use in almost all houses of any respectability.

Mahogany was also introduced at the commencement of this period, and wonderfully took the public fancy. It rapidly came into general use, and has maintained its place as the favourite material of furniture in this country to our time, when rose, walnut, maple, and other woods have contended with it for pre-eminence of favour.

COSTUME.

The costume of the reign of William and Mary remained very much the same as that of the reign of James II. The petticoat breeches were discarded, and some close-fitting ones, gathered below the knee, were substituted, but the stockings were still drawn over them to the middle of the thigh. The coats were square-cut with full skirts, and the waistcoats of a length reaching to the knee. Long neckcloths, of rich Flanders or Spanish lace, were worn by the nobles and gentlemen, the ends often passing through the button-holes of the waistcoat. Those who wore bands, instead of the broad-falling ones, used small Geneva ones, such as our clergymen and barristers wear. The full-bottomed wig was grown monstrous, and the beaux used to carry large combs of ivory or tortoise-shell, curiously chased



COSTUME OF LADY AND GENTLEMAN IN THE TIME OF WM. AND MARY.

and ornamented, with which they combed them out as they walked on the mall, or appeared in the boxes of the theatre, or whilst engaged in conversation or flirtation, just as our modern dandies twirl their moustaches. The broad-brimmed hats were now cocked up, either all round and trimmed with feathers, or on three sides. Others followed the particular cock of some leader of fashion, as one cock was called the Monmouth cock, after the unfortunate duke of Monmouth. The shoes were cut high in the instep, and were fastened by a strap, which passed over the instep, and buckled somewhat on one side with a small buckle.

The dress of the common people underwent little change. The military costume also remained much the same. The carbineers of William III. still wore the breast and back-plates, and had iron skull-caps sewn into the crowns of their hats. William himself appears with his steel breastplate, his hat turned up at the sides and feathered, and the locks of his flowing wig falling on his armour.

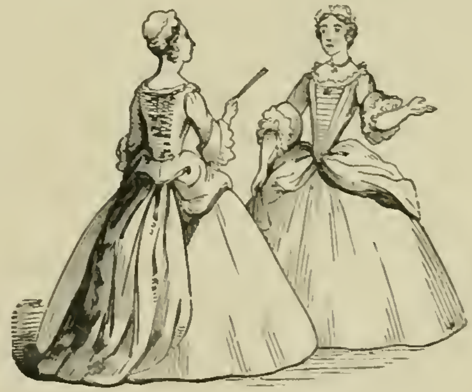
The costume of the ladies felt the influence of some Dutch fashions. The bosom, which had been indelicately exposed, was again concealed by the kerchief. The elegant full sleeve of the gown gave way to a tight one, with a hanging cuff above the elbow, as was the case with the coats of the gentlemen; but whilst the arms of the gentlemen were clothed by an under-sleeve to the wrist, finished by a lace frill, those of the ladies had a profusion of lace, in the shape of ruffles or lappets falling from the short sleeve. In other cases, as is seen in the portrait of queen Mary by Visscher, the ladies wore long gloves on their arms. Their gowns were carefully looped back to display a rich petticoat, ornamented with several rows of flounces and furbelows—or, as they were called, "falbalas." Their hair was once more raised into a lofty fabric, as in queen Elizabeth's time, being combed upward from the forehead, and surmounted by piles of ribbon and lace in a succession of tiers, the ribbons being formed into high stiffened bows, *à la* giraffe, crowned sometimes with rich lace, which streamed down each side of the *tower*, as it was termed—or more generally the *commode*—being a most incommodious affair. Muffs, which were very small, frequently of leopard-skin, were worn by both sexes. The clergy, who had hitherto worn their hair short, and had often made rude onslaught on the long hair of their auditors, now assumed the flowing wig, and archbishop Tillotson set the example.

In the reign of queen Anne, says Planché, vanished every relic of our chivalric costume except the sword, which still completes the full dress of the court of St. James's. The square-cut coats and long-flapped waistcoats with pockets in them were still the mode, with the large hanging cuffs and lace ruffles. The skirts of the coat were stiffened out with wire or buckram, from betwixt which peeped the hilt of the sword, deprived of the broad and splendid belt in which it swung in the preceding reigns. Blue and scarlet stockings, now frequently worn under instead of over the breeches' knees, and with gold or silver clocks, lace neckcloths, square-toed, short-quartered shoes, with high, red heels and small buckles, very long and formally-curled perukes, black riding wigs, bag-wigs, and nightcap-wigs, small, three-cornered hats, laced with gold or silver galloon, and sometimes trimmed with feathers, were the fashion of noblemen and gentlemen. The wigs were enormously expensive; one is mentioned in the "Tatler" worth forty guineas, and five guineas was a common price. The materials of dress were altogether extremely luxurious. A Mr. John Osheal was robbed, in 1714, of a scarlet cloth suit, laced with broad gold lace, lined and faced with blue; a fine cinnamon cloth suit, with plate buttons, the waistcoat fringed with a silk fringe of the same colour, and a rich, yellow-flowered, satin morning gown, lined with cherry-coloured satin. Dancing-shoes are described as having heels four inches in height, and periwig boxes were not allowed to be carried in the coach-box gratis, of more than three feet in length. Some who had fine hair now wore it, but long and combed, like the wigs, and there were already dyes for converting red or grey hair into brown or black.

We may form an idea of the dress of men of the middle class by the advertisement after a lost youth:—"He is of fair complexion, with light brown lank hair, having on a dark brown frieze coat, double-breasted on each side, with black buttons and button-holes; a light drugget waistcoat, red shag breeches, striped with black stripes, and black stockings."

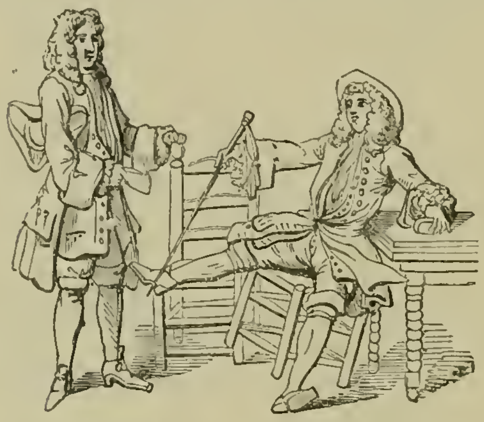
The dress of the ladies for the greater part of the reign of queen Anne continued much the same as in the reigns of James II. and William III. The towering head-dress still flourished, and all the flounces and furbelows on gown and petticoat, so that the "Spectator" compared a lady in full dress, with everything in curl, to a Friesland hen, all of whose feathers curl upwards. In 1711, however, there was a sudden revolution. The towers fell, and the heads of the ladies resumed their natural dimensions. Powder, however, still disfigured the heads of many belles, though the queen set the example of leaving her chestnut locks unsullied by the abomination.

In public, the ladies now wore the sacque and hood. The hood, which, in the previous reign, had been generally black, was now of all colours; blue, yellow, green, and pink hoods were worn at the opera in 1711, and in the following year cherry-coloured hoods were all the rage. Spotted hoods were not unfrequent. Patches of black on the face, variously disposed, were becoming fashionable, and were soon used to denote the politics of the wearers.


LADIES OF QUEEN ANNE'S TIME.

But the excrescence which had disappeared from the ladies' heads reappeared with fresh extravagance in their skirts. The monstrous hoop, which has reappeared in our time in the rear of crinoline, made its appearance at the suggestion of a fashionable mantua-maker named Selby. This was an old fashion, however, revived.

The ladies in their riding habits affected the costume of the gentlemen. The "Spectator," No. 104, describes a lady in a coat and waistcoat of blue camlet, trimmed and embroidered with silver, with a petticoat of the same stuff, by which alone her sex was recognised, as she wore a smartly-cocked beaver hat edged with silver, and rendered more sprightly by a feather; and her hair, curled and powdered, hung to a considerable length down her shoulders, tied, like that of a rakish young gentleman's, with a long streaming scarlet ribbon. They also assumed the male periwig on these occasions in addition to the coat, hat, and feather. The blaze of colours worn by both ladies and gentleman was dazzling, and by the ladies really gorgeous.



GENTLEMEN OF THE TIME OF GEORGE I.

In George I.'s reign the fashions were much the same. The battle of Ramilies introduced the Ramilies cock of the hat and the Ramilies wig, which had a long plaited tail gradually diminishing, with a great bow at the top and a little bow at the bottom. The Ramilies wig continued to be worn till the reign of George III.

The ladies still continued their hooped petticoats, scarlet cloaks with hoods—called "cardinals"—the cloaks often edged with lace, the loose gowns—called "sacques"—the small frilled or puffed caps, and masks when walking. Black and white beaver hats were advertised in 1719, faced with coloured silks, and trimmed with gold or silver lace. The paintings of Watteau and of Lancret give a good idea of the dresses of this time.

In the reign of George II. we have the paintings of Hogarth as our instructors in the fashions. The general character of the dress continued the same; but the tie-wig and bob-wig were added to the other wigs; the bob sometimes worn without powder. The Ramilies tail was followed by the pig-tail, which appears in the prints of this reign as early as 1745. Young men wearing them wore their own hair powdered profusely. Grey and white hair were still most esteemed for perukes, probably as doing with little or no powder.

The gentlemen at court wore chiefly brown flowered velvet coats, or dark cloth coats, laced with gold and silver; lord Castlemaine appeared in a rich gold stuff coat; and waistcoats of gold stuff, or rich flowered silks of a large pattern, with a white ground, were prevailing. Instead of swords at the court end, many young men carried huge oak sticks, with great heads and ugly faces carved on them. The fashions of the ladies varied very much during George II.'s reign; once the huge hoop was nearly discarded, but reappeared as monstrously as ever. The ladies still wore flowered silks of a large pattern, but mostly with a white ground, with wide, short sleeves, and short petticoats. Some had gold or silver knots on their petticoats, and to their facings and robings; and others gold and silver knots on their gown-sleeves, like flounces. In some cases their gowns were flounced from top to bottom of the skirt. They had fine scolloped lace hoods; some curled their hair down the sides; others pinned it close up quite short; but nearly all powdered profusely. Diamond buckles were much worn in the shoes of both ladies and gentlemen. In 1745 gipsy straw hats appeared, and little bonnets tied under the chin, almost of modern shape. Long aprons were worn in 1744, then short ones, then long ones again; and instead of the hood, a covering called a "capuchin." Patching was in high vogue. The riding-habit of the duchess of Bedford, in 1748, gave rise to the naval uniform of England; for, until then, the navy had had no uniform distinct from the army; but George II., meeting the duchess in a riding-habit of blue, faced with white, was so struck with it, he immediately ordered that this should henceforth be the general dress of the royal navy. The sailors wore huge pigtails and cocked hats. At the close of this period they had their hat-brims uniformly tacked down to the crown, so that they looked as if they carried a triangular apple-pasty upon their heads.

The uniform of the army dates from the abandonment of armour. During the reign of queen Anne, the pike ceased to be carried, the socket-bayonet superseding it. The bandolin gave way to the cartouch-box, and every species of body armour was discarded, the gorget dwindling into the ornamental trifle now known by that name. The red and white feather was worn in the reign of queen Anne; the black cockade appeared about the time of George II., being probably used in opposition to the white cockade of the Jacobite party. The Prussian sugar-loaf cap was adopted with the Prussian tactics, and the uniform of the grenadiers of 1745 has been handed down to posterity by Hogarth in his "March to Finchley." That such grenadiers' caps, however, were worn in the reign of queen Anne, is proved by one of that date being preserved at Goodrich Court. They were exchanged for the present preposterous bear-skin muff by George III.

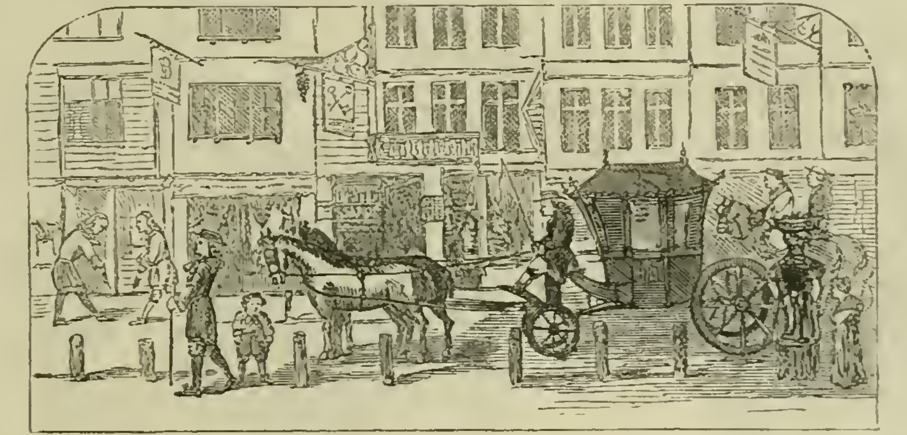
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

It is impossible to note all the frivolities of fashion as it existed in the dress of both sexes of the wealthy, without perceiving that those who spent so much of their lives and substance in such show must be an empty, unintellectual, and far from a moral race; and the whole character of the society of the period bears us out in the inference. A more low, vulgar, and revolting tone never ran through the life of England than during this period. Real religion had nearly died out, till revived by Wesley and Whitefield. Morals were at the lowest ebb, and people now seemed to live for nothing but parade and sensual folly and brutality. In these respects there was little difference in the two sexes. Women of the highest rank were remarkably ignorant, not even, in scores of cases, being able to spell decently; and the greater part of the upper classes of women spent their time in the merest emptiness—balls, routs, operas, visits to Ranelagh and Vauxhall, gambling, flirtations, assignations, and listening to and using language which would now disgrace the veriest Billingsgate women. The picture of society which we derive from the political contests, the party animosity, and the authors, especially the comedy writers of the time, is something astounding for its lack of all that is beautiful in spirit and pure and estimable in sentiment. Politics had become the universal passion. All classes entered into the discussions of the acts of the government with unprecedented boldness, and the fury of party spread through all ranks. The stage was especially made the arena of attack on government, and this grew to so intolerable a pitch, that Walpole, in 1737, passed a bill through parliament, prohibiting the acting of any play without the license of the lord chamberlain—a regulation which continues still to exist. Ladies entered into the rage of political conflict with the most intense fervour, and the patching we have mentioned was carried on in political animosity long after it would have died out as a fashion.

At the theatres, whig and tory ladies sat on the opposite sides of the house, and showed their party by their patches and the colour of their hoods.

As for the gentlemen, they met in their clubs, and coffee-houses, and chocolate-houses for the same purposes, and these places had wonderfully increased with the diffusion of that violent party spirit which raged through this period. Club-houses abounded in every parish of the metropolis, and were crowded at the west end with nobles and gentry, in the city with merchants and traders of all degree, who discussed the national affairs with all the warmth of the house of commons itself. The great chocolate-houses of the nobles and gentry were the "Cocoa Tree" and White's. The "Cocoa Tree" was the great tory house, as St. James's coffee-house was that of the whigs. The only charge for a cup of coffee and the perusal of the newspapers was a penny, so that crowds flocked thither to spend their time, and listen to the great oracles of political knowledge, or to indulge their own sense of discernment; and the "Tatler" tells us that a distinguishing mark of a deep politician at these places was a liberal display of snuff on his upper lip. Mug-houses, or beer-houses, were also established in all quarters of London for the lower race of politicians, and these were encouraged by the whigs in opposition to the tory coffee-houses at the commencement of the reign of George I. Politics, in fact, amazingly encouraged drinking, for in all these resorts, whatever was the name, strong liquors were sold, and the penny entrance was but a mere prelude to deeper expenditure. So riotous did the mug-houses become, that their frequenters often rushed out to attack their opponents in the streets, and they were obliged to be put down by act of parliament.

But the political phase was but one in the many under which the fashionable man exhibited himself. His whole day was one regular round of folly and vice. We find him first holding a *levée* in bed, where he lay from ten till twelve o'clock in state, having his periwig, superbly powdered, lying by him. At twelve he rose, and betwixt the arduous labour of his toilet and the dallying with the volumes of amatory poetry on his table, and the empty tattle of his equally empty associates, he finished that business by three. He perfumed himself and descended to dinner, whence he adjourned to the coffee-house, and thence to the theatre. His business there was not to see the play, but to be seen himself; and, as it was the particular criterion of superior taste to pay no attention to the play, he moved from place to place in the house to gossip with his friends, and to display his clouded cane, his gold snuff-box, within the lid of which was generally some indecent picture. Having shown his contempt of the play, and paraded his fine clothes and diamond rings, he drove thence to the park or to Ranelagh, where he flirted with the equally empty, equally foolish women of the time. The comedies of Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Cibber retail to us the disgusting colloquies of these odious beaux

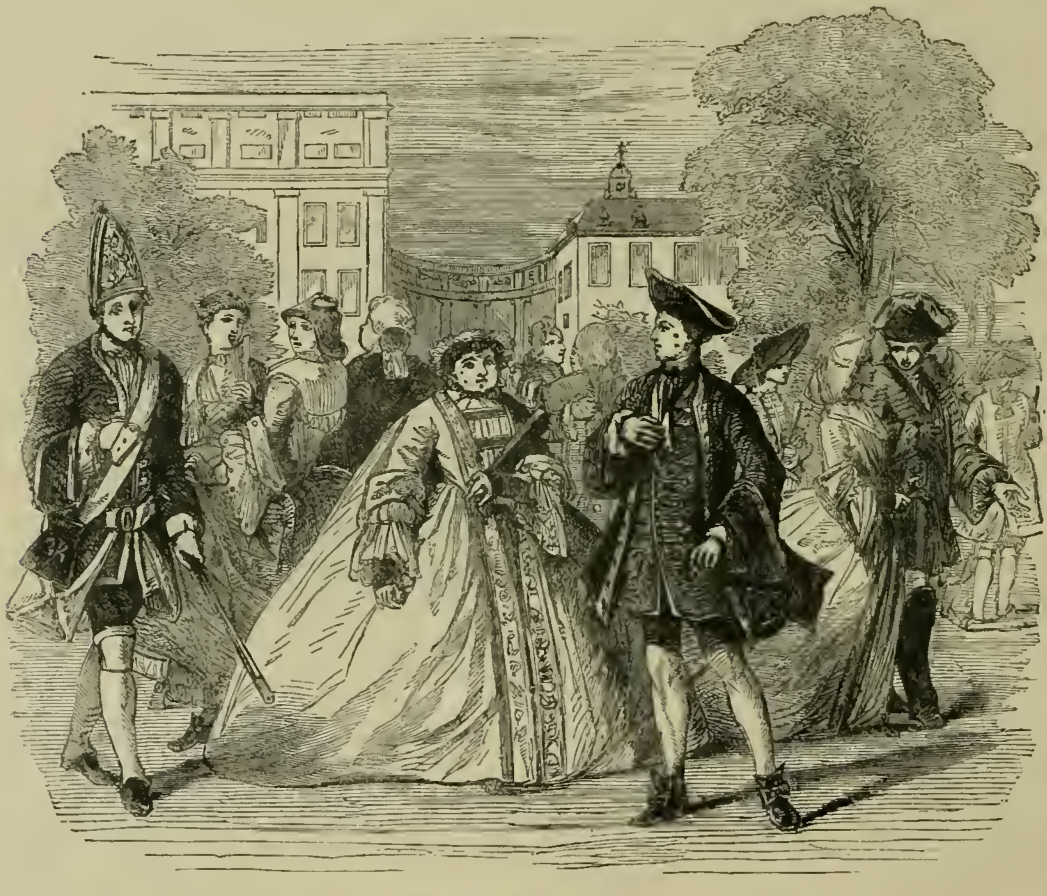


A LONDON STREET IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ANNE. (From a rare Engraving.)

and belles, in which the violation of all decency is only equalled by the pompous inanity of the language, larded by scraps of French and Italian.

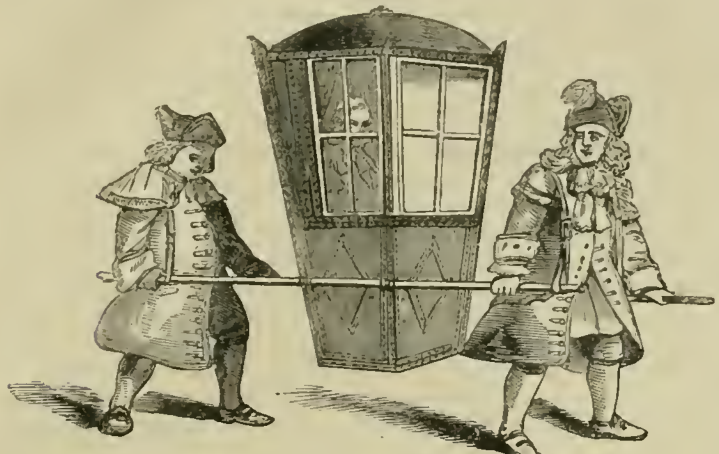
This general class of fashionable lounger was varied by the bully beau and the literary and sentimental ones. The bully beau resorted greatly to the Tilt-yard coffee-house, which was the military resort, and they were desirous to pass for military men. On this supposition they took upon them to hector and insult peaceably-inclined people, pulled the noses of those at the theatres who wore no swords, broke the heads of the drawers at taverns, and the box-keepers at theatres. There is no character so odious and contemptible as that of the hectoring beaux of these times, as portrayed in the comedies and novels of the age. The literary or poetical beau, with his scented *billet-doux*, his love-verses, and affected phrases, figures equally in the same productions, and Addison says he might be at once known, on his entering a company, by "an elevated chest, a pinched hat, a measurable step, and a sly, surveying eye."

To enter into such vapid and heartless society as this, the young country heir was impatient to leave his paternal fields, and learn what was considered "life" in London. As he was most miserably educated—his acquirements, under some miserably-paid tutor, being only a little smattering of Latin and sometimes of Greek—he was instantly beset, on his arrival in town, by sharpers and by ruined spendthrifts, who quickly led him into all the expenses of dress and equipage, and the vices of the place. It is his career which Hogarth has so admirably depicted in "The Rake's Progress." If the poor dupe escaped without utter ruin to his paternal hall and acres, he again settled down to his rustic existence of fox-hunting and carousing, and his exploits in London became the theme of all his life after. It is from this source that some country people, even in these times of railroads and rapid intercourse, still retain ideas of the sharpers, and bullies, and wonderful doings of London.



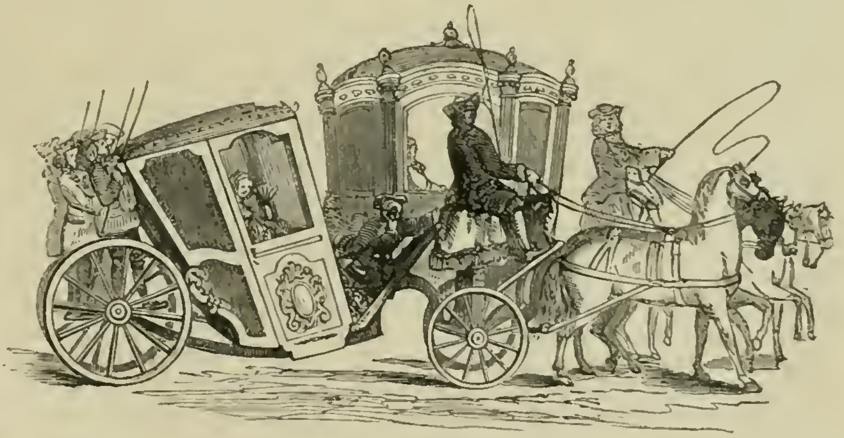
SCENE IN THE PARKS, 1745.

Thus it is certain that, in whatever respects the country had advanced, it had made no progress in morals, decorum, or sound intelligence and solid mind from the so much denounced days of Charles II. Duller life had become, but not more decent or more intellectual. How should it? The Georges brought no such refinements, no such progress with them from Hanover. Heavy and ignorant, despising all learning, and still more all genius and activity of idea, they were as debauched as Charles himself, and infinitely more gross and stupid with it. They still maintained their concubines in the face of the country, as a matter of established custom in the case of royalty; and whilst the



A SEDAN OF THE TIME OF GEORGE I.

sacredness of the marriage tie and the purity of domestic life were thus set at open defiance by them, how were these virtues likely to flourish amongst their subjects? The nobles imitated their sovereign, and the people the nobles. It was not likely that, under such circumstances, the female part of the community could be superior in information, or in that highest of attractions, the possession of a pure mind, full of religious and domestic grace and love. Women of rank and fortune were without education, and therefore without the means of making home delightful. They, like the gentlemen, sought coarse pleasures in public places, and the scenes which shock us in the theatres, fashionable parties, and places of public resort as detailed in novel and play, give us a fearful idea of the vacuity and corruption of the female mind of that time. Ill educated, with nothing but ill examples and conversation around them, they passed their time in the most frivolous show and conversation. It was unfashionable to be religious, and the ladies spent their Sundays in the parks, and adjourned thence to card-parties in the evening. If they went to church, it was to see and to be seen. At home they received the visits of the most profligate of the opposite sex, and listened to the most filthy talk without blushing. Abroad, they appeared with four laced and powdered footmen standing behind their carriages. They spent their time amongst opera singers, and French milliners, and hair-dressers; amongst monkeys, parrots, and lap-dogs. They spent vast sums in old china and Indian trinkets; and lost still greater sums at play, which they were sometimes reduced to pay at the expense of their honour.



CARRIAGES OF THE TIME OF QUEEN ANNE.

This must be considered as the fashionable extreme; but the general state of society in which such life could be tolerated without infamy, must have been awful. The ease with which early and clandestine marriages could be made, led to much profligacy and concealment. In short, the state of society was never worse. As the masters and mistresses were, so were, as a matter of course, their servants. The servants of the great aped the manners and language of their employers; they assumed the names and titles of their masters and mistresses in their high-life-below-stairs jollifications; drank their best wines, and then detailed to their associates all the secrets of the family. At the theatres, where the gallery was appropriated to them, whilst waiting for their employers, they became so outrageous, that they were obliged to be shut out; but they forcibly broke their way in, and were only at length excluded by a guard of military being placed round the theatres.

With such a state of society, it may be imagined there was very little security in the streets. These still remained, for the most part, unpaved, and the kennels on each side of the street were still open, loaded with all manner of filth. The footpaths were little better. They were merely railed off from the main road, and only paved before the shops, which was done at the expense of the shopkeepers. In summer, the dust blowing was intolerable; but in winter and wet weather the nuisance was still worse. When heavy rains fell, the kennels and gutters became torrents, and discharged their Stygian contents into Fleet Ditch and other open channels; the whole thoroughfare was one scene of mud, whilst the coachmen and carmen delighted to drive along the kennels, so as to dash the dirt on the foot passengers. Fortunately there were then, as now, crossing-sweepers and shoe-blacks. Instead of the conveniences of cabs and omnibuses, the citizens then depended on coaches and sedans, the fares of which were moderate. There was also much more use of small boats up and down the river, a person being able to go from London to Westminster-bridge for threepence. At night the streets were miserably lighted, and thieves of all kinds were on the alert. In 1736 London had only about a thousand lamps, which were only lit through the winter months, and then only to midnight. People found their way by the aid of torches, or links, as they were called, and link-boys were in constant demand. But woe to those who were out at late hours. By day, the streets and squares were infested by pick-pockets and swarms of beggars; by night, by audacious thieves; nor were the lowest classes the worst that you met. Numbers of broken-down gentlemen and ruined gamblers assumed the trade of bullies, and committed insolences and outrages which now seem almost incredible. But the most famous scamps of those times were the Mohocks, of which you have continual mention in the "Spectator" and "Tatler," and the plays of the day. These fellows ranged the streets disguised as savages, committing horrors and brutalities, which we wonder at existing under any ordinary government for a single week. They insulted and attacked all that they met; knocked down the watchman, exposed women in the most scandalous manner, sometimes performed on unoffending people what they called "tipping the line;" that is, squeezing their noses flat, and gouging out their eyes with their fingers. Some of them were called dancing-masters, because they thrust their swords into the legs of people to make them caper; and others, tumblers, because they placed women on their heads, or put them into barrels, and rolled them down Snow or Holborn Hill.

Amid all this incredible baseness and lawlessness, of course, brawls, fightings, and duels, abounded. The hackney-coachmen would, on occasion of a lock in the streets, descend from their seats, and commence a general battle with their whips, to the no small alarm of their "fares." People jostling on another in the streets, especially as they came from taverns or other places, where they had got flushed with wine, would suddenly draw on each other, and a desperate conflict would take place. Duels were frequent and bloody. The ring in Hyde Park, the back of Montagu House, and Barn Elms, were the great resorts for duelling. On such occasions, the seconds frequently joined, and desperate battles of half a dozen or more combatants took place.

Astrology, fortune-telling, and medical quackery flourished as much as vice and violence. The author of the "Spiritual Quixote" has given us a striking portraiture of one of the impudent quacks who used to traverse the country, and promise all sorts of impossible things. This man challenged all or any of the faculty to dispute with him in seven languages, including Hebrew, Arabic, and other equally unusual tongues, which he knew no medical men of the day were acquainted with. He declared himself the seventh son of a seventh son, and therefore was an infallible physician, according to popular tradition. Many of these fellows rode in splendid carriages; and one Smith, in one drawn by six horses, followed by two other carriages, each with four. He was attended by four footmen in yellow liveries, and four in blue, trimmed with silver. These fine fellows were his tumblers, merry andrew, trumpeter, speech-maker, &c.

In all classes there was an evident ambition to ascend in the social scale. Amongst authors there still remained the practice of dedicating their works in most fulsome terms to some great man, who paid them for their flatteries; but there were already symptoms of the great publishers, Tonson, Lintot, &c. becoming the real patrons. Pope showed how much more might be obtained from the bookseller than from the great lord, who doled out his reward with a befitting contempt; but the ignorance and frivolity of such a public as then existed could not maintain many Popes. Authors were still miserably paid, with some few fashionable exceptions, and pursued their labours in such places as Drury-lane and Grub-street, thence become so expressive of abject authorship. The growing commerce of the country was gradually augmenting the substance and dignity of the English merchants. They were ambitious of knighthood, and were beginning to bestow on each other pretty freely the title of esquire. Still, they mostly continued to live in the city, chiefly in courts behind their warehouses and counting-houses. The hours on 'Change were from one o'clock till three, but some of the most eminent merchants transacted their business at Garraway's, Jonathan's, and Robins' coffee-houses.

The shopkeepers of London, in their eagerness for trade, had so completely obstructed the streets, and almost shut out the light, by their huge signs stretched across from one side of the road to another, that they were compelled, in the reign of George II., to take them down, and place them against their own walls. Many of these signs had grand pictures of particular animals upon them, and some of them have become corrupted now into very ludicrous ones. The motto, "God encompasses us," is now changed into "The Goat and Compasses;" "The Bologne, or Boleyn Mouth," into "The Bull and Mouth;" "The Boleyn Lass"—adopted when Henry VIII. was become enamoured of Anne Boleyn—into "The Bull and Last;" "The Satyr and Bacchanals" into "Satan and Bag of Nails," &c. In many shops, raffles and auctions were the mode of selling their goods, especially jewellery and trinkets. Hawkers abounded, and cried their wares even in Westminster Hall; and in the streets were stalls, where wheels of fortune, dice, and other modes of gambling tempted the people, and thimble-rigging, and other tricks for fleecing the foolish, were openly carried on. Drunkenness was encouraged by carrying about liquors in wheelbarrows, and setting them out on stalls; and though the population of London was not more than one-third of its present amount, pot-houses were quite as numerous as they are now. By a report made by the magistrates of Middlesex in 1725, there were in the metropolis alone, exclusive of Southwark, six thousand one hundred and eighty-seven houses and shops in which gin and other spirits were sold, besides the stalls and wheelbarrows. This amounted, in many parishes, to every tenth house; to others, every seventh; and in one, the largest of all, every fifth house! Such a picture of drunkenness, perhaps, no other age or nation ever exhibited. The same habits pervaded the country. Gentlemen seldom dined without ending the day in intoxication; and nothing was more common at country dinner-parties than that, whilst the master was getting drunk in the dining-room, the coachman was getting drunk in the servants' hall, and managed to turn his master over in a ditch before they reached home. In this respect the last hundred years have produced a vast and most encouraging change.

The amusements of the period continued much what they had been previously, with some additional features. The theatre retained all its profligacy, as may be seen in the remaining plays of the time, and much of its absurdity. Cibber, Quin, and Garrick carried acting to its perfection, and introduced increased splendour of scenery and costume; but the obvious propriety of dressing their characters in the costume of the countries, times, and rank in which they lived, had not yet forced itself on the perception of either managers or public. "Cleopatra," "Semiramis," "Portia," or "Antigone," in the very deepest tragedy, would appear in the hooped petticoat, and with the powdered or towered head of the day, with her fan, and perhaps her lap-dog. Addison was by no means shocked at seeing his "Cato" represented in a flowing wig, square-cut coat, and Brussels lace neckcloth, at the same time that he was keenly alive to other absurdities—such as those of Flanders mares drawing aërial chariots, and real water flowing through canvas scenes. Besides the chief theatres and the opera, there were various minor theatres and places of exhibition, as Powel's Puppet Theatre, in the Piazza of Covent-garden, where pieces from the Bible history were acted with all the outrageous extravagances of the old miracle plays; where "Punch" might be seen dancing in Noah's Ark, or gaily figuring in the "Fall of Man." There was Winstanley's Water Theatre, in Piccadilly, where all kinds of aquatic pieces, enlivened by sea-nymphs, mermaids, tritons, &c., spouting fire and water, had a great charm for the public. Sadler's Wells, a mixture of the theatre and tavern, was a great resort to see the spectacles and hear the songs, to drink and smoke.

The suburbs abounded with places of entertainment. There were places up and down the river: as the Folly-house, Blackwall, and others at Chelsea, Kew, and Richmond, to which parties in boats went to eat fish, drink, smoke, walk in gardens, and listen to music. Ranelagh and Vauxhall were in their glory, with all their lamps and music, their frivolities and flirtations; but in the outskirts were various places which vied with them in their most vicious attractions.

Shooting matches were common in the outskirts; bowls, skittles, cricket, and foot-ball drew their thousands to Covent Garden Piazza, to Islington, to the Artillery Ground, and to numerous taverns of the suburbs. Boxing and prize-fighting were great amusements, and encouraged by the aristocracy, as tending to produce a true John Bull character. The prize-fighting was a brutal and bloody spectacle, as described by a writer of the period. Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, dog and cock fighting, and the hanging of malefactors at Tyburn, still had wonderful charms for the populace.

Once a year all London was thrown into an uproar by Bartholomew Fair. This fair, which had continued to collect all the gentle and simple of London from the reign of Edward I., was legally confined to three days, but often extended itself much beyond that time; and high and low were drawn there in dense crowds, to see its shows and join in its hubbub. This scene of metropolitan riot has only been suppressed in our time.

When the London season was over, the aristocracy flocked to Bath, Tunbridge Wells, and Epsom Wells, on the plea of sinking health, but only to continue the routine of dissipation. There water-drinking, parading, music, concerts, and parties helped the empty-minded gentry to endure their lives till the London season came round again. In the country the mode of spending time was the same as it had been for ages, for education and more intellectual pursuits had not yet ennobled the country life of the aristocracy. The old round of hunting, shooting, coursing, the county ball, and the country fair, filled up the time of the rude and ignorant gentry, whose portraitures had been handed down to us by Fielding and Smollett. The ladies divided themselves very much into two classes,—the fashionable one, whom we have described, and the greater number, who contrived to vegetate at home, amid hunting and drinking squires, making preserves, distilling cordial waters, and feeding and doctoring their poor neighbours. Very few books then found their way into the country town to enliven it, for there were no circulating libraries, and no Mudies in those days; yet the stories of Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, and Smollett were beginning to find their way into the country hall and the parsonage, and to herald a more awakened day. A journey to town now and then was a great event, and the travelling up through most infamous roads in the heavy old family coach, its recesses well stored with provisions and cordial drinks, and the exciting fears of highwaymen, and the wonders and adventures of a short sojourn amid the gaieties, vices, and impositions of London, served to furnish topics for conversation for years after.

In the Scottish portion of the empire, everything like lightness and gaiety was discountenanced by the presbyterian spirit; cards, theatres, singing, and any music but that of psalms, were regarded as sinful. The more innocent walk or cheerful converse on a Sabbath day were deemed violations of its sanctity. The certain consequence of this extreme severity was to drive the latitudinarian portion of the people into excess. All rational amusement being cut off, these betook themselves to taverns and public-houses. Drinking whisky and other strong liquors became excessive amongst the lawyers, the merchants, and the tradesmen. The lawyers, on Saturday nights, held their high jinks, as described by Scott in the novel of "Guy Mannering." Their example was freely followed by their clerks, and by the burghers, not less than by the populace. In strange contrast to the gloomy severity of the clergy and the religious portion of the community, stood out the hard drinking and rollicking of the other portion. Spite of the strict injunctions for keeping the Sabbath. numbers of tradesmen and others swarmed out of the towns to the neighbouring villages, where they indulged themselves in good suppers and plenty of whisky, on Sunday evenings.

The streets of Edinburgh were as much infested as those of London by a roystering set of dare-devils, who, elated with drink, wrenched off knockers, gave chase to sober citizens, and came into combat with the city guard. By day they sought immunity from the consequences of their nocturnal orgies by the healthy games of golf, curling, bowling, penny-stane, and the like.

Till after the union with England, which opened up a new and wide field of enterprise, the Scotch gentlemen who were younger brothers, sought employment in the continental armies; and Gustavus Adolphus, in the Thirty Years' War, had no less than four lieutenants-general, twenty colonels, and a vast number of inferior officers, from Scotland. After the union the Scotch aristocracy began to educate their younger sons for commerce and the national service. As Scotland had no poor-law, the number of mendicants during this period was enormous. Fletcher, about the time of the union, calculated the beggars at two hundred thousand, and that at no time had they been less than one hundred thousand. Many of these are said to have been of gipsy blood, and to have threatened and seized by violence where they could not obtain their wishes otherwise; but the old gaberlunziemen and the blue-gownsmen—the Edie Ochiltrees of the eighteenth century—were a privileged race, who brought the news of the country, carried letters and messages, and who had always a welcome and a warm place in the ingle. The manners and customs of the Highlanders seem comprised in their chivalrous following of their chiefs in war, their hunting, herding cattle, and their acting as drovers in the low countries.

SHIPS, COMMERCE, COLONIES, AND MANUFACTURES.

Notwithstanding the almost constant wars of this period, our shipping, commerce, colonies, and manufactures made considerable progress. The governments went on fighting and spending; the people, as far as such drains and disturbances would let them, working and accumulating. At the commencement of this period the amount of shipping employed in our commerce was altogether 244,788 tons, being 144,264 tons English, and 100,524 foreign; in 1701 the amount of shipping employed was 337,328 tons, of which alone 293,703 were English. In 1702, the end of William's reign, the number of English mercantile vessels were about 3281, employing 27,196 seamen. The royal navy, at the end of William's reign, amounted to about 159,000 tons, employing about 50,000 sailors, so that the seamen of England must have amounted at that period to nearly 80,000.

At the end of the reign of Anne the shipping employed in commerce amounted to 448,000 tons, of which only 26,573 tons were foreign; so that the English mercantile shipping had increased, in little more than twelve years, 127,800 tons. At the end of the reign of George I. our mercantile shipping was only 456,000 tons, the foreign being 23,651 tons; so that the increase for the time was but slight. The royal navy had also greatly decreased under George I. At the end of the reign of George II., the total amount of our commercial shipping was 573,978 tons, including 112,737 foreign. Thus, whilst the total shipping at the commencement of this period (in 1688) was only 244,788 tons, at the end of it (in 1760) the total was 573,978 tons, or a nett increase, in seventy-two years, of 329,190 tons, the increase being much larger than the total amount of tonnage possessed at the commencement of the period, the amount of foreign shipping remaining very nearly the same—in fact, only 12,000 tons more. The royal navy, which, at the commencement of the period, was reckoned at 101,892 tons, at the end of it was 321,104 tons, showing an increase of 219,212 tons; and, at the rate of men employed at the commencement, the number now employed in both our commercial and national navy could not be fewer than 160,000 men.

The growth of our commerce during this seventy-two years is shown by the amount of our exports. In 1697—that is, nine years after the Revolution—the amount of exports was only £3,525,907; but in the three next years of peace they rose to £6,709,881. War reduced these again to little more than £5,000,000, and at the end of the reign of Anne, during peace, they rose to £8,000,000. At the end of the reign of George I. the war had so much checked our commerce, that the exports scarcely amounted to that sum, the average of the three years—1726, 1727, and 1728—being only £7,891,739. By the end of the reign of George II., however (1760), they had risen to £14,693,270. Having by this period driven the fleets of France and Spain from the ocean, we rather extended our commerce than injured it. Thus, during this seventy-two years, our annual exports had increased from about three millions and a half annually to more than fourteen millions and a half annually, or a yearly difference of upwards of eleven millions—a substantial growth.

One great cause of this progress was the growth of our colonies. They began now to demand a considerable quantity of our manufactures and other articles of domestic comfort and convenience, and to supply us with a number of items of raw material. Towards the end of the reign of George I. our American colonies, besides the number of convicts that we sent thither, especially to Virginia and Maryland, attracted a considerable emigration of free persons, particularly to Pennsylvania, in consequence of the freedom of its constitution, as founded by Penn, and the freedom for the exercise of religion.

New York, Jersey, and the New England states traded in the same commodities; they also built a considerable number of ships, and manufactured, especially in Massachusetts, coarse linens and woollens, iron, hats, rum, besides drying great quantities of fish for Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean markets. They employed 40,000 tons of shipping, and 600,000 seamen. New England furnished the finest masts in the world for the navy; Virginia and Maryland furnished 50,000 hogsheads of tobacco, annually valued at £370,000; employing 24,000 tons of shipping. From these colonies we received also great quantities of skins, wool, furs, flax, &c. Carolina had become a great rice-growing country. By the year 1733 it had nearly superseded the supply of that article from Italy in Spain and Portugal; in 1740 it exported nearly 100,000 barrels of rice; and seven years afterwards, besides its rice, it sent to England 200,000 pounds of indigo, rendering us independent of France for that article; and at the end of the present period its export of indigo had doubled that quantity, besides a large exportation of pitch, sassafras, Brazil wood, skins, Indian corn, and other articles.

In 1732 the new colony of Georgia was founded by general Oglethorpe, and became a silk-growing country, exporting, by the end of this period, an interval of only eight years, 10,000 pounds of raw silk annually.

The rapid growth of the commerce of the American colonies excited an intense jealousy in our West Indian islands, which claimed a monopoly of supply of sugar, rum, molasses, and other articles to all the English possessions. The Americans trading with the French, Dutch, Spaniards, &c., took these articles in return; but the West Indian proprietors prevailed with the British government, in 1733, to impose a duty on the import of any produce of foreign plantations into the American colonies, besides granting a drawback on the re-exportation of West Indian sugar from Great Britain. This was one of the first pieces of legislation of which the American colonies had a just right to complain. At this period our West Indies produced about 85,000 hogsheads of sugar, or 1,200,000 cwt. About three hundred sail were employed in the trade with these islands, and about 4,500 sailors; the value of British manufactures exported thither being about £240,000 annually, but our imports from Jamaica alone averaged at that time £539,492. Besides rum, sugar, and molasses, we received from the West Indies cotton, indigo, ginger, pimento, cocoa, coffee, &c.

During this period a vast empire was beginning to unfold itself in the East Indies, destined to produce a vast trade, and pour a perfect mine of wealth into this country. The victories of Clive, Eyre Coote, &c., were telling sensibly on our commerce. During the early part of this period this effect was slow, and our exports to India and China up to 1741 did not average more than £148,000 per annum in value. Bullion, however, was exported to pay expenses and to purchase tea to an annual amount of upwards of half a million. Towards the end of this period, however, our exports to India and China amounted annually to more than half a million; but the necessity for the export of bullion had sunk to an annual demand for less than £100,000. The amount of tea imported from China during this period rose from about 140,000 pounds annually to nearly 3,000,000 pounds annually.

The progress of our MANUFACTURES was equally satisfactory. At the commencement of this period that great innovator and benefactor, the steam-engine, was produced. The idea thrown out by the marquis of Worcester, in his "Century of Inventions," in 1683, had been neglected as mere wild theory till Savary, in 1698, constructed a steam-engine for draining mines. This received successive improvements from Newman and Cawley, and still further ones from Brindley in 1756, and Watt extended these at the end of this period, though this mighty agent has received many improvements since. Navigable canals, also, date their introduction by the duke of Bridgewater, under the management of Brindley, from the latter end of this period, 1758. Other great men, Arkwright, Compton, Hargrave, &c., were now busily at work in developing machinery, and applying steam to it, which has revolutionised the system of manufacture throughout the world. In 1754 the Society of Arts and Manufactures was established, showing a strong desire in the public to encourage the development of them, though the great discoveries in mechanics, as all other things, are almost always the result of the solitary and persevering efforts of genius.

One great article of manufacture and export, however, down to this period, continued to be that of our woollens. To guard this manufacture many acts had been passed at different times, prohibiting the exportation of the raw material. Immediately after the Revolution a fresh act of this kind was passed, and such was the jealousy even of the Irish and of our American colonies weaving woollen cloths, that, in 1689, an act was passed, prohibiting the exportation of wool or woollen goods from Ireland or our plantations to any country except England. Having taken measures thus to confine as much as possible the profit of the woollen manufacture to England, the next year, which saw all protecting duties taken off corn, saw also leave given for the exportation of woollen cloths duty-free from England to any part of the world. Sir William Davenant estimates the value of the yearly growth of wool in England at this time at about £2,000,000, and the value of its woollen manufactures at £8,000,000. He calculates that one-fourth of this amount was exported. At the commencement of this period our writers boasted that we had completely triumphed over the Dutch in the perfection of our manufactured cloths, and, instead of getting our supply of the finest articles from them, made them ourselves. In 1738 Mr. John Kay invented the present mode of casting the shuttle by what is called a "picking-peg," by which means the weaver was enabled to weave cloths of any width, and throw off twice the quantity in the same time. In 1758 the Leeds Cloth Hall was erected, and, about twenty years afterwards, a hall for white cloths.

The silk trade, now grown so great in England, as to be unrivalled for extent and the beauty of the fabrics produced, received a great impulse by the erection of a silk-mill at Derby, in 1719, by John Lombe and his brothers. Lombe had smuggled himself into a silk-mill in Italy, as a destitute workman, and had then copied all the machinery. To prevent the operation of this new silk factory in England, which was worked by a water-wheel on the river Derwent, had 97,746 wheels, movements, and individual parts, and employed three hundred persons, the king of Sardinia prohibited the exportation of the raw material, and thus, for a time, checked the progress of the manufacture. Parliament voted Sir Thomas Lombe £14,000 as a compensation for loss of profits thus occasioned, on condition that the patent, which he had obtained for fourteen years, should expire, and the right to use the machinery should be thrown open to the public. By the middle of this period our silk manufactures were declared superior to those of Italy, and the tradesmen of Naples recommended their silk stockings as English ones. In 1755 great improvements were introduced by Mr. Jedediah Strutt in the stocking-loom of Lee.

As the woollen manufactures of Ireland had received a check from the selfishness of the English manufacturers, it was sought to compensate the protestants of Ulster by encouraging the linen manufacture there, which the English did not value so much as their woollen. A board was established in Dublin in 1711, and one also in Scotland in 1727, to superintend the trade, and bounties and premiums on exportation were offered. Under these favourable circumstances the trade rapidly grew, both in Ireland and Scotland. In 1750 seven and a half million yards of linen were annually woven in Scotland alone.

The lace manufacture was still prosecuted merely by hand, and chiefly in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and in the west of England. No lace was produced from machinery in this country before 1768.

In the manufacture of iron a most material discovery of smelting the ore by the use of pit-coal was made. The forests of England were so much reduced by the consumption of wood in the iron furnaces, that it was contemplated removing the business to our American colonies. This necessity was obviated by the discovery by lord Dudley of a mode of manufacturing bar-iron with coal instead of wood. This discovery had been patented in 1619, yet, singularly, had been neglected; but in 1740 the principle was applied at Colebrooke Dale, and iron thus made tough or brittle, as was wished. Iron works, now not confined to one spot by the necessity of wood, sprung up at various places in England and Wales, and the great works at Rotherham were established in 1750, and the great Carron works in Scotland in 1760. The quantity of pig-iron made in 1740 was calculated at 17,000 tons, and the number of people employed at the end of this period is supposed to be little short of 300,000.

The production of copper during this period was so plentiful, that, though the great mines in Anglesea were not yet discovered, full liberty was given to export it, except to France. From 1736 to 1745 the mines of Cornwall alone produced about 700 tons annually, and the annual amount was constantly increasing. A manufactory of brass—the secret of which mixture was introduced from Germany, in 1649—was established in Birmingham, in 1748; and, at the end of this period, the number of persons employed in making articles of copper and brass was, probably, not less than 50,000. The manufacture of tinned iron commenced in Wales about 1730, and in 1740 further improvements were made in this process. Similar improvements were making in the refinement of metals, in the manufacture of silver plate, called Sheffield plate. English watches acquired great reputation, but afterwards fell into considerable disrepute from the employment of inferior foreign works. Printing types, which we had before imported from Holland, were first made, in the reign of queen Anne, in this country, by Caslon, an engraver of gun-locks and barrels. In 1725 William Ged, a Scotchman, discovered the art of stereotyping, but did not introduce it without strong opposition from the working printers. Great strides were made in the paper manufacture. In 1690 we first made white paper, and in 1713 it is calculated that 300,000 reams of all kinds of paper were made in England. An excise duty was first laid on paper in 1711. Our best china and earthenware were still imported, and, both in style and quality, our own pottery was very inferior, for Wedgewood had not yet introduced his wonderful improvements. Defoe introduced pantiles at his manufactory at Tilbury, before which time we imported them from Holland. The war with France compelled us to encourage the manufacture of glass; in 1697 the excise duty, imposed three years before, was repealed, but in 1746 duties were imposed on the articles used in its manufacture, and additional duties on its exportation. The manufacture of crown glass was not introduced till after this period.

The effects of the growth in our commerce and manufactures, and the consequent increase of the national wealth, were seen in the extension of London and other of our large towns. Eight new parishes were added to the metropolis during this period; fifty new churches were ordered in the reign of Anne, and built in course of time; the city was rebuilt after the fire; St. Paul's raised its magnificent dome in the midst of it; the Chelsea Water Works were established in 1721; and Westminster Bridge completed in 1750. Bristol, Hull, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Frome, Dublin, &c., grew amazingly.

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

The review of the condition of the people through this period presents the singular spectacle of the commerce, arts, and manufactures of the country steadily progressing, and alongside of this pauperism advancing with equal strides. This pauperism included in 1688 no less than four hundred thousand persons, out of a population of seven millions; and the amount of poor-rates about a million. Before the end of this period, so much had pauperism increased, that the rates amounted to nearly three millions annually. But this pauperism apparently did not arise so much from real destitution, the want of employment, or the augmented cost of living, but rather from the poor, who were almost wholly uneducated, leaning on the poor-rates more and more as a right, and thence indulging in laziness and improvidence. Rents had not risen; a labourer's cottage was only twenty shillings a year; wheat, at the end of this period, was only forty shillings a quarter of nine bushels; barley, rye, and oats, making a large proportion of the people's food, still lower; butchers' meat about twopence-halfpenny per pound; and labourers' wages tenpence per day for men, and sevenpence for women; carpenters, bricklayers, &c., one shilling.

To curb this tendency to lean on the parish, workhouses were established about the commencement of this period, but with little effect. Defoe attributes much of this pauperism to drunkenness; employment, he says, was abundant. About the close of the reign of George I. gin was introduced, drew numbers from the use of more wholesome beer, and led to that frightful condition of things which we described in 1736.

Notwithstanding this excessive drunkenness, the ignorance and low moral condition of the people, the insecurity of the streets of London and other large towns, and of the highways for robbers, which Henry Fielding, in 1751, represented as rendering the roads round the metropolis impassable without the utmost hazard, the physical condition of the people was much better than the moral one. Executions for crime were wholesale, but did not check it, for the remedy lay only in better educative culture, which was not to be hoped for under the first two Georges.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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